THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME XI

Bibliographical Essays

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME I *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME II *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME III *From Independence to c. 1870*

VOLUME IV *c. 1870 to 1930*

VOLUME V *c. 1870 to 1930*

VOLUME VI *Latin America since 1930: Economy, society and politics*

VOLUME VII *Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean*

VOLUME VIII *Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*

VOLUME IX *Latin America since 1930: Brazil; International relations*

VOLUME X *Latin America since 1930: Ideas, culture and society*

VOLUME XI *Bibliographical essays*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME XI

Bibliographical Essays

---

edited by

LESLIE BETHELL
Emeritus Professor of Latin American History
University of London
and
Senior Research Fellow
St. Antony's College, Oxford

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1 RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1995

First published 1995

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
(Revision for vol. 11)
The Cambridge history of Latin America.
Includes bibliographies and indexes.
Contents: v. 1–2. Colonial Latin America –
[etc.] – v. 8. Latin America since 1930. Spanish
South America – – v. 11
Bibliographical essays.
1. Latin America – History. 2. Latin America –
History – Bibliography. I. Bethell, Leslie.
F1410.C1834 1984 980 83–19036
ISBN 0–521–39525–9

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 0–521–39525–9 hardback

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

CONTENTS

Preface *page* xv
List of contributors xxi
List of abbreviations xxvii

I. THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF MIDDLE AND SOUTH AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE CONQUEST

1 Mesoamerica before 1519 1
MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA and KENNETH MILLS
2 The Caribbean and circum-Caribbean at the end of the fifteenth century 8
MARY W. HELMS
3 The Andes before 1532 13
JOHN MURRA
4 Southern South America in the middle of the sixteenth century 19
JORGE HIDALGO
5 Brazil in 1500 24
JOHN HEMMING

II. COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA

1 The Spanish conquest and settlement of America 29
J. H. ELLIOTT and KENNETH MILLS
2 Indian societies and the Spanish conquest 37
NATHAN WACHTEL and KENNETH MILLS
3 Spain and America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 42
J. H. ELLIOTT and KENNETH MILLS

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

4	Spain and America: The Atlantic trade, 1492–*c.* 1720 MURDO J. MACLEOD	50
5	Spain and America in the eighteenth century D. A. BRADING	56
6	Population NICOLÁS SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ	59
7	Urban development RICHARD M. MORSE	66
8	Mining PETER BAKEWELL	78
9	The formation and economic structure of the hacienda in New Spain ENRIQUE FLORESCANO	82
10	The rural economy and society of Spanish South America MAGNUS MÖRNER	89
11	Aspects of the internal economy: Labour, taxation, distribution and exchange MURDO J. MACLEOD and KENNETH MILLS	93
12	Social organization and social change JAMES LOCKHART	100
13	Indian societies under Spanish rule CHARLES GIBSON and KENNETH MILLS	104
14	Africans in Spanish American colonial society FREDERICK P. BOWSER	112
15	Women in Spanish American colonial society ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN	127
16	The Catholic church JOSEP M. BARNADAS and KENNETH MILLS	142
17	Literature and intellectual life JACQUES LAFAYE	150
18	Architecture and art DAMIÁN BAYÓN	153
19	Music ROBERT STEVENSON	160

III. COLONIAL BRAZIL

1	The Portuguese settlement of Brazil, 1500–1580 HAROLD B. JOHNSON	163

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

2 Portugal and Brazil, 1580–1750 170
FRÉDÉRIC MAURO
3 Portugal and Brazil, 1750–1808 174
ANDRÉE MANSUY-DINIZ SILVA
4 Population 180
MARIA LUIZA MARCÍLIO
5 Plantations and peripheries, *c.* 1580–*c.* 1750 183
STUART B. SCHWARTZ
6 Indians and the frontier 192
JOHN HEMMING
7 The gold cycle, *c.* 1690–1750 197
A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD
8 Late colonial Brazil, 1750–1808 206
DAURIL ALDEN
9 The Catholic church 212
EDUARDO HOORNAERT
10 Architecture and art 215
J. B. BURY

IV. THE INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA

1 The origins of Spanish American independence 219
JOHN LYNCH
2 The independence of Mexico and Central America 224
TIMOTHY ANNA
3 The independence of Spanish South America 228
DAVID BUSHNELL
4 The independence of Haiti and the Dominican Republic 234
FRANK MOYA PONS
5 The independence of Brazil 238
LESLIE BETHELL
6 International politics and Latin American independence 242
D. A. G. WADDELL

V. LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, *c.* 1820 to *c.* 1870

1 Post-independence Spanish America: Economy and society 247
TULIO HALPERÍN DONGHI

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

2 Post-independence Spanish America: Society and politics 252
FRANK SAFFORD
3 Mexico 259
JAN BAZANT
4 Central America 264
RALPH LEE WOODWARD JR
5 Haiti and the Dominican Republic 270
FRANK MOYA PONS
6 Cuba, *c.* 1760–*c.* 1860 272
HUGH THOMAS
7 Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador 274
MALCOLM DEAS
8 Peru and Bolivia 283
HERACLIO BONILLA
9 Chile 288
SIMON COLLIER
10 The River Plate republics 299
JOHN LYNCH
11 Brazil, 1822–1850 305
LESLIE BETHELL and JOSÉ MURILO DE CARVALHO
12 Brazil, 1850–1870 311
RICHARD GRAHAM

VI. LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, *c.* 1870 to 1930

1 Latin America and the international economy, 1870-1914 321
WILLIAM GLADE
2 Latin America and the international economy, 1914-1929 326
ROSEMARY THORP
3 Population 331
NICOLÁS SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ
4 Rural Spanish America 336
ARNOLD BAUER
5 The growth of cities 341
JAMES R. SCOBIE and MARK D. SZUCHMAN
6 Industry 349
COLIN M. LEWIS
7 The urban working class and early labour movements 359
MICHAEL M. HALL and HOBART A. SPALDING JR

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

8	The Catholic church JOHN LYNCH	375
9	Mexico: Restored republic and Porfiriato, 1867–1910 FRIEDRICH KATZ	380
10	The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920 JOHN WOMACK JR	385
11	Mexico: Revolution and reconstruction in the 1920s JEAN MEYER	406
12	Central America CIRO F. S. CARDOSO	410
13	Cuba LUIS E. AGUILAR	413
14	Puerto Rico ANGEL QUINTERO-RIVERA	419
15	The Dominican Republic H. HOETINK	423
16	Haiti DAVID NICHOLLS	426
17	Argentina: Economy, 1870–1914 ROBERTO CORTÉS CONDE	431
18	Argentina: Society and politics, 1880–1916 EZEQUIEL GALLO	436
19	Argentina, 1914–1930 DAVID ROCK	442
20	Uruguay JUAN A. ODDONE	445
21	Paraguay PAUL H. LEWIS	448
22	Chile HAROLD BLAKEMORE and SIMON COLLIER	451
23	Bolivia HERBERT S. KLEIN	455
24	Peru PETER F. KLARÉN	462
25	Colombia MALCOLM DEAS	470
26	Ecuador MALCOLM DEAS	474
27	Venezuela MALCOLM DEAS	476

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

28 Brazil: Economy 480
WARREN DEAN
29 Brazil: Society and politics, 1870–1889 488
EMÍLIA VIOTTI DA COSTA
30 Brazil: Society and politics, 1889–1930 498
BORIS FAUSTO

VII. LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, 1930 to *c.* 1990

1 Population 509
THOMAS W. MERRICK
2 The Latin American economies, 1929–1939 518
VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS
3 The Latin American economies, 1939–*c.* 1950 525
ROSEMARY THORP
4 The Latin American economies, 1950–1990 529
JOSÉ GABRIEL PALMA
5 Urban growth and urban social structure 541
ORLANDINA DE OLIVEIRA and BRYAN ROBERTS
6 Agrarian structures 556
NORMAN LONG and BRYAN ROBERTS
7 State organization 568
LAURENCE WHITEHEAD
8 Democracy 573
JONATHAN HARTLYN and ARTURO VALENZUELA
9 The Left 585
ALAN ANGELL
10 The military in politics 596
VARUN SAHNI
11 The urban working class and labour movements 617
IAN ROXBOROUGH
12 Rural mobilizations 634
GUILLERMO DE LA PEÑA
13 Women in twentieth-century Latin America 647
ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN
14 The Catholic church 659
CHRISTOPHER ABEL
15 The Protestant churches 667
JOSÉ MIGUEZ BONINO

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

16 Mexico, *c.* 1930–1946 671
ALAN KNIGHT
17 Mexico since 1946 679
PETER H. SMITH
18 Central America 684
EDELBERTO TORRES-RIVAS
19 Guatemala 687
JAMES DUNKERLEY
20 El Salvador 690
JAMES DUNKERLEY
21 Honduras 693
VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS
22 Nicaragua 697
VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS
23 Costa Rica 703
RODOLFO CERDAS CRUZ
24 Panama 712
MICHAEL L. CONNIFF
25 The Panama Canal Zone, 1904–1979 715
JOHN MAJOR
26 Cuba, *c.* 1930–1959 723
LOUIS A. PÉREZ JR
27 Cuba since 1959 728
JORGE DOMÍNGUEZ
28 The Dominican Republic 734
FRANK MOYA PONS
29 Haiti 741
DAVID NICHOLLS
30 Puerto Rico 744
ROBERT W. ANDERSON
31 Argentina, 1930–1946 747
DAVID ROCK
32 Argentina since 1946 752
JUAN CARLOS TORRE and LILIANA DE RIZ
33 Uruguay 763
HENRY FINCH
34 Paraguay 768
PAUL H. LEWIS
35 Chile, *c.* 1930–*c.* 1960 771
PAUL W. DRAKE

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

36 Chile since *c.* 1960 775
ALAN ANGELL
37 Peru, 1930–*c.* 1960 788
GEOFFREY BERTRAM
38 Peru since *c.* 1960 799
JULIO COTLER
39 Bolivia 806
LAURENCE WHITEHEAD
40 Colombia 810
CHRISTOPHER ABEL and MARCO PALACIOS
41 Ecuador 826
ENRIQUE AYALA MORA
42 Venezuela 832
JUDITH EWELL
43 Brazil 840
LESLIE BETHELL

VIII. IDEAS IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1 Political and social ideas, 1830–1930 863
CHARLES A. HALE
2 The multiverse of Latin American identity, *c.* 1920–*c.* 1970 869
RICHARD M. MORSE
3 Economic ideas and ideologies since 1930 873
JOSEPH L. LOVE
4 *Science in twentieth-century Latin America* 878
THOMAS F. GLICK

IX. LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1 Art and literature, *c.* 1820–*c.* 1870 887
GERALD MARTIN
2 Art and literature, *c.* 1870–1930 893
GERALD MARTIN
3 Narrative since *c.* 1920 907
GERALD MARTIN

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

4 Poetry since *c.* 1920 916
JASON WILSON
5 Indigenous literatures and cultures in the twentieth century 925
GORDON BROTHERSTON
6 Art and architecture since *c.* 1920 933
DAMIÁN BAYÓN
7 Music since *c.* 1920 939
GERARD H. BÉHAGUE
8 Cinema 943
JOHN KING
9 The mass media 951
ELIZABETH FOX

X. THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1 Latin America, Europe and the United States, 1830–1930 955
ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH
2 Latin America, Europe and the United States, 1930–1960 959
LESLIE BETHELL
3 Latin America, the United States and the world, 1960–1990 969
JORGE DOMÍNGUEZ

Author index 975

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

PREFACE

The first five volumes of the *Cambridge History of Latin America,* on the history of Latin America from the first contacts between native Americans and Europeans in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to 1930, were published in the mid-1980s: Volumes I and II, *Colonial Latin America* (with an introductory section on native American societies and civilizations on the eve of the conquest), in 1984; Volume III, *From Independence to c. 1870,* in 1985; and Volumes IV and V, *From c. 1870 to 1930,* in 1986. Three of the five volumes to be devoted to the history of Latin America since 1930 have now been published: Volume VII, *Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean,* in 1990; Volume VIII, *Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America,* in 1991; and Volume VI, *Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics* (Part 1, *Economy and Society,* and Part 2, *Politics and Society*), in 1994. Volume X, *Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society,* is in press and will be published in 1995 or 1996, leaving only Volume IX, *Latin America since 1930: I Brazil; II International relations,* still in progress. (Cambridge University Press is to publish separately a three-volume *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* – North, Middle and South – which will give proper consideration to the evolution of the region's peoples, societies and civilizations, in isolation from the rest of the world, during the several millennia before the arrival of the Europeans. It will also include a fuller treatment of indigenous peoples under European colonial rule and during the national period to the present day than that found in the *Cambridge History of Latin America.*)

Each volume or set of volumes of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* examines a period in the region's economic, social, political, intellectual and cultural history, Latin America being understood as comprising the predominantly Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking areas of continental

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

America south of the United States (Mexico, Central America and South America) together with the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) and Haiti. Neither the British, French and Dutch islands in the Caribbean nor the Guianas are included despite the Hispanic antecedents of, for example, Jamaica and Trinidad. And the vast territories of North America lost to the United States by treaty and by war, first by Spain, then by Mexico, during the first half of the nineteenth century are for the most part excluded. (For an excellent recent overview of the history of the 'Spanish borderlands', see David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America,* New Haven and London, 1992.) The *History*'s emphasis is clearly on the modern period, that is to say, on the period from the establishment of all but two (Cuba and Panama) of the twenty independent Latin American states during the first decades of the nineteenth century to the present day.

The *Cambridge History of Latin America,* planned and edited by a single editor, is a work of collaborative international scholarship. Each of the ten volumes consists of between ten and twenty chapters written by leading specialists in their fields from Europe (especially Britain), the United States and Latin America. The aim has been to produce a high-level synthesis of existing knowledge which will provide historians of Latin America with a solid base for future research, which students of Latin American history will find helpful, and which will be of interest to historians of other parts of the world. It is also hoped that the history will contribute more generally to a deeper understanding of Latin America through its history in the United States, Europe and elsewhere and, not least, to a greater awareness of its own history in Latin America.

An important feature of the *History* has been the bibliographical essays accompanying each chapter which, with only two exceptions, were contributed by the authors of the chapters. These essays primarily survey the secondary literature on the history of Latin America: books, chapters in books, articles in a wide range of scholarly journals and noteworthy unpublished Ph.D. theses – mainly in English, Spanish and Portuguese but to a lesser extent also in French and German. They have been generally welcomed as valuable aids to both teaching and research. However, the essays in Volumes I to V (more than half the total) are already over ten and those in Volumes VII and VIII at least five years out of date. With the *History* nearing completion it was decided to bring together in a separate volume all these bibliographical essays – revised, updated and in most cases expanded – together with several previously unpublished essays:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

those to be published more or less simultaneously in Volume VI, Parts 1 and 2, those awaiting publication in Volume X, two essays on international relations since 1930 that will eventually be published in Volume IX and one on Brazil since 1930 written especially for this volume by the editor in advance of the completion of the chapters on Brazil for Volume IX. The result is undoubtedly the most comprehensive scholarly survey of the historical literature on Latin America available in any language.

For the most part, bibliographical essays were revised and updated for inclusion in this volume by the original contributors, and I am most grateful to them for their cooperation. Some contributors, however, for a variety of reasons, were unable or unwilling to review their original essays. I myself revised a number of these, as did two of my colleagues at the time at the Institute of Latin American Studies in London, Victor Bulmer-Thomas and Eduardo Posada Carbó. I am particularly grateful to them and, above all, to Kenneth Mills, then in Oxford, now at Princeton, who reviewed all the essays on the Americas on the eve of the conquest and on colonial Spanish America – and did so in such a thorough manner that in half a dozen cases I felt he deserved to be credited with co-authorship of the essays as now published. The essays by Harold Blakemore, Charles Gibson and James Scobie, all of whom had sadly died, were revised by Simon Collier, Kenneth Mills and Mark Szuchman respectively. Every effort was made to update all the essays at least to 1990 and if possible to 1992. Inevitably some titles published in 1991 and 1992 will have been overlooked. On the other hand, some published in 1993 and even 1994 have been included. As a general rule the updated bibliographical essays do not refer to individual chapters published in the several volumes of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* itself.

The original guidelines for the *History* requested that the contributors give special emphasis in their bibliographical essays to the period since the publication of Howard F. Cline (ed.), *Latin American History: Essays on Its Study and Teaching, 1898–1965*, 2 vols. (published for the Conference on Latin American History of the American Historical Association by the University of Texas Press, Austin, 1967), and, more particularly, Charles C. Griffin (ed.), *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (also published for the Conference on Latin American History by the University of Texas Press, Austin, 1971). Griffin's indispensable and unsurpassed *Guide*, with its 7,000 annotated entries, had its origins in a meeting in the Library of Congress in 1962 jointly sponsored by the Hispanic Foundation and the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council; it was completed in 1969 and included few works published after 1966. Since the mid-1960s there has been an unprecedented expansion of research and publication on Latin American history – in the United States (by U.S. historians in particular but also by British, European and Latin American historians resident in the United States), in Britain and continental Europe (especially France, Spain, Germany and, to a lesser extent, Holland and Italy) and increasingly in Latin America itself, where a new generation of professional historians, many of them trained in the United Sates, Britain and France, has emerged. At the same time, methodological innovations and new conceptual models drawn from the social sciences (economics, political science, sociology, historical demography, anthropology) as well as from other fields of historical research have been increasingly adopted by historians of Latin America. It is mainly, though by no means exclusively, the secondary literature of the last 25–30 years that is surveyed – more or less selectively, with varying levels of critical annotation and, despite a certain amount of editing and cross-referencing, with a good deal of duplication – in the 141 bibliographical essays by 119 authors from 24 countries that make up this final volume of the *Cambridge History of Latin America.* However, although the volume is endorsed by the Conference on Latin American History it should be emphasized that it is not the supplement to, or replacement for, Griffin's *Guide* which is, in my view, still very much needed.

Not all the authors of the essays in the volume confine themselves to the secondary literature on Latin American history of the post-Griffin period, nor to the secondary literature alone. But, in general, for published primary sources, contemporary histories and memoirs, official publications, guides to archive and library collections, aides to research, bibliographies, etc., the reader needs to consult Cline (ed.), *Latin American History: Essays on Its Study and Teaching;* Griffin (ed.), *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature,* and, more particularly, two valuable recent publications: Robert A. McNeil (ed.), *Latin American Studies: A Basic Guide to Sources,* 2nd ed., revised and enlarged (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1990), and Paula H. Covington (ed.), *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Critical Guide to Research Sources* (Westport, Conn., 1992). The most important single bibliographical tool in the field remains the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1936–), a more or less annual selective and annotated guide to new publications, currently edited for the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress by Dolores Moyano Martin and published by the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas. Since Volume 27 (1965), it has appeared as separate volumes on the Social Sciences and Humanities (including history) in alternate years.

The bibliographical essays in this volume do not appear in the order in which they appeared in the ten volumes of the *Cambridge History of Latin America*. They have been somewhat re-arranged for more convenient reference, although coincidentally they are divided into ten sections: I, The indigenous peoples of Middle and South America on the eve of the conquest (5 essays); II, Colonial Spanish America (19 essays); III, Colonial Brazil (10 essays); IV, The independence of Latin America (6 essays); V, Latin America: economy, society, politics, *c.* 1820–*c.* 1870 (12 essays); VI, Latin America: economy, society, politics, *c.* 1870–1930 (30 essays); VII, Latin America: economy, society, politics, 1930–*c.* 1990 (43 essays); VIII, Ideas in Latin America since independence (4 essays); IX, Latin American culture since independence (9 essays); X, The international relations of Latin America since independence (3 essays).

The New York office of Cambridge University Press was responsible for the production of this volume. Katharita Lamoza was production editor and Anita Kugler copyeditor. A preliminary draft of the author index (secondary literature only) was prepared by Edmundo Lamoza. Tom Passananti and Tim Girven, graduate students in Latin American history at the University of Chicago and the University of London respectively, assisted with the checking of titles during the final stages of the editing in 1993. Tim Girven also assisted the editor in the completion of the index. Secretarial assistance was provided by Hazel Aitken at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, in 1991–2 and Linnea Cameron at the Department of History, University of Chicago, in 1992–3.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

CONTRIBUTORS

CHRISTOPHER ABEL Senior Lecturer in Latin American History, University College London

LUIS E. AGUILAR Miami

DAURIL ALDEN Professor of History, University of Washington, Seattle

ROBERT W. ANDERSON Hato Rey, Puerto Rico

ALAN ANGELL University Lecturer in Latin American Politics and Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford

TIMOTHY ANNA Professor of History, University of Manitoba

ENRIQUE AYALA MORA Director, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Quito

PETER BAKEWELL Professor of History, Emory University, Atlanta

JOSEP M. BARNADAS Cochabamba, Bolivia

ARNOLD BAUER Professor of History, University of California at Davis

DAMIÁN BAYÓN Paris

JAN BAZANT El Colegio de México, Mexico, D.F.

GERARD H. BÉHAGUE Professor of Music and Fine Arts, University of Texas at Austin

LESLIE BETHELL Emeritus Professor of Latin American History, University of London, and Senior Research Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford

GEOFFREY BERTRAM Senior Lecturer in Economics, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

HAROLD BLAKEMORE (deceased)

HERACLIO BONILLA Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Quito

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

FREDERICK P. BOWSER Associate Professor of History, Stanford University

D. A. BRADING Reader in Latin American History, University of Cambridge

GORDON BROTHERSTON Professor of Spanish and Portuguese, Indiana University at Bloomington, and Research Professor of Literature, University of Essex, England

VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS Professor of Economics, Queen Mary and Westfield College, and Director, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London

J. B. BURY London

DAVID BUSHNELL Professor Emeritus, University of Florida at Gainesville

CIRO F. S. CARDOSO Professor of History, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, Brazil

JOSÉ MURILO DE CARVALHO Professor of Political Science, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ)

RODOLFO CERDAS CRUZ Professor of Political Science, Universidad de Costa Rica

SIMON COLLIER Professor of History, Vanderbilt University

MICHAEL L. CONNIFF Professor of History, Auburn University, Alabama

ROBERTO CORTÉS CONDE Professor of Economic History, Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires

JULIO COTLER Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima

WARREN DEAN (deceased)

MALCOLM DEAS University Lecturer in the Politics and Government of Latin America and Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford

JORGE DOMÍNGUEZ Professor of Government, Harvard University

PAUL W. DRAKE Professor of Political Science and History, University of California at San Diego

JAMES DUNKERLEY Professor of Politics, Queen Mary and Westfield College and Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London

J. H. ELLIOTT Regius Professor of History, University of Oxford

JUDITH EWELL Professor of History, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

BORIS FAUSTO Professor of History, Universidade de São Paulo

HENRY FINCH Senior Lecturer in Economic and Social History, University of Liverpool

ENRIQUE FLORESCANO Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico D.F.

ELIZABETH FOX Washington D.C.

EZEQUIEL GALLO Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires

CHARLES GIBSON (deceased)

WILLIAM GLADE Professor of Economics, University of Texas at Austin

THOMAS F. GLICK Professor of History, Boston University

RICHARD GRAHAM Professor of History, University of Texas at Austin

CHARLES A. HALE Professor of History, University of Iowa

MICHAEL M. HALL Professor of History, Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil

TULIO HALPERÍN DONGHI Professor of History, University of California at Berkeley

JONATHAN HARTLYN Associate Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

MARY W. HELMS Professor of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

JOHN HEMMING Director, Royal Geographical Society, London

JORGE HIDALGO Santiago, Chile

H. HOETINK Professor of Anthropology, University of Utrecht

EDUARDO HOORNAERT Fortaleza, Brazil

HAROLD B. JOHNSON Scholar in Residence, University of Virginia

FRIEDRICH KATZ Professor of History, University of Chicago

JOHN KING Reader in Latin American Cultural History, University of Warwick

PETER F. KLARÉN Professor of History, George Washington University, Washington D.C.

HERBERT S. KLEIN Professor of History, Columbia University

ALAN KNIGHT Professor of the History of Latin America, University of Oxford

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

JACQUES LAFAYE Professor of History, Université de Paris III-Sorbonne

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN Professor of History, Howard University, Washington D.C.

MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA Research Professor, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Mexico, D.F.

COLIN M. LEWIS Lecturer in Latin American Economic History, London School of Economics and Political Science

PAUL H. LEWIS Professor of Political Science, Newcomb College, Tulane University

JAMES LOCKHART Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles

NORMAN LONG Professor of Sociology, University of Bath, England, and Agricultural University, Wageningen, The Netherlands

JOSEPH L. LOVE Professor of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

JOHN LYNCH Emeritus Professor of Latin American History, University of London

MURDO J. MACLEOD Graduate Research Professor, University of Florida at Gainesville

JOHN MAJOR Senior Lecturer in History, University of Hull

ANDRÉE MANSUY-DINIZ SILVA Professor of the History and Literature of Brazil, Université de Paris III-Sorbonne

MARIA LUIZA MARCÍLIO Professor of History, Universidade de São Paulo

GERALD MARTIN Professor of Modern Languages, University of Pittsburgh

FRÉDÉRIC MAURO Emeritus Professor of History, Université de Paris X, Nanterre

THOMAS W. MERRICK Senior Population Adviser, World Bank, Washington D.C.

JEAN MEYER Director, Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, Embassy of France, Mexico D.F.

JOSÉ MIGUEZ BONINO Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET), Buenos Aires

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

KENNETH MILLS Assistant Professor of History, Princeton University

MAGNUS MÖRNER Professor of History, Goteborg University, Sweden

RICHARD M. MORSE Washington D.C.

FRANK MOYA PONS Fondo para el Avance de las Sciencias Sociales, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

JOHN MURRA Professor of Anthropology, Cornell University and Institute of Andean Research, New York

DAVID NICHOLLS Oxford

JUAN A. ODDONE Professor of History, Universidad de la República, Montevideo

ORLANDINA DE OLIVEIRA Director, Centro de Estudios Sociológicos, El Colegio de México, Mexico, D.F.

MARCO PALACIOS Professor of Economic History, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona

JOSÉ GABRIEL PALMA Faculty of Economics and Politics, University of Cambridge

GUILLERMO DE LA PEÑA Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social de Occidente (CIESAS), Guadalajara, Mexico

LOUIS A. PÉREZ JR Professor of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

ANGEL QUINTERO-RIVERA Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico

LILIANA DE RIZ Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES), Buenos Aires

BRYAN ROBERTS Professor of U.S.–Mexico Relations, University of Texas at Austin

DAVID ROCK Professor of History, University of California at Santa Barbara

IAN ROXBOROUGH Professor of Sociology and Professor of History, State University of New York at Stony Brook

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University

FRANK SAFFORD Professor of History, Northwestern University

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

VARUN SAHNI Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, New Delhi, India

NICOLÁS SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ Madrid

STUART B. SCHWARTZ Professor of History, University of Minnesota

JAMES R. SCOBIE (deceased)

PETER H. SMITH Professor of Political Science and Professor of Latin American Studies, University of California at San Diego

ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH Distinguished University Professor, University of Toledo, Ohio

HOBART A. SPALDING JR Professor of History, City University of New York

ROBERT STEVENSON Professor of Musicology, University of California at Los Angeles

MARK D. SZUCHMAN Professor of History, Florida International University

HUGH THOMAS London

ROSEMARY THORP University Lecturer in the Economics of Latin America, and Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford

JUAN CARLOS TORRE Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires

EDELBERTO TORRES-RIVAS Secretary-General, Facultad Latinoamericana de Sciencias Sociales (FLACSO), San José, Costa Rica

ARTURO VALENZUELA Professor of Government, Georgetown University

EMÍLIA VIOTTI DA COSTA Professor of History, Yale University

NATHAN WACHTEL Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

D. A. G. WADDELL (deceased)

LAURENCE WHITEHEAD Official Fellow in Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford

JASON WILSON Senior Lecturer in Latin American Literature, University College London

JOHN WOMACK JR Professor of History, Harvard University

RALPH LEE WOODWARD JR Professor of History, Tulane University

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ABBREVIATIONS

ABNRJ	*Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*
AESC	*Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
BCHIE	*Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas*
BELC	*Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*
BHR	*Business History Review*
BLAR	*Bulletin of Latin American Research*
CEPAL	*see* ECLA
CHLA	*Cambridge History of Latin America*
CSSH	*Comparative Studies in Society and History*
DE	*Desarrollo Económico*
ECLA	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL in Spanish)
ESC	*Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos*
HAHR	*Hispanic American Historical Review*
HGIAL	*Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina*
HM	*Historia Mexicana*
I-AA	*Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*
JGSWGL	*Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerika*
JIAS	*Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*
JLAS	*Journal of Latin American Studies*
LAP	*Latin American Perspectives*
LARR	*Latin American Research Review*
L-BR	*Luso-Brazilian Review*
RBE	*Revista Brasileira de Economia*
RHA	*Revista de Historia de América*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

RIB	*Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía/Inter-American Review of Bibliography*
RIHGB	*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*
RMS	*Revista Mexicana de Sociología*
SALA	*Statistical Abstract of Latin America*
TA	*The Americas*
TE	*El Trimestre Económico*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

I

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF MIDDLE AND SOUTH AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE CONQUEST

1. MESOAMERICA BEFORE 1519

A comprehensive bibliography dealing with the archaeology and ethnohistory of Mesoamerica and the north of Mexico has been prepared by Ignacio Bernal, *Bibliografía de arqueología y etnografía de Mesoamérica y norte de México, 1514–1960* (Mexico, D.F., 1962). Descriptions of many of the extant indigenous sources, i.e. pictorial manuscripts and others in the native historical tradition, are provided by John B. Glass, Donald Robertson, Charles Gibson and Henry B. Nicholson in a series of articles in volumes 14 and 15 (1975), edited by Howard F. Cline, of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* ed. Robert Wauchope, 16 vols. (Austin, Tex., 1964–76). An invaluable reference work, giving a chronology of Nahuatl scholarship from 1546 to 1980 and a catalogue of Nahuatl printed works (some 2,961 items), has been assembled by Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, *Tepuztlahcuilolli: Impresos en náhuatl: Historia y bibliografía,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988). An indispensable guide to Nahuatl manuscripts in the Newberry Library, Chicago, the Latin American Library of Tulane University and the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, is provided by John Frederick Schwaller in *Estudios de cultura náhuatl,* 18 (1986), 315–83. On Nahuatl manuscripts in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, see *Estudios de cultura náhuatl,* 21 (1991), 311–38.

The works of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish, mestizo and Indian chroniclers containing basic references to the pre-Columbian epoch have been the subject of various analyses and critical appraisals, although there is no comprehensive study which examines them all systematically. A general survey can be found in *Historiografía indiana,* by Fran-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cisco Esteve Barba (Madrid, 1964). A number of studies about the works of authors like Bernardino de Sahagún, Antonio de Herrera and Juan de Torquemada are included in 'The guide to ethnohistorical sources', *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* vol. 12 (Austin, Tex., 1973). The National University of Mexico has published critical editions of some of the indigenous sources and of the sixteenth-century chronicles: *Textos de los informantes indígenas de Sahagún, Códices Matritenses,* edited by Angel María Garibay and Miguel León-Portilla, 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1958–69); *Poesía náhuatl,* edited by A. M. Garibay, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964, 1965, and 1968); *Apologética historia sumaria,* by Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1967); *Memoriales,* by Toribio de Benavente Motolinía (Mexico, D.F., 1971); *Obras históricas,* by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975–7), edited by Edmundo O'Gorman et al.; and *Monarquía indiana,* by Juan de Torquemada, edited by M. León-Portilla et al., 7 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975–80). Also important on Sahagún are Mauricio J. Mixco's fine English translation and revision of Luis Nicolau d'Olwer's classic 1952 study, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499–1590* (Salt Lake City, 1987), and a set of stimulating essays in J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds.), *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1988). A valuable edition of Motolinía's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* was prepared by Georges Baudot (Madrid, 1985). Important, too, is a facsimile edition of a major Nahuatl–Spanish confession manual, with an introductory essay by Roberto Moreno, Alonso de Molina's *Confesionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

A contribution deserving particular attention is the edition and translation into English prepared by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble of the encyclopedia source for the study of the cultures of central Mexico, *Florentine Codex,* 12 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1950–82). Important contributions include the publication of two bilingual editions (English–Nahuatl and Spanish–Nahuatl) of the early colonial record of the Indian municipality of Tlaxcala: see James Lockhart, Frances Berdan and Arthur J. O. Anderson (trans. and eds.), *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala, 1545–1627* (Salt Lake City, 1986); and Eustaqio Celestino Solís et al. (trans. and eds.), *Actas de Cabildo de Tlaxcala, 1547–1567* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). The former selects twenty-five sessions, while the latter represents the complete minutes of 184

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

meetings of the Indian council. Both editions include historical essays. In the case of the Maya, no later edition has surpassed the work of Alfred M. Tozzer as editor, translator and commentator of the chronicle by Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), although Anthony R. Pagden's English edition and translation, *The Maya: Diego de Landa's Account of the Affairs of Yucatán* (Chicago, 1975), is worthy of note.

The achievements of archaeological research in Mesoamerica are recorded and described by Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff in *A History of American Archaeology* (San Francisco, 1974), and by Ignacio Bernal, *Historia de la arqueología en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). A volume edited by Norman Hammond includes various papers dealing with some of the research programmes: *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (Austin, Tex., 1974). Vols. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (1965, 1966, and 1971) include several excellent syntheses about the archaeology of the various areas of northern and southern Mesoamerica. The first volume of a series entitled *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians* covers research in the area during the 1970s: *Archaeology,* edited by Jeremy A. Sabloff, assisted by Patricia A. Andrews (Austin, Tex., 1981).

A few reliable surveys of the cultural evolution of Mesoamerica in its entirety have appeared during recent decades. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno revised a previously published work that throws considerable light on the subject: 'Mesoamerica before the Toltecs', in *Ancient Oaxaca,* edited by John Paddock (Stanford, Calif., 1968). The joint effort of several specialists coordinated by José Luis Lorenzo, Alberto Ruz, Ignacio Bernal and Miguel León-Portilla has resulted in an ample section devoted to the Mesoamerican past in the first three volumes of *Historia de México,* 11 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1974). Amongst the countributions made in terms of theory may be mentioned the small volume edited by William T. Sanders and Barbara J. Price to demonstrate that civilization can be understood as a result of ecological adaptation: *Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization* (New York, 1968). In the same vein, see Angel Palerm, *México prehispánico: Ensayos sobre evolución ecológica* (Mexico, D.F., 1990).

During recent decades, publications about particular areas, periods or aspects within the cultural evolution of Mesoamerica have been extremely abundant but of uneven quality. For the origins, development and diffusion of Olmec culture, see Michael D. Coe, *America's First Civilization* (New York, 1968), Ignacio Bernal, *The Olmec World* (Berkeley, 1969),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Robert J. Sharer and David C. Grove, *Regional Perspectives on the Olmec* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989) and Jacques Soustelle, *The Olmecs: The Oldest Civilization in Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1985). Michael D. Coe has published a well-documented synthesis, *The Maya* (London, 1966; rev. ed. 1980). See also the classic contributions of J. Eric S. Thompson: *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1954; 2nd ed. Norman, Okla., 1967); *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction* (Norman, Okla., 1970); *A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs* (Norman, Okla., 1962); and *Maya History and Religion* (Norman, Okla., 1970). Among more recent works, see John S. Henderson, *The World of the Ancient Maya* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); Norman Hammond, *Ancient Maya Civilization* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); T. Patrick Culbert and Don S. Rice, *Precolumbian Population History in the Maya Lowlands* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990); and William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, *Word and Image in Maya Culture: Explorations in Language, Writing and Representations* (Salt Lake City, 1990). *Ancient Oaxaca,* edited by John Paddock (Stanford, Calif., 1968), includes important contributions about the Zapotec and Mixtec cultures. Also by John Paddock, see 'Tezcatlipoca in Oaxaca', *Ethnohistory,* 32/4 (1985), 309–25. Ronald Spores's expanded study (from the 1967 original) of the Mixteca Alta, *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times* (Norman, Okla., 1984) is also useful. Other peoples are examined in Shirley Gorenstein and Helen Perlstein Pollard, *The Tarascan Civilization: A Late Prehispanic Cultural System* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983); Elio Masferrer Kan, 'Las condiciones históricas de la etnicidad entre los totonacos', *América Indígena* 46/4, (1986), 733–49; William R. Fowler, Jr., *The Cultural Evolution of Ancient Nahua Civilizations: The Pipil-Nicarao of Central America* (Norman, Okla., 1989); and Miguel León-Portilla, *The Aztec Image of Self and Society: An Introduction to Nahua Culture,* edited and with an introduction by J. Jorge Klor de Alva (Salt Lake City, 1992).

Several excellent facsimile reproductions of indigenous books or 'codices', both pre-Columbian and early colonial of native Mesoamerican origin, facilitate the study of these primary sources: *Codex Cospi, Codex Borbonicus, Codex Borgia,* with a commentary by K. A. Nowotny (Graz, 1968, 1974, 1978); *Codex Egerton, Codex Land, Codex Fejervary Mayer,* with an introduction by C. A. Burland (Graz, 1965, 1966, 1971); *Codice Xolotl,* with an introductory study by Charles E. Dibble, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980).

The cultures of Central Mexico, in particular those which succeeded in building the metropoli of Teotihuacan, Tula and Mexico-Tenochtitlan,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

have been the object of increasing attention. The proceedings of the XI Round Table of the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología include various important papers about the classic metropolis, *Teotihuacán,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1966–72). Concerning the development of urbanism in the Teotihuacan period, the mapping project headed by René Millon has resulted in several contributions. See, for instance, his 'Teotihuacan: Completion of map of giant ancient city in the Valley of Mexico', *Science,* 170 (1970), 1977–82, and 'The study of urbanism in Teotihuacan', in Norman Hammond (ed.), *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (London, 1974), 313–34. For comprehensive ethnohistorical studies on the Toltecs, see Nigel Davies, *The Toltecs: Until the Fall of Tula* (Norman, Okla., 1977) and *The Toltec Heritage* (Norman, Okla., 1980). A substantial archaeological contribution is Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico* (New York, 1983), while Janice Dewey, 'Huémac: El fiero de Cincalco', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl,* 16 (1983), 183–92, is a treatment of mythical sources on this Toltec king.

On the socio-economic and political structures prevalent in central Mesoamerica at the time of the contact with the Spainards, see Manuel M. Moreno, *La organización política y social de los Aztecas* (Mexico, D.F., 1962); Friedrich Katz, *Situación social y económica de los Aztecas durante los siglos XV y XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1966); Pedro Carrasco, 'Social organisation in Ancient Mexico', *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* vol.10 (1972), 349–75; Johanna Broda, Pedro Carrasco, et al., *Estratificación social en la Mesoamérica prehispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Pedro Carrasco and Johanna Broda (eds.), *Economía política e ideología en el México prehispánico* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Pedro Carrasco, 'La economía prehispánica de México', in Enrique Florescano (ed.), *Ensayos sobre el desarrollo económico de México y América Latina (1500–1950)* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). On the formation of the state among the Toltecs, Chichimecs and Mexica, see Brigitte Boehm de Lameiras, *Formación del estado en México prehispánico* (Zamora, Mex., 1986). Angel Palerm, in *Obras hidráulicas prehispánicas* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), stresses the role of irrigation in Mesoamerican development, making use of the ideas expressed by Karl A. Wittfogel. See also Warwick Bray, 'Land use, settlement patterns and politics in Prehispanic Middle America, a review', in Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Tringham and G.W. Dimbleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972).

Alfonso Caso, in addition to his archaeological research in the Oaxaca area and his facsimile editions with the 'lecture' of several Mixtec codices, has written many studies on the Aztecs and on the calendric systems of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

central Mesoamerica, including *Los calendarios prehispánicos* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). The culmination of many years' work on the Aztec calendar and religious foundations is Michel Graulich, *Mythes et rituels du Mexique ancien préhispanique* (Brussels, 1987). A useful synthesis of Mesoamerican calendrics is Gordon Brotherston, *A Key to the Mesoamerican Reckoning of Time: The Chronology Recorded in Native Texts,* British Museum Occasional Paper (London, 1982). Eduardo Noguera's many pioneering contributions in the field of ceramics culminated in a basic work of reference, *La cerámica arqueológica de Mesoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Ignacio Marquina's volume, *Arquitectura prehispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1960), provides the classic treatment of this subject.

The literary creations of the Nahuatl-speaking groups have been researched by Angel María Garibay, whose *Historia de la literatura nahuatl,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1953–4) remains a landmark in these studies. A selection of Garibay's writings appears in his *Sabiduría de Anáhuac,* selected and presented by Gonzalo Pérez Gómez (Toluca, Mex., 1986). A general guide to the indigenous literary productions of the Maya, Nahua and Mixtec peoples is provided by M. León-Portilla, *Precolumbian Literatures of Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1969; 2nd ed. 1986). See also Gordon Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americans through their Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). Also of interest are a complete transcription and translation into English of the so-called Huehuetlatolli, a Nahuatl–Spanish text housed in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley; Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart (eds.), *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues* (Los Angeles, 1987); James M. Taggart, *Nahuatl Myth and Social Structure* (Austin, Tex., 1983); and Gary H. Gossen (ed.), *Symbol and Meaning Beyond the Closed Community: Essays in Mesoamerican Ideas* (Albany, N.Y., 1986). A collection of texts of the native Mesoamerican tradition, translated from Nahuatl, Maya, Quiche and Mixtec, including creation myths, examples of the 'ancient word', poetry and the saga of Quetzalcoatl, has been edited by Miguel León-Portilla, J. O. Arthur Anderson, Charles E. Dibble and Munro S. Edmonson, *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality* (New York, 1980).

Religion and world view in Mesoamerica have been better approached during the last two decades through the analysis of the indigenous manuscripts and the findings of archaeology. A pioneering paper in this field is that of J. Eric S. Thompson, *Sky Bearers, Colors and Directions in Maya and Mexican Religion* (Washington, D.C., 1934). Alfonso Caso's *The Aztecs: People of the Sun* (Norman, Okla., 1958) keeps its value as an introduction

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

to the religion of the Aztecs. For its challenging thesis on the role of 'ideology' in human societies, see the comparative work of Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984). An indispensable volume of eighteen essays, also with comparative aspirations, is George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History* (New York, 1982). Several writings of the great Mexicanist, Eduard Seler, included in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* 5 vols. (Berlin, 1902–23), are also of considerable importance for the study of Mesoamerican religion and world view. *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind* (Norman, Okla., 1963), and *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya* (Boston, 1972), by Miguel León-Portilla, provide analysis of texts considered of primary importance to approach the world view of these two peoples. Additional works which are worthy of mention on different aspects of the Mexica civilisation include Jerome A. Offner, *Law and Politics in Aztec Texcoco* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexican History* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988); Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman, Okla., 1988); Alfredo López Austin's 1980 synthesis of Nahua political culture and medicine, translated into English as *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1988); Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, *Aztec Medicine, Health and Nutrition* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990); and the three essays in Johanna Broda, Davíd Carrasco and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (eds.), *The Great Temple of Tenochtitlan: Center and Periphery in the Aztec World* (Berkeley, 1988). Papers rich in new insights are those of Thomas S. Barthel, 'Algunos princípios de ordenación en el panteón azteca', *Traducciones Mesoamericanistas,* 2, 45–78 (1968), and the classificatory attempt of the various deities prepared by Henry B. Nicholson, 'Religion in pre-Hispanic Central Mexico', in *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* vol. 10 (1972), 305–446.

An excellent survey of the culture of the inhabitants of Central Mexico before the arrival of the Spaniards is available in Warwick Bray, *Everyday Life of the Aztecs* (London, 1968). For a fine general synthesis, see Nigel Davies, *The Aztecs* (London, 1973) and the same author's *The Aztec Empire: The Toltec Resurgence* (Norman, Okla., 1987). A well-written and speculative account is Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). Finally, James Lockhart's much-awaited *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mexico (Stanford, Calif., 1992) charts the Indian peoples into the colonial era in interesting ways.

2. THE CARIBBEAN AND CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Several of the major sixteenth-century European chroniclers of Spanish exploration and settlement in the New World provide primary material concerning the native customs of the Greater Antilles, northern Venezuela, the northern half of Colombia and lower Central America. The following sources are, therefore, fundamental to any ethnohistorical research concerning the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo,* available in two volumes in English translation by Francis Augustus MacNutt under the title *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera* (New York, 1912); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias,* edited in three volumes by Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico, D.F., 1951); Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *Historia general y natural de las Indias,* 5 vols. (1851–5; Madrid, 1959), and, by the same author, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (1526; Mexico, D.F., 1950), translated into English and edited by Sterling A. Stoudemire as *Natural History of the West Indies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959). *Historie del S.D. Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1571), also published by Ramón Iglesia as *Vida del Almirante Don Cristóbal Colón* (Mexico, D.F., 1947), should also be consulted, particularly for the Greater Antilles and lower Central America. This record of Columbus's voyages has been translated into English by Benjamin Keen as *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1959).

Luis Duque Gómez's two-volume work on Colombian prehistory provides a basic introduction to that country's indigenous peoples at the time of the conquest. Both volumes, *Prehistoria,* vol. 1: *Etnohistoria y arqueología* (1965) and vol. 2: *Tribus indígenas y sitios arqueológicos* (1967), have been published as vol. 1 of *Historia extensa de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1965, 1967). *Prehistoria,* vol. 2, chap. 1 contains a useful discussion of the various chroniclers whose works provide much primary data. Of these, Pedro de Aquado's *Recopilación historial* is particularly significant, for many well-known later writers rested heavily on this source. The four-volume edition by Juan Friede (Bogotá, 1956–7) is definitive. Another exceptional

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sixteenth-century observer, Pedro de Cieza de León, left an excellent description of his travels through the Cauca Valley. This material is contained in the first part of his well-known chronicle of Peru (1554) and was translated into English by Clements R. Markham as *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León, 1532–1550* (London, 1864).

Turning to contemporary scholars, much data concerning Cauca Valley peoples has been compiled by Hermann Trimborn in *Vergessene Königreiche* (Brunswick, 1948). This work, however, is seriously flawed by outmoded theories and questionable generalizations, and must be used with care. More recently Luis Duque Gómez has focused specifically on the indigenous peoples of the Quindío region in *Los Quimbayas* (Bogotá, 1970). An excellent discussion of traditional settlements and agricultural adaptations is provided by Thomas S. Schorr, 'Cauca Valley settlements, a culture ecological interpretation', in *Actas y Memorias,* 1, 37th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Buenos Aires, 1968), 449–66.

On the Cenú region of the north Colombian lowlands, two studies merit particular mention. B. LeRoy Gordon's *Human Geography and Ecology in the Sinú Country of Colombia* (Berkeley, 1957) includes a reconstruction of native cultures at the time of contact. James J. Parsons and William A. Bowen discuss evidence for intensive agricultural techniques in 'Ancient ridged fields of the San Jorge river floodplain, Colombia', *The Geographical Review,* 56 (1966), 317–43.

The traditional cultures of the Santa Marta region have been discussed in detail by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Datos históricos-culturales sobre las tribus de la antigua gobernación de Santa Marta* (Bogotá, 1951). Henning Bischof's excellent work, *Die Spanisch–Indianische Auseinandersetzung in der nördlichen Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (1501–1600)* (Bonn, 1971), builds on Reichel-Dolmatoff's earlier volume.

Much has been written on the Muisca or Chibcha. From among the numerous studies the following provide good introductions, particularly to questions of pre-Columbian ecology and socio-political organization: Robert C. Eidt, 'Aboriginal Chibcha settlement in Colombia', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 49 (1959), 374–92; Sylvia M. Broadbent, 'A prehistoric field system in Chibcha territory, Colombia', *Ñaupa Pacha,* 6 (1968), 135–47, and *Los Chibchas: Organización sociopolítica* (Bogotá, 1964); Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, 'Kinship and inheritance among the Sabana de Bogotá Chibcha at the time of Spanish conquest', *Ethnology,* 14 (1975), 173–9. On a broader note, Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff presents a general survey of pre-conquest agricultural

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

features in 'The agricultural basis of the sub-Andean chiefdoms of Colombia', in *The Evolution of Horticultural Systems in Native South America: Causes and Consequences,* edited by Johannes Wilbert (Caracas, 1961), 83–100. Regional and long-distance exchange in native Colombia is discussed by S. Henry Wassén, 'Algunos datos del comercio preColombino [*sic*] en Colombia', *Revista Colombiana de Antropología,* 4 (1955), 87–110.

Although the fullest accounts of the indigenous cultures of Panama are contained in Oviedo y Valdéz's *Historia general* and his *Sumario,* valuable data concerning eastern Panama and north-western Colombia are to be found in the letter of 1513 to King Ferdinand written by Vasco Núñez de Balboa. This missive has been published with others by Martín Fernández de Navarrete in his *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles,* vol. 3 (Madrid, 1829), 358–76. An English translation can be found in the report by Pascual de Andagoya translated as *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme* by Clements R. Markham (London, 1865), i–xix. Andagoya's narrative is itself another important source.

Using these and other records, Samuel Lothrop presents a general summary of the pre-Columbian societies of western Panama in *Coclé: An Archaeological Study of Central Panama* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), part 1, 1–48. An earlier and little known history by C. L. G. Anderson, *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro* (Boston, 1914), is also useful. More recently Carl Sauer has discussed such topics as subsistence, settlement pattern and metallurgy in *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966). Mary W. Helms has analysed procedures for succession to chiefship in 'Competition, power, and succession to office in pre-Columbian Panama', in *Frontier Adaptations in Lower Central America,* edited by Mary W. Helms and Franklin O. Loveland (Philadelphia, 1976), 25–35. In another study entitled *Ancient Panama: Chiefs in Search of Power* (Austin, Tex., 1979), Helms has offered a general anthropological interpretation of the operation of Panamanian polities at the time of conquest with particular emphasis on long-distance contacts.

The standard introduction to Costa Rican materials has been Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1905), also available in an English translation by Harry Weston Van Dyke as *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica* (New York, 1913). Considerable ethnohistoric data are also found in the *Cartas de Juan Vázquez de Coronado,* also published by Fernández Guardia (Barcelona, 1908). The first chapter of his *Reseña histórica de Talamanca* (San José, C.R., 1918) provides informa-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tion from early missionary reports regarding this isolated region. Of this genre, the memorial written by Fray Agustín de Zevallos in 1610 regarding the Talamancan natives is particularly informative. It appears in vol. 5 of *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica,* published by León Fernández (Paris, 1886), 156–61.

All this material, and more, has informed the very comprehensive ethnohistorical reconstruction of Costa Rican chiefdoms undertaken by Eugenia Ibarra Rojas in *Las sociedades cacicales de Costa Rica (siglo XVI)* (San José, C.R., 1990). See also Luis Ferrero A., 'Ethnohistory and ethnography in the Central Highlands: Atlantic watershed and Diquis', in *Between Continents/Between Seas: Precolumbian Art of Costa Rica,* by Suzanne Abel-Vidor et al. (New York, 1981), 93–103.

Turning to north-western Venezuela, Federico Brito Figueroa's *Población y economía en el pasado indígena venezolano* (Caracas, 1962) provides an excellent reconstruction and overview of late fifteenth-century indigenous demographic patterns and socio-economic characteristics. It is particularly useful for the northern mountain and coastal regions. The ethnographically complex region surrounding Lake Maracaibo has been analysed by Mario Sanoja Obediente in 'Datos etnohistóricos del Lago de Maracaibo', *Economía y Ciencias Sociales,* 2nd ser., 8 (1966), 221–51. See also Mario Sanoja Obediente and Iraida Vargas Arenas, 'La sociedad cacical del Valle de Quibor (Estado Lara, Venezuela)', in *Chiefdoms in the Americas,* edited by Robert D. Drennan and Carlos A. Uribe (Lanham, Md., 1987), 201–12, and 'Elementos para la definición arqueológica de los cacicazgos prehispánicos del noroeste de Venezuela' by María I. Toledo and Luis E. Molina, also in *Chiefdoms in the Americas,* 187–200. Erika Wagner's 'The Mucuchíes phase: An extension of the Andean cultural pattern into western Venezuela', *American Anthropologist,* 75 (1973), 195–213, reconstructs with archaeological evidence aspects of the culture pattern characteristic of the *tierra fría* region of the nearby Venezuelan Andes. This discussion is continued by Roberto Lleras Pérez and Carl Langebaek Rueda, 'Producción agrícola y desarrollo sociopolítico entre los Chibchas de la Cordillera Oriental y Serranía de Mérida', in *Chiefdoms in the Americas,* 251–70.

The most detailed primary account of the indigenous customs of the Greater Antilles is found in Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologética historia de las Indias,* published as vol. 1 of *Historiadores de Indias,* by M. Serrano y Sanz (Madrid, 1909). Additional information on the ideology and religious practices of the natives of Hispaniola can be found in the report of Friar Ramón Pané. An English translation of this account appears in Edward

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Gaylord Bourne, 'Columbus, Ramón Pane and the beginnings of American anthropology', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* N.S. 17 (1907), 310–48, and in Keen's *Life of the Admiral,* 153–69. Turning to secondary sources, a valuable contribution to demographic studies has been made by Angel Rosenblat, 'The population of Hispaniola at the time of Columbus', in *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492,* edited by William M. Denevan (Madison, Wis., 1976), 43–66. Indigenous agricultural practices in the Greater Antilles are discussed in 'Taino agriculture', by William C. Sturtevant, in J. Wilbert (ed.), *The Evolution of Horticultural Systems,* 69–82. Insights into the association of plant and animal forms with art and ritual are offered by Adolfo de Hostos in his *Anthropological Papers* (San Juan, P.R., 1941). See also Mary W. Helms, 'Art styles and interaction spheres in Central America and the Caribbean: Polished black wood in the Greater Antilles', in *Chiefdoms in the Americas,* 67–83.

On a more general level, the extensive compilation by Sven Lovén, *Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies* (Göteborg, 1935) contains much information, but must be used carefully because of a tendency for unreliability in quotes and in interpretations. Although written more than a century ago, the paper by Hy. Ling Roth, 'The aborigines of Hispaniola', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* 16 (1887), 247–86, remains an excellent summary of, and introduction to, the subject. Another basic work concerned with Cuba is Felipe Pichardo Moya's *Los Indios de Cuba en sus tiempos históricos* (Havana, 1945). Sauer's *Spanish Main* devotes considerable space to discussion of indigenous mainland relationships in the Greater Antilles. Samuel M. Wilson has interpreted and reconstructed important aspects of economic, social and political organization of the Taino chiefdoms in *Hispaniola: Caribbean Chiefdoms in the Age of Columbus* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1990).

The most authoritative observations concerning the native population of the Lesser Antilles were made by the seventeenth-century missionary, Father Raymond Breton. Although Breton's own ethnographic record is apparently lost, much information is contained in his *Dictionnaire Caraïbe–Français* (Leipzig, 1892). Breton also provided material for a report written by his superior, Armand de La Paix, entitled *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe,* which appears in *Les Caraïbes, la Guadeloupe: 1635–1656,* edited by Joseph Rennard (Paris, 1929), 23–127.

Douglas Taylor, the foremost ethnohistorian of the Island Carib, has written many articles, including 'Kinship and social structure of the Island Carib', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 2 (1946), 180–212, 'The

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

meaning of dietary and occupational restrictions among the Island Carib', *American Anthropologist,* 52 (1950), 343–9, and 'Diachronic note on the Carib contribution to Island Carib', *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 20 (1954), 28–33. See also Douglas Taylor and Walter H. Hodge, 'The ethnobotany of the Island Carib of Dominica', *Webbia,* 12 (1957), 513–644. Richard Moore has presented a reasoned, if somewhat impassioned, critique of Island Carib cannibalism in his 'Carib "cannibalism": A study in anthropological stereotyping', *Caribbean Studies,* 13 (1973), 117–35. Jacques Petitjean-Roget has published an ethnographic reconstruction of Island Carib culture based on Breton's works. The English version is titled 'The Caribs as seen through the dictionary of the Reverend Father Breton', *First International Convention for the Study of Pre-Columbian Culture in the Lesser Antilles, Part 1* (Fort-de-France, Martinique, 1961), 43–68. The same report is published in French in the same source, 16–42. On political organization, see Simone Dreyfus, 'Historical and political anthropological inter-connections: The multilinguistic indigenous polity of the "Carib" Islands and Mainland Coast from the 16th to the 18th century', *Antropológica,* 59–62 (1983–4), 39–55.

For the cultures of the coastal mountains and interior llanos of northeastern Venezuela, see Paul Kirchhoff, 'The tribes north of the Orinoco River', in *Handbook of South American Indians,* ed. Julian H. Steward, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1946–50), vol. 4, 481–93. Kirchhoff relies on a notable late seventeenth-century work, *Conversión en Piritú de Indios Cumanagotas y Palenques* (Madrid, 1892), by Fray Matías Ruiz Blanco. Another missionary, Padre José Gumilla, produced a major ethnographic report on the central and western Venezuelan *llanos, El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido* (Caracas, 1963). Utilizing Gumilla's data and information from numerous other sources, ethnohistorians Nancy and Robert Morey have described and analysed the culture patterns of the *llanos* in *Relaciones comerciales en el pasado en los llanos de Colombia y Venezuela* (Caracas, 1975) and 'Foragers and farmers: Differential consequences of Spanish contact', *Ethnohistory,* 20 (1973), 229–46.

3. THE ANDES BEFORE 1532

An early inventory of the sources for Andean ethnohistory is Phillip A. Means, *Biblioteca Andina* (1928), Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 29, 271–525. It is still a useful discussion

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of the eyewitness accounts of the European invasion. More recent compilations by Peruvian historians are Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manual de estudios Peruanistas,* 5th ed. (Lima, 1959) and Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú* (Lima, 1986).

Beginning in 1956, the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, published in Madrid by the Real Academia through its Ediciones Atlas, undertook new editions of many of the European chroniclers: for example, Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo,* (1653; Madrid, 1956). Each work has a new introduction, although they are of unequal value; the texts themselves are carefully reproduced. Two very early titles, whose existence was suspected but which had remained inaccessible, have finally surfaced: the missing second half of Juan de Betanzos's account of events at the Inka court during the last years before Pizarro was located by María Martín Rubio in a private collection in the Balearics: *Suma y narración de los Incas* (1551; Madrid, 1987); the Jesuit historian Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María reproduced the last missing part of Pedro Cieza de León's *Guerras civiles peruanas* (1552; Madrid, 1985).

In some cases the familiar texts are based on copies of the original manuscripts, presumed lost; the copyists were frequently unfamiliar with the Andean languages, so the names of places and individuals are misspelled and sometimes unrecognizable. The search for the original has led to new, much improved editions of, for example, Juan de Matienzo's *Gobierno del Perú,* published by the Institut Français d'Etudes Andines (1567; Lima, 1967). The second section of Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo,* located in Seville, has been translated and edited by Roland Hamilton as *Inca Religion and Customs* (Austin, Tex., 1990).

Texts in the Andean languages are catalogued in Paul Rivet and G. de Créqui-Montfort, *Bibliographie Aymara et Kichua,* 4 vols. (Travaux et Mémoires, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1951–56). Most of these texts are quite late. So far, many fewer have been located for Quechua and Aymara than we have in Mexico for Nahuatl. One significant exception is the oral tradition of the Yauyu people of Huarochirí, published in a bilingual edition by Hermann Trimborn, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde,* vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1939). Since this edition was almost completely destroyed during the war, Trimborn, in collaboration with Antje Kelm, brought out a re-translation, *Francisco de Avila,* an annotated bilingual edition of the Quechua text, *Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas aufgezeichnet in der Sprache der Eingeborenen,* vol. 8 (Berlin, 1967). The earliest translation into Spanish, by Toribio Mejía Xesspe,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

remains unpublished; another, undertaken by José María Argüedas, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí* (Lima, 1966), has been reprinted commercially several times omitting the Quechua original. George I. Urioste has prepared a new translation into Spanish, *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1983). A French edition by Gerald Taylor, *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí* (Paris, 1980) was followed by a Peruvian, enlarged edition by the same author: *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1987). A new translation into English has been prepared by Frank Salomon and George I. Urioste: *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991), which includes an informative introductory essay by Salomon.

We also owe to Paul Rivet the first facsimile edition of the first book known to have been written by an Andean author, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615; Paris, 1936; reprinted 1968 and 1988). A critical edition, with indexes, translations of the material in Quechua and a transcription of the entire manuscript, edited by J. V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, was published in 3 volumes in Mexico in 1980 (repr. 1987). This has since been reproduced in Spain by Historia 16 (1986). Two interpretative studies of this 'letter' have been published: *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Perú,* by Rolena Adorno (Austin, Tex., 1986) and *Icono y conquista: Guaman Poma de Ayala,* by Mercedes López-Baralt (Madrid, 1988), which stresses the importance of the 400 drawings included in the 'letter.'

María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco has pioneered the publication and interpretation of administrative and litigation records from the sixteenth century (for example, studies of weights and measures, of land tenure, the coastal ethnic lords). In recent years she has stressed the accessibility of Andean materials from coastal regions which have been published by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima: *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta,* (Lima, 1978); *Recursos naturales renovables y pesca, siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima, 1981); *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima, 1986). These are crowned by an ambitious *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (Lima, 1988) which was a best-seller in Peru.

Waldemar Espinoza Soriano has edited a series of useful regional texts which he had culled from the Archivo de Indias, Seville; for example, 'Los Huancas, aliados de la conquista: Tres informaciones inéditas sobre la participación indígena en la conquista del Perú (1558–61),' in *Anales Científicos* of the University of Huancayo, Perú, 1971–2. See also his *La destrucción del imperio de los incas* (Lima, 1973).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Early administrative records, useful for both ethnographic and historical purposes, have been published by journals in Lima which include *Revista del Museo Nacional,* the *Bulletin* of the Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, *Historia y Cultura* and *Histórica.* J. V. Murra has edited three sixteenth-century inspections of Andean ethnic groups, two published in Peru and a third in Spain. These texts have been analysed in his collection *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima, 1975); a revised edition is being prepared for publication by the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano in Mexico.

Sources for the northern Andes have been selected and published for the Colección Pendoneros of Otavalo, Ecuador (edited by Segundo Moreno): for example, Udo Oberem, *Los Quijos* (Otavalo, 1980) and Frank Salomon's earlier version in Spanish of what became *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). For the south, the former Audiencia de Charcas, see Xavier Albó's edited collection dealing with the Aymara, *Raices de América* (Madrid, 1988); Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara: Aproximación histórica* (La Paz, 1987); and several publications by Thierry Saignes, who stresses relations between highland populations and the Amazonian lowlands: *Los Andes orientales: Historia de un olvido* (Cochabamba, 1985) and *L'Inca, l'espagnol et les sauvages,* written in collaboration with F. M. Renard-Casewitz and A. C. Taylor-Descola (Paris, 1986).

Structural analyses of symbolic and religious materials from the Andes have been offered by R. T. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Incas* (Leiden, 1964). An update of this influential work is *La civilisation inca au Cuzco* (Paris, 1985) and in English translation, *Inca Civilization in Cuzco* (Austin, Tex., 1990). A recent anthology of Zuidema's ideas is *Reyes y guerreros: Ensayos de cultura andina,* compiled by Manuel Burga (Lima, 1989). J. V. Murra and N. Wachtel edited a special issue of *AESC,* 33/5–6 (1978) on the 'historical anthropology' of the Andes; Eng. trans., *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986).

Beyond the older analyses of Inka society such as Heinrich Cunow, 'Das Peruanische Verwandschaftsystem und die Geschlectsverbaende der Inka', in *Das Ausland* (Berlin, 1891), Clements Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London, 1912), Louis Baudin, *L'Empire socialiste des Incas* (Paris, 1928), John H. Rowe, 'Inca culture at the time of the Spanish conquest', in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1946) or J. V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (1955;

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Greenwich, Conn., 1980), there are studies using new sources or asking new questions. See, for example, Franklin Pease García Yrigoyen, *El dios creador andino* (Lima, 1973), Juergen Golte, *La racionalidad de la organización andina* (Lima, 1980) and Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). Waldemar Espinoza has edited a collection of many, diverse points of view in *Modos de producción en el imperio de los incas* (Lima, 1978), among them Emilio Choy's view that it was a slave system, and Virgilio Roel's argument that there was a separate Inka mode of production. An interpretation of the Inka myth of origins is Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin, Tex., 1990). See also Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols (eds.), *C. de Molina, C. de Albornoz: Fábulas y mitos de los Incas* (Madrid, 1989). A special issue of *Ethnohistory* 34/1 (1987) was devoted to the diversity in the Inka dominion.

The archaeology of the Andean area is summarized by Luis G. Lumbreras, *The People and Cultures of Ancient Peru* (Washington, D.C., 1974). See also Lumbreras, *Chavín de Huantar en el nacimiento de la civilización andina* (Lima, 1989). An earlier anthology in English is still useful: *Peruvian Archaeology* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1967), a comprehensive reader edited by John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel. It includes Rowe's important essay on Chavin art. Rowe has devoted most of his time to unravelling the position of Cusco, both in time and as an urban center. He edits *Ñawpa Pacha,* the journal of the Institute of Andean Studies at the University of California at Berkeley.

Architects have recently made major advances in the description, measurement and interpretation of Andean urbanism. Jorge Hardoy, *Ciudades Precolombinas* (Buenos Aires, 1964) has gone through several editions in various languages. Graziano Gasparini and Louise Margolies, *Arquitectura Inka* (Caracas, 1977); Eng. trans., *Inca Architecture* by Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington, Ind., 1980) is a major survey of the monuments and cities, based on new plans and photographs. Santiago Agurto has conducted a new and prolonged study of the architecture of Cusco: *La traza urbana de la ciudad inca* (Cuzco, 1980).

The best preserved of the Inka administrative centers, Huánuco Pampa, was studied intensively by a team led by Craig Morris. For a preliminary report, in collaboration with Donald E. Thompson, see *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and its Hinterland* (London, 1985). Close to 5,000 buildings, 497 of them warehouses, were mapped. John Hyslop has specialized in the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

study of Inka public works. After field surveys in the five Andean republics, Hyslop estimates that the highway covered at least 20,000 kilometers; he thinks it was the largest public works in the pre-industrial world: see his *The Inka Road System* (London, 1984). See also his *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin, Tex., 1990). Heather Lechtman and Ana María Soldi have published the first volume of a reader on Andean technology: *Runakunap Kawsayninkupaq Rurasqankunaqa* [*La tecnología en el mundo andino*] (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

A special feature of Andean historiography is the search for explanations of the rapid collapse of the Inka state after 1532. See John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (London, 1970) and Nathan Wachtel, *Vision des vaincus* (Paris, 1971), translated as *The Vision of the Vanquished* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977). See also N. Wachtel's most recent work, *Le retour des ancêtres* (Paris, 1990). In Peru, the stress has been on the assistance the Europeans had received from Andean polities rebelling against the Inka. Waldemar Espinoza, *La destrucción del imperio de los incas* (Lima, 1973) and Edmundo Guillén Guillén, *Versión inca de la conquista* (Lima, 1974) raise issues that deserve further attention. James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1972) remains the best introduction to the encounter of the two worlds.

Early colonial institutions and their effect on the Andean population were surveyed in 1946 by George Kubler, 'The Quechua in the colonial world,' in *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1946). James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru (1532–60): A Colonial Society* (Madison, Wis., 1968) and Josep Barnadas, *Charcas (1531–65)* (La Paz, 1972) are modern introductions to early European rule. Later surveys that centre on narrower regions include: Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, Wis., 1982); Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World (18th to 20th centuries)* (Madison, Wis., 1987); and Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1984).

There is relatively little to report on comparisons of the peoples of the Andes with those of Mesoamerica: preliminary efforts in this direction include George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec States: 1400–1800: Anthropology and History* (New York, 1982) and Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984).

The economic processes affecting the Andean population are analyzed

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

by C. Sempat Assadourian, 'La producción de la mercancía dinero en la formación del mercado interno colonial', in Enrique Florescano, (ed.), *Ensayos sobre el desarrollo económico de México y América Latina (1500–1975)* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). Assadourian has also contributed an essay to *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos,* edited by Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson and Enrique Tandeter (La Paz, 1987). The colonial demography of Andean populations has been studied by Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz in *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978).

Notable primary sources on changes in the Andes are the records of the seventeenth-century campaigns to 'extirpate idolatry', analyzed by Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les réligions autochtones dans le Peróu colonial* (Lima-Paris, 1971), which has been translated into Spanish (Lima, 1977). A remarkable set of inquisitorial records dealing with events in Cajatambo, Peru, appeared in *Cultura andina y represión – procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII,* edited and commented on by Duviols (Cuzco, 1986).

Incorporating the Andean millennia into the national histories of Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru was a task that did not seem so alien in the 1920s to scholars like Domingo Angulo, Romeo Cúneo-Vidal, Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño or Luis E. Valcárcel. In later decades the continuities before and after 1532 became less obvious. More recently, the idea of an Andean historiography which would encompass both pre-Columbian civilizations and the post-European centuries has been surfacing in the work of Jorge Basadre, Ramiro Condarco and Silvia Rivera. The Andean dimension of national history is the subject of Franklin Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1978).

4. SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The quantity and the quality of early material on the southern cone of South America varies from area to area according to the period. First observers rarely confined their writings to a single ethnic group, but chroniclers, military poets and priests were attracted at once by Mapuche resistance to the conquest. However, similarly worthwhile accounts about other places on either side of the Andes are scarce, and our knowledge of some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents is based entirely on references to them in eighteenth-century chronicles.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

There is useful information on the northern section of the southern Andes in the region's earliest chronicle, *Crónica y relación copiosa y verdadera de los reinos de Chile,* completed in 1558 by Gerónimo de Bibar. Bibar not only accompanied Pedro de Valdivia on his conquest of Chile but also ventured from the northern deserts to the southern archipelago, besides further travels east of the Andes. His account, which has chapters on the geography and ethnography of the provinces he visited, has been widely used by ethnohistorians since its rediscovery and publication in Santiago in 1966. Other interesting works on the northern section include the *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú* (1571) by Pedro Pizarro, an encomendero of Tarapacá; and the collection of chronicles which document Diego de Almagro's 1535 expedition to Chile, including Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias,* an anonymous *Relación* attributed to the 'Almagrist' Cristóbal de Molina, and Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del Reino de Chile* (1595). Moreover, the three volumes of Father Barriga's *Documentos para la historia de Arequipa, 1534–1580* are an abundantly rich source of information. Three interesting historical studies concerning the prehispanic indigenous population and the effects of the Conquest in this sub-region are: Sergio Villalobos, *La economía de un desierto Tarapacá durante la Colonia* (Santiago, Chile, 1979), Efraín Trelles Aréstegui, *Lucas Martínez Vegazo: Funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial* (Lima, 1982) and J. J. M. M. van Kessel, *Holocausto al progreso: Los Aymarás de Tarapacá* (Amsterdam, 1980).

Brief but useful accounts of north-west Argentina, compiled by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú,* 3 vols. (1881–97; Madrid, 1965) are those of Diego Pacheco (1569), Gerónimo Luis de Cabrera (1573) and Pedro Sotelo Narváez (1583), as well as the letters of Juan de Matienzo (1566), Juan Lozano Machuca (1581), and Father Alonso de Barzana (1594). Both Friar Reginaldo de Lizárraga's *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile* (1603–9; Madrid, 1968), and Antonio Vázquez de Espinoza's *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (1629; Washington, D.C., 1948) reflect the social changes which were taking place as a result of the conquest. Carlos J. Diaz Rementería, 'Fundación de pueblos de indios en la gobernación de Tucumán, siglos XVII–XVIII', *Revista de Historia del Derecho,* 8 (1980), 81–121, discusses the fact that Indian towns were not deemed as important in this region as in most of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Cayetano Bruno examines conversion efforts in *La evangelización del aborigen americano, con especial referencia a la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1988). See also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Miguel Alberto Bartolomé, 'La desindianización de la Argentina', *Boletín de Antropología Americana,* 11 (Mexico, D.F., 1985), 39–50.

Documentary collections such as those edited by Roberto Levillier, *La Audiencia de Charcas: Correspondencia de presidentes y oidores (1561–79)* (Madrid, 1918), *Gobernación del Tucumán: Probanzas de méritos y servicios de los conquistadores* (Madrid, 1919), and *Gobernantes del Perú: Cartas y papeles, siglo XVI: Documentos del Archivo de Indias,* 14 vols. (Madrid, 1921–6); Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata,* 5 vols. (2nd ed., Buenos Aires, 1910); and, especially, José Toribio Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile desde el viaje de Magallanes hasta la batalla de Maipú, 1518–1818,* 30 vols. (Santiago, 1888–1902) – to cite but three historians in this field – are indispensable for studies in the historical reconstruction of the peoples of the southern cone.

Although published documentary evidence is limited, there are vast resources in European and New World archives, which must be given the specialist attention which they deserve. At the same time, there is no doubt that ethnohistorical research in the area must go hand in hand with the contributions of archaeology and social anthropology. As regards the study of the central southern Andes, in particular, the *Handbook of South American Indians,* edited by Julian H. Steward, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1946–50), has been surpassed to a large extent by research which has been done in the last two decades. For new information on the prehispanic peoples of present-day Chile, see Jorge Hidalgo, Virgilio Schiappacasse, Hans Niemeyer, Carlos Aldunate and Ivan Solimano (eds.), *Culturas de Chile prehistorica desde sus orígenes hasta los albores de la conquista* (Santiago, Chile, 1989).

There is greater wealth of documentary material on Mapuche history than there is for other societies, but the Mapuche material is itself a source of information about adjacent groups – notably, the letters of Pedro de Valdivia (1545–52); Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem *La Araucana* (1569); chronicles by Bibar (1558); Góngora Marmolejo (1575) and Mariño de Lovera (1595), in addition to Miguel de Olavarría's *Informe* (1594). We have seventeenth-century grammars and vocabularies of the Huarpe and Mapuche languages written by Father Luis de Valdivia, *Arte, vocabulario y confesionario de la lengua de Chile* (Lima, 1606; Leipzig, 1887), and Diego de Rosales, *Historia general del reino de Chile,* 3 vols. (1674; Valparaiso, 1877). As regards Spanish policy towards the Indians, Alonso González de Nájera, *Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile* (1614; Santiago, Chile,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1889) and Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, *Cautiverio feliz . . . y razón de las guerras dilatadas de Chile* (1673; Santiago, Chile, 1863) – soldiers who had direct experience of frontier life and of the Araucanian War – reflect opposite attitudes. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, who had been the Mapuche's captive as a youth in 1629, abandoned an early ethnocentric attitude towards their way of life and adopted a position of understanding and sympathy.

The Araucanian War continued to motivate lengthy annals of events in Chile in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including among others those by Pietas (1729), Sors (1765), Olivares (1767), Febrés (1767), Havestadt (1777), Bueno (1777), Usauro Martínez de Bernabé (1782), Molina (1787), Gómez de Vidaurre (1789), González de Agüeros (1791), Carvallo y Goyeneche (1796), Martínez (1806) and Pérez García (1810). Nineteenth-century travellers from Europe and North America – Azara (1809), Stevenson (1825), Poepping (1826–9), Darwin (1832), Dessalines D'Orbigny (1835), Domeyko (1845), Smith (1853), Treutler (1861), etc. – extend the list, to which can be added Chilean authors writing before and after the pacification of Araucania. For a commentary on the ethnographic value of the writings of these authors, see Horacio Zapater, *Los aborígenes chilenos a través de cronistas y viajeros* (Santiago, Chile, 1973). Among revisionist interpretations of the Araucanian War the following are outstanding: Sergio Villalobos, Carlos Aldunate, Horacio Zapater, Luz María Méndez and Carlos Bascuñán, *Relaciones fronterizas en la Araucanía* (Santiago, Chile, 1982) and Sergio Villalobos and Jorge Pinto (eds.), *Araucanía: Temas de historia fronteriza* (Temuco, Chile, 1986). On the Mapuches later in the colonial period, see Leonardo León, *Maloqueros y conchavadores en Araucanía y las pampas, 1700–1800* (Temuco, Chile, 1991) and José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo Mapuche: Siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). Sergio Villalobos, *Los Pehuenches en la vida fronteriza* (Santiago, Chile, 1989) is a history of an ethnic group closely linked to the Mapuches on the 'frontier'. Ethical aspects of the conquest are dealt with in Horacio Zapater, *La búsqueda de la paz en la guerra de Arauco: Padre Luis de Valdivia* (Santiago, Chile, 1992).

The basin of the Río de la Plata lacks the documentation which is typical of Spanish exploration in other parts of the Americas in the sixteenth century. First-hand observations on the regional population are available, nevertheless, both in Pedro Hernández, *'Los Comentarios' de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* (1545; Madrid, 1852) and in the chronicle of a journey to the La Plata and Paraguay rivers by the German soldier Ulrich Schmidt, pub-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

lished in German in Frankfurt in 1567. In the seventeenth century, the *Cartas anuas de la Provincia del Paraguay, Chile y Tucumán* of the Society of Jesus are a valuable source of ethnographic information, and were used as such by Father Nicolás del Techo in his *Historia provincial paraquariae* (1673). By far the most important contribution to the ethnography of the area, however, are works written by Jesuits who, through their missionary activities in the eighteenth century, had become familiar with a number of autochthonous societies. Outstanding are the works of Father Pedro Lozano, *Descripción corográfica del Gran Chaco Gualamba* (1736; Tucumán, 1941), *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1754–5), and *Historia de la conquista del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán,* 5 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1873–5). Further essential sources for the study of the peoples of the Chaco are François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1757) and Martín Dobritzhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784). To the south, Father Sánchez Labrador, *El Paraguay Católico* (1770) and Father Thomas Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America* (Hereford, Eng., 1774) return us to the Mapuche, this time in connection with their eastward expansion. The early nineteenth century is characterized by travellers' accounts: José Guevara, *Historia del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán,* and Felix de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale* (1809), which, according to Alfred Métraux, is marked by an attitude of hostility towards the Indians. For the twentieth century, the works of Métraux in *Handbook of South American Indians* – his 'Ethnography of the Chaco' (vol. 1, 1946), in particular – and Branislava Susnik, *El Indio colonial del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1971), the third volume of which draws both on published and on unpublished documents to show the operation of economic and political relations among Chaco societies in the sixteenth century, deserve mention.

Only at a late stage did the societies of the Pampa, Patagonia and the southern archipelago receive ethnographic attention, since the sixteenth-century references to them had arisen from attempts to conquer and colonize the Río de la Plata, from maritime expeditions to the Strait of Magellan and from expeditions across the Andes (expeditions which initially set out to explore, and thereafter went in search of the legendary City of the Caesars). Juan Schobinger, in 'Conquistadores, misioneros y exploradores en el Neuquén: Antecedentes para el conocimiento etnográfico del noroeste Patagónico', *Runa* (Buenos Aires), 9/1–2 (1958–9), 107–23, reviews the available ethnographic material on north-west Patagonia between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries; John M. Cooper, 'The Patagonian and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Pampean hunters', in *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 1 (1946), 127–68, gives a general bibliography for the whole of the Pampa and Patagonia; but the ethnohistorical account of these areas in this chapter has been guided mainly by Rodolfo M. Casamiquela's ethnological reinterpretation of the sources, *Un nuevo panorama etnológico del área Pampeana y Patagónica adyacente: Pruebas etnohistóricas de la filiación Tehuelche septentrional de los Querandíes* (Santiago, Chile, 1969). A clever piece of research into the influence of a colonial picture of 'Patagonian giants' on some early nineteenth-century sketches in North America is William C. Sturtevant's 'Patagonian giants and the Baroness Hyde de Neuville's Iroquois drawings', *Ethnohistory,* 27/4 (1980), 331–48. For historical information on the Aonikenk or Ona and Tehuelches, see the works of Mateo Martinic, *Historia del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Santjago, Chile, 1977), *Patagonia de ayer y de hoy* (Punta Arenas, 1980) and *La Tierra de los Fuegos* (Provenir, 1982).

The southern fishing societies are mentioned by countless sailors who made the passage up the Strait of Magellan and into the archipelago. See also John M. Cooper's reviews of the Ona and Yagan sources in *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 1 (1946). The Alacaluf are the subject of Joseph Emperaire, *Los nómades del mar* (Santiago, Chile, 1963), but, overall, the greatest contribution to the historical and anthropological study of the peoples of the southern archipelago is to be found in Martín Gusinde, *Hombres primitivos en la Tierra del Fuego: De investigador a compañero de tribu,* translated from the German by Diego Bemúdez Camacho (Seville, 1951). For the complete version of his work, see *Die Feuerland Indianer,* 4 vols. (Modling, 1931–74); Sp. trans., *Los Indios de Tierra del Fuego* (Buenos Aires, 1982–91): the volumes study the Selk'nam or Onas, the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego; the Yamana or Yaganes; physical anthropology; and the Halakwulup or Alacalufes.

5. BRAZIL IN 1500

The first Portuguese to write on Brazil was Pero Vaz de Caminha in his famous letter to King Manoel, 1 May 1500 (translated in *The Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India,* Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., vol. 81, London, 1937, 3–33). Later in the sixteenth century we have the valuable chronicles of Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado descriptivo do Brasil em 1587* (São Paulo, 1938), and Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo's *Tratado da terra do Brasil* and *Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz* (1576), translated by John B.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Stetson, Jr., *The Histories of Brazil,* 2 vols. (New York, 1922). Essential material is in letters from Nóbrega, Anchieta and other Jesuits, best consulted in Serafim Leite's excellent collection *Cartas dos primeiros Jesuitas do Brasil,* 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1954–8), or, with a fourth volume, *Monumenta Brasiliae* (*Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* 79–81, 87; Rome, 1956–60); for the entire period, the same author's monumental ten-volume *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Lisbon–Rio de Janeiro, 1938–50) is of fundamental importance, and he published a good summary of this in *Suma histórica da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1965); there are also anthologies of José de Anchieta's writings, of which the best is edited by António de Alcântara Machado (Rio de Janeiro, 1933). A good Jesuit chronicler is Fernão Cardim, whose *Do clima e terra do Brasil* and *Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brasil* (c. 1584) survived only in Richard Hakluyt's English translation of the captured originals, in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). For a modern edition, see *Tratados do terra a gente do Brasil,* ed. Capistrano de Abreu (Rio de Janeiro, 1925). An anonymous Jesuit wrote a good account of Portuguese campaigns to extend their frontier north from Pernambuco, *Sumário das armadas que so fizeram . . . na conquista do Rio Paraíba* (c. 1587), in *RIHGB,* 36/1 (1873). The two most important early histories of Brazil are by the Franciscan Vicente do Salvador's *Historia do Brasil* (1627, various modern editions since that in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro,* 13, 1885–6), which is particularly good for the north and Pará; and by the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica das cousas do Brasil* and *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do Estado do Brasil* (Lisbon, 1663), which is marred by being somewhat too hagiographic. Mem de Sá's letters and record of service are also important: in *ABNRJ,* 27 (1905).

It has often been said that other Europeans were more perceptive observers of Brazilian Indians than were the Portuguese. Outstanding are two French missionaries and a German mercenary, all of whom were with the Tupinamba or Tamoio of Rio de Janeiro in mid-sixteenth century: the Franciscan André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1558) and *La Cosmographie universelle* (1575), both in Suzanne Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle: Le Brésil et les brésiliens* (Paris, 1953); Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la Terre du Brésil* (La Rochelle, 1578, and modern editions and translations); Hans Staden, *Wahrhaftige Historie und Beschriebung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen, menschfresser Leuten, in der newen Welt America gelegen . . .* (Marburg, 1557, and modern editions and translations, including two into

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

English: Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., vol. 51, 1874, and London, 1928). Another German provided interesting information on tribes of southern Brazil: Ulrich Schmidt, *Wahrhaftige Historie einer wunderbaren Schiffart* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1567 and recent editions of which the best is Graz, 1962, and translation in Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., vol. 81, 1889). The English corsair, Anthonie Knivet, gives much information on tribes and slaving at the end of the century: his *Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes . . .* are in *Purchas His Pilgrimes,* part 2, book 6, chap. 7. The Irish nobleman's son Bernard O'Brien tells about newly contacted tribes of the lower Amazon in the early seventeenth century, in his report to the King of Spain, trans T. G. Mathews, in *Caribbean Studies,* 10/1 (1970), 89–106. The Spanish Dominican friar, Gaspar de Carvajal, provides essential information on the tribes encountered on the Amazon during Francisco de Orellana's first descent in 1542: *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas* (many modern editions, and the best English translation in the New York, 1934 edition); Spaniards such as Toribio de Ortigüera and Francisco Vázquez, Custódio Hernández, López Vaz and many others gave some information in their accounts of the Ursúa-Aguirre descent of 1561; and Cristóbal de Acuña complements this earlier information in his *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de las Amazonas* (1641, many modern editions and English translation in Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., vol. 24, 1859). Two other admirable French observers described the Indians of Maranhão during the brief French colony there (1612–15): Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des Pères Capucin en l'Isle de Maragnan . . .* (Paris, 1614); and Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil* (1614; Paris, 1864).

There are relatively few modern interpretations of Indians on the eve of the conquest. The most important are the books by Alfred Métraux, *La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani* (Paris, 1928) and *La religion des Tupinambá et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani* (Paris, 1928), together with his papers on the Tupi and other tribes in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* and his contributions to the *Handbook of South American Indians,* vols. 1 and 3, and, more particularly, Florestan Fernandes's studies of Tupinambá society and the role of warfare in it, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (1948; São Paulo, 1963) and *A função social de guerra na sociedade Tupinambá* (São Paulo, 1952). For the archaeology of the Amazon, the outstanding scholars are Betty J. Meggers, Clifford Evans, Anna Curtenius Roosevelt and Curt Nimuendajú. More recently, some challenging theories have been put forward in Donald W. Lathrap, *The Upper Amazon* (London, 1970). On the Indian population of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Brazil around 1500, see William M. Denevan, 'The aboriginal population of Amazonia', in W. M. Denevan (ed.), *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison, Wis., 1977; 2nd ed. 1992), and John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London, 1978), appendix.

The history of Indians during the period immediately after the conquest appears to some extent in the classic works of Robert Southey (1810–19), Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, João Capistrano de Abreu, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Caio Prado Júnior and João Fernando de Almeida Prado. More particularly, see Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery* (Baltimore, Md., 1942); Georg Thomas, *Die Portugiesische Indianerpolitik in Brasilien, 1500–1640* (Berlin, 1968), Port. trans., *Política indigenista dos portugueses no Brasil, 1500–1640* (São Paulo, 1984); and a fine analysis of Indian slavery in the sixteenth century in Urs Höner, *Die Versklavung der brasilianischen Indianer: Der Arbeitsmarkt in Portugiesisch–Amerika im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Braunsgau, 1980). Hemming, *Red Gold,* seeks to present a coherent and comprehensive history of the treatment of the Brazilian Indians from 1500 to 1760. The *História dos indios no Brasil,* edited by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo, 1992), is an important recent work of collaborative scholarship. The chapters most relevant to the Indians on the eve of the conquest are by Carlos Fausto on the Tupinambá, John Manuel Monteiro on the Guarani of southern Brazil, Maria Hilda Paraiso on the Botocudo and Beatriz Dantas and others on tribes of the northeast.

The social anthropology of the tribes of Brazil before the European conquest should be deduced by reference to studies of modern tribes. There is an immense literature of such studies, with monographs on the ethnography of all the important surviving tribes. The *Handbook of South American Indians,* ed. Julian Steward, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1946–50) is still useful though published in the 1940s. The most relevant volumes are vol. 1, on 'Marginal tribes', vol. 3, on tropical forest tribes and vol. 6, on such topics as linguistics and social geography. There are important essays or listings of tribes in *Indians of Brazil in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Janice H. Hopper (Washington, D.C., 1967). Artur Ramos, *Introdução à antropologia brasileira: As culturas indígenas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971) and Julio César Melatti, *Indios do Brasil* (Brasília, 1970), provide good introductions to Brazil's tribes, and the problem of acculturation and assimilation is tackled by Egon Schaden, *Aculturação indígena* (São Paulo, 1969) and Darcy Ribeiro, *Os índios e a civilização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970). Herbert Baldus's *Bibliografia crítica da etnologia brasileira,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1954; Hanover, Ger., 1968) is useful although now out of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

date. There is some early historical information in the excellent series, *Povos indígenas no Brasil,* being published by the Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação in São Paulo, although only a few regional volumes have so far appeared.

Among the many anthropological monographs on modern tribes shedding light on pre-conquest conditions, the works of Curt (Unkel) Nimuendajú are outstanding because of his long practical experience of living with tribes and his knowledge of their history and archaeology: for example, *The Apinayé,* translated by Robert H. Lowie (Washington, D.C., 1939); *The Serente,* translated by Lowie (Los Angeles, 1942); *The Eastern Timbira,* translated by Lowie (Berkeley, 1946); *The Tukuna,* translated by William D. Hohenthal (Berkeley, 1952) and his contributions to vol. 3 of *Handbook of South American Indians.* A few other scholars might be mentioned: on the Bororo, Cesar Albisetti and Angelo Jayme Venturelli, *Enciclopédia Bororo,* 2 vols. (Campo Grande, 1962); on the tribes of the Tocantins, Roberto da Mata and Roque de Barros Laraia, *Indios e castanheiros: A empresa extrativa e os índios no Médio Tocantins* (São Paulo, 1967); on the Terêna and Tukúna, Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, *O Processo de assimilização dos Terêna* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960) and *O índio e o mundo dos brancos: A situação dos Tukúna do Alto Solimões* (São Paulo, 1964); various articles in the *Boletim do Museo Paraense Emílio Goeldi* (Belém), in which William H. Crocker writes about the Canela, Protásio Frickel about the Tirió and Expedito Arnaud and Eduardo Galvão about the tribes of the Rio Negro; on the Chavante, David Maybury-Lewis, *Akwê-Shavante Society* (Oxford, 1967), and G. Giaccaria and A. Heide, *Auwê uptabi – uomine veri – vita Xavante* (Turin, 1971; Port. trans., São Paulo, 1972); on the Kaingang, Jules Henry, *Jungle People: A Kaingang Tribe of the Highlands of Brazil* (New York, 1941); on the Indians of the north-east, Estevão Pinto, *Os indígenas do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1935); on the Urubu, Francis Huxley, *Affable Savages: An Anthropologist among the Urubu Indians of Brazil* (New York, 1957); on the Mundurucú, Robert Francis Murphy, *Headhunter's Heritage: Social and Economic Change among the Mundurucú Indians* (Berkeley, 1960); on the Tapirapé, Charles Wagley, *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirapé Indians of Central Brazil* (New York, 1978). See also Thomas Gregor, *Mehinaku* (Chicago, 1977); Betty Mindlin, *Nós paiter: Os Suruí de Rondônia* (Petrópolis, 1985); Ellen Basso, *The Kalapalo Indians of Central Brazil* (New York, 1973). European travellers in nineteenth-century Amazonia, notably the Germans J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, Karl von den Steinen and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, also give clues about the region's pre-contact tribal societies.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

II

COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA

1. THE SPANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA

Charles Julian Bishko, 'The Iberian background of Latin American history: Recent progress and continuing problems', *HAHR*, 36 (1956), 50–80, is an admirable introduction to the essential bibliographical tools and identifies the areas in which more research is needed, as well as those in which valuable work has been done. The *Indice histórico español* (Barcelona, 1953–), which may be regarded as a sequel to Benito Sánchez Alonso's indispensable *Fuentes de la historia española e hispanoamericana*, 3 vols., 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1952), with the additional advantage of including brief comments on the books and articles which it lists, has unfortunately shown signs of flagging in recent years.

There is now a good selection of general books on the Iberian peninsula in the later Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, although Spain is much better served in this respect than Portugal. The classic work of Roger B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918–34, reprinted 1962) is still useful, particularly for political and institutional history, but has at many points been superseded by more recent work. It is weakest in the areas of economic and social history, where it should be supplemented by Jaime Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), and vols. 2 and 3 of *Historia social y económica de España y América* (Barcelona, 1957), a collaborative enterprise edited by Vicens Vives. A more recent work is V. Vázquez de Prada, *Historia económica y social de España, vol. 3 (Los siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid, 1978). Medieval Spain as a frontier society is surveyed by A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1977), and later medieval Spain is examined in much greater detail by J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Kingdoms, 1250–1516, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976–8). A stimulating work which traces medieval peninsular influences to New Spain is Luis Weckman, *La herencia medieval de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516–1659* (London, 1971); J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London, 1963); and the recently revised studies by John Lynch, *Spain, 1516–1598* (Oxford, 1991) and *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598–1700* (Oxford, 1992). J. H. Elliott (ed.), *The Hispanic World* (London, 1991), published in the United States as *The Spanish World* (New York, 1991) offers a useful introduction to Spanish history and civilisation.

There exist a number of good surveys of the colonial period in Spanish America which begin with the conquest and early settlement and which offer helpful bibliographical guidance: C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947); J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London, 1966); Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York, 1966); Richard Konetzke, *Süd- und Mittelamarika, 1. Die Indianerkulturen Altamerikas und die spanisch–portugiesische Kolonialherrschaft* (Fischer Weltgeschichte, vol. 22, Frankfurt, 1965); Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia general de América*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1975); Guillermo Céspedes, *Latin America: The Early Years* (New York, 1974). Valuable more recent syntheses in English include James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz (eds.), *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); and Lyle N. McAlister; *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1984). In Spanish, see particularly Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Historia de España;* Vol. VI: *América Hispánica (1492–1898)* (Barcelona, 1983).

To these general works should be added more specialized studies of particular aspects of the relationship between Spain and America. In the area of law and institutions, J. M. Ots Capdequí, *El estado español en las Indias*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1957), and Silvio Zavala, *Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América* (Madrid, 1935), remain very useful investigations of the juridical foundations of Spanish rule. The same theme is explored with great richness of detail by Mario Góngora, *El estado en el derecho indiano* (Santiago, Chile, 1951). Góngora's *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975) brings together a number of his essays on different aspects of Spain in the Indies and reveals how much the understanding of Spanish society and institutions can add to the understanding of the historical development of Spanish America.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Numerous essays on administrative and institutional themes can also be found in Alfonso García Gallo et al., *Estructuras, gobierno, y agentes de administración en la América Española: siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII: Trabajos del VI Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano* (Valladolid, 1984). For many years, Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934) was the starting point for all discussion of the economic relationship between Spain and America, and, in spite of criticisms which reflect changing trends in the study of economic history, it remains a work of fundamental importance. Its theme, however, has been amplified and in many respects transformed by the massive study of Pierre and Huguette Chaunu on Seville's Atlantic trade, *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504–1650*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1955–9). Different aspects of the relationship between Spain and the Indies are briefly examined and summarized in J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970; reprinted in 1992 with a new foreword and an updated bibliography), which pays particular attention to the cultural interplay between the two. Some of the themes discussed in this book, along with many others, were explored at an international conference held at the University of California in Los Angeles in 1975. The conference papers, which include some important pioneering essays, were published under the title of *First Images of America*, edited by F. Chiappelli, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1976).

The literature on the discovery and conquest of America is enormous. One possible way of approaching it is through two volumes in the Nouvelle Clio series by Pierre Chaunu, *L'expansion européenne du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, and *Conquête et exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris, 1969). These not only contain long bibliographies, but also discuss some of the problems which have dominated recent historical debate. The Iberian maritime empires are set into the general context of European overseas expansion in G. V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed* (London and Berkeley, 1980). See also the works of J. H. Parry, notably *The Discovery of South America* (London, 1979).

A great deal of time and energy was invested, especially in the nineteenth century, in the publication of documentary collections of material on the discovery, conquest and colonization of America. A great corpus of documentation is therefore available in print, although the editing of it often leaves much to be desired. Major collections include *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceania*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1863–

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

84), and its sequel, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar,* 25 vols. (Madrid, 1885–1932). For both of these series, Ernst Schäfer, *Indice de la colección de documentos inéditos de Indias . . .* (Madrid, 1946), is an indispensable guide. Another great Spanish series, the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* 112 vols. (Madrid, 1842–95), also contains important American material, which is best located through Julián Paz, *Catálogo de la colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1930–1). Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953–62), is an extremely valuable selection of documents relating to the theme of government and society in the Spanish colonial world. Most recently, John H. Parry and Robert G. Keith have laboriously prepared an accessible collection for English readers. *New Iberian World: A Documentary History of the Discovery and Settlement of Latin America to the Early Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1984), consists of five volumes (2,600 pages) of documents and excerpts from printed sources. Contextual introductions precede both sections and selections.

The discovery, conquest and colonization of the New World can also be approached through printed contemporary accounts. An important new bibliographical guide to this material is now being prepared at the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, which contains extensive holdings of early works on the Americas: *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776,* ed. John Alden. Vol. 1, covering the period 1493–1600, was published in 1980, and vol. 2, covering 1600–1650, in 1982. Many of the early histories and descriptions of the Americas are discussed in Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía Indiana* (Madrid, 1964), while Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens, 1603–1726* (Oxford, 1975) is a bibliographical study which lists and describes English translations of Spanish and Portuguese books on the New World.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a great deal of scholarly effort was devoted to narrative and descriptive accounts of the discovery and conquest of America and to biographical studies of individual explorers and *conquistadores.* In the second half of the twentieth century interest has tended to shift towards such questions as the social background of the *conquistadores* as a collective group, and the organization and financing of voyages of discovery and colonization. But the old tradition

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

was maintained in particular by Samuel Eliot Morison, both in his classic biography of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1942), and his *The European Discovery of America*, of which the volume dealing with the southern voyages (New York and Oxford, 1974) is concerned with the Iberian New World. The deluge of new Columbian studies prepared to greet the Quincentennial will take some time to digest, but worthy of early mention are certainly the transcription and translation of Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr., *The* Diario *of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493: Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Norman, Okla., 1991); B. W. Ife (ed. and trans.), *Christopher Columbus: Journal of the First Voyage, 1492* (Warminster, 1991); and David Henige, *In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage* (Tucson, Ariz., 1991). A lively new biography is *Columbus*, by Felipe Fernández-Armesto (Oxford, 1991). Delno C. West and August Kling's *The* Libro de las profecías *of Christopher Columbus: An En Face Edition* (Gainesville, Fla., 1991), concentrates on an interesting tome from Columbus's library, while Juan Manzano Manzano's *Los Pinzones y el descubrimiento de América* (Madrid, 1989), concentrates on the role of the brothers from Palos who sailed on Columbus's first voyage. J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London, 1963) is a comprehensive survey of the history of European overseas discovery and colonization, and the collection of essays by Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1970) contains important information on the transfer of colonial techniques from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and on the role of the Genoese in the early stages of colonization. Further useful information on the role of the entrepreneur in colonial enterprises can be found in Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Les Espinosa: Une famille d'hommes d'affaires en Espagne et aux Indes à l'époque de la colonisation* (Paris, 1968). In a similar vein, see the study of an important early *encomendero* of the Quito region by Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, 'De hidalgo castellano a empresario colonial: Rodrigo Salazar, encomendero y obrajero de Quito, 1510–1584,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 42 (1985), 43–126.

Wilcomb E. Washburn, 'The meaning of "Discovery" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', *HAHR*, 68/1 (1962), 1–21, is a suggestive exploration of what discovery meant to contemporary Europeans. A somewhat similar inquiry was undertaken by Edmundo O'Gorman in his controversial work, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington, Ind., 1961), which, as its title suggests, replaces the concept of 'discovery' with that of 'invention'. Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America* (New York, 1984),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

creates yet more controversy with a bold semiotic interpretation of the conquest, focusing primarily on Mesoamerica. John C. Super, *Food, Conquest and Colonization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988) is an offbeat, pioneering work which concentrates on food- and agriculture-related themes.

The best introduction to the 'island' period of discovery is Carl O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966). Ursula Lamb, *Frey Nicolás de Ovando, gobernador de las Indias, 1501–1509* (Madrid, 1956), is an important study of trial and error in the first Spanish attempts at settlement in the New World. Manuel Ballesteros's reedition of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1986) is welcome and includes a biographical introduction on this important author. Also of interest is Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985). The later story of the Caribbean is admirably told by Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder, 1530–1630* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1978); and, as always, much fascinating information can be gleaned from Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique,* cited above.

For the Spanish movement into mainland America, Mario Góngora, *Los grupos de conquistadores en Tierra Firme, 1509–1530* (Santiago, Chile, 1962) is an important examination of the background and composition of bands of *conquistadores*. Juan Friede, *Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela* (Caracas and Madrid, 1961) looks at the role of commercial considerations in the process of conquest and colonization, as also does Enrique Otte, *Las perlas del Caribe: Nueva Cádiz de Cubagua* (Caracas, 1977). Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley, 1973), traces similar themes far into the colonial period. The first English edition of José de Oviedo y Baños, *The Conquest and Settlement of Venezuela,* translated and edited by Jeanette Johnson Varner (Berkeley, 1987) has been widely acclaimed for the early period. José Ignacio Avellaneda's 'The men of Nikolaus Federmann: Conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada', *TA,* 43/4 (1987), 385–94, is a prosopographic study of the 106 men who co-founded Bogotá before becoming *encomenderos* and local officials in early New Granada. Juan Rodríguez Freyle, *Conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada: El Carnero,* edited by Jaime Delgado (Madrid, 1986), is a curious, almost picaresque, account from the seventeenth century.

Richard Konetzke, *Descubridores y conquistadores de América* (Madrid,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1968), leads up to the conquest of Mexico by way of the Caribbean and the first probing of the mainland. For the conquest of Mexico itself the letters of Cortés, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Conquest of New Spain,* provide a superb record of events from the Spanish point of view, but need to be read with caution. Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y documentos,* ed. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Mexico, D.F., 1963), is a convenient compilation of Cortés's letters and papers, *Letters from Mexico,* trans. and ed. by A. R. Pagden (Oxford, 1972; repr., New Haven, Conn., 1986), a modern unabridged English translation, with the advantage of notes and commentary, *Cartas de relación,* ed. Angel Delgado Gómez (Madrid, 1993), an indispensable critical edition. Weighing in at 1,501 pages is a detailed biography of Cortés by José Luis Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), which promises four volumes of accompanying documents. For a new regional account of conquest and settlement see J. Benedict Warren, *The Conquest of Michoacán: The Spanish Domination of the Tarascan Kingdom in Western Mexico, 1521–1530* (Norman, Okla., 1985). In recent years there has been a growing interest in the conquest from the standpoint of the conquered, stimulated by Miguel León-Portilla's anthology of texts compiled from indigenous sources, *Visión de los vencidos* (Mexico, D.F., 1959; translated as *The Broken Spears,* London, 1962). As yet, there is no comprehensive study of the conquest of Mexico from this standpoint comparable to Nathan Wachtel's *La Vision des vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole, 1530–1570* (Paris, 1971; translated as *The Vision of the Vanquished,* Hassocks, Sussex, Eng., 1977). For a full discussion of this theme, see essay I:2.

As far as the military aspects of conquest are concerned, Alberto Mario Salas, *Las armas de la conquista* (Buenos Aires, 1950) provides a detailed discussion of the weapons and methods of warfare of conquerors and conquered, while C. H. Gardiner examines the important theme of *Naval Power in the Conquest of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1956). Juan Marchena Fernández, 'Flandes en la institución militar de España en Indias', *Revista de Historia Militar,* 29/58 (1985), 59–104, is an interesting discussion of how knowledge of naval designs, military organisation and fortifications developed in the Low Countries influenced Spanish practices in the New World.

For warfare and conquest in other parts of Mexico and Central America, the following works are particularly useful: Robert S. Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatán* (Washington, D.C., 1948), and, by the same author, *The Conquest and Colonization of Honduras* (Washington, D.C., 1953). The first section of Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987)

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

provides a readable new synthesis on the subject. A useful departure point for the study of the conquest of the Guatemala region is Jesús María Añoveros, 'Don Pedro de Alvarado: Las fuentes históricas, documentación, crónicas, y bibliografía existente,' *Mesoamérica*, 6/13 (1987), 243–82. For northern and north-western New Spain, see Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550–1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), and Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the South-west, 1533–1960* (Tucson, Ariz., 1962). An important work on a lesser known band of *conquistadores* is Ignacio Avellaneda, *Los sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition* (Gainesville, Fla., 1990). And looking similarly northward is Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman, Okla., 1991). Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991) examines the conquest and its impact on the Pueblo Indians.

The literature on the conquest of Peru is on the whole less satisfactory than that on the conquest of Mexico, but two contributions to vol. 2 of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1946) provide an admirable starting point: J. H. Rowe, 'Inca culture at the time of the Spanish Conquest', and G. Kubler, 'The Quechua in the colonial world'. John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (London, 1970) is a splendid narrative in the tradition of Prescott, and is particularly good on the continuation of Inca resistance once the 'conquest' was over. James Lockhart provides a prosopography of the conquerors in *The Men of Cajamarca* (Austin, Tex., 1972), which may be regarded as a prelude to his *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560* (Madison, Wis., 1968). A somewhat dated but still invaluable reference tool for Andean research, Raúl Porras Barrenechea's *Los cronistas del Perú, 1528–1650, y otros ensayos,* edited by Franklin Pease has seen welcome revision by Oswaldo Holguín Callo (Lima, 1986). Also welcome are new scholarly editions, with useful introductory essays, of some of the most important chronicles of conquest in publications by Historia 16 of Madrid: three by Pedro Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú,* edited by Manuel Ballesteros (Madrid, 1984), *El señorío de las Incas,* edited by Manuel Ballesteros (Madrid, 1985) and *Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú,* edited by Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid, 1986); as well as Francisco de Xerex's eyewitness *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú,* edited by Concepción Bravo (Madrid, 1985). An important discovery of a full manuscript of the 1551 Cuzco chronicle of Juan de Betanzos (only 18

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of 82 chapters were previously known) has been published as *Suma y narración de los incas,* transcribed and edited by María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid, 1987). The work is based on the testimony of Betanzos's Inca wife, Cuxirimay Ocllo (baptised Angelina Yupanqui). For the Araucanian wars in Chile, see Alvaro Jara, *Guerre et société au Chili: Essai de sociologie coloniale* (Paris, 1961). See also essays I:4 and II:2. Three of our earliest sources on the Amazon region have been collected in Rafael Díaz's edition of the accounts of Gaspar de Carvajal, Pedro Arias de Almesto and Alonso de Rojas, *La aventura del Amazonas* (Madrid, 1986).

George M. Foster, *Culture and Conquest* (Chicago, 1960) is a suggestive anthropological study of problems of acculturation in the Spanish colonial world, a theme which is impressively pursued for the Indian population of Mexico by Charles Gibson in *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1964) and by James Lockhart in *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, 1992). José Durand studies the transformation of conqueror into colonist in *La transformación social del conquistador,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1953). The hopes, fears and concerns of the early colonists are vividly revealed in their letters, selected, edited and translated by James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies: The Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). Enrique Otte has recently transcribed and edited an even larger collection in his *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616* (Seville, 1988). Richard Konetzke, 'La formación de la nobleza de Indias', *Estudios Americanos,* 3 (1951), 329–37, is fundamental.

On population, land and towns in the immediate post-conquest period, see essays II:6, II:7, II:9 and II:10, and on the church, see essay II:16. For the theme of 'spiritual conquest', Robert Ricard, *La 'Conquête spirituelle' du Mexique* (Paris, 1933) and John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World,* 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), deserve special mention.

2. INDIAN SOCIETIES AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST

Western historiography, for a long time dominated by a Eurocentric view of historical development, has devoted considerable attention to the exploits of the *conquistadores,* but has only recently begun to examine the 'vision of the vanquished'. Still useful, however, in spite of being more than a century old, are the works of William H. Prescott, *History of the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Conquest of Mexico, 3 vols. (New York, 1843) and *History of the Conquest of Peru,* 2 vols. (London, 1847). The same is true of other classic works by Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Völker der alten Welt,* 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1925–36) and by Robert Ricard, *La Conquête spirituelle du Mexique: Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des ordres mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523–24 à 1572* (Paris, 1933). For a full discussion of work published on the conquest, see essay II:1. An important revisionist work might be mentioned here: Ruggiero Romano, *Les Mécanismes de la conquête coloniale: Les conquistadores* (Paris, 1972). See also Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America* (New York, 1984), a bold semiotic interpretation of the conquest in Mesoamerica, and S. L. Cline's interesting reevaluation of a key source, 'Revisionist Conquest history: Sahagún's Revised Book XII' in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Mexico,* edited by J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (Albany, N.Y., 1988), 93–106.

In recent decades ethnohistorical research has made remarkable progress both on Mesoamerica and the Andes. The work of Angel M. Garibay, Miguel León-Portilla, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Pedro Carrasco and others on the one hand, and of John V. Murra, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Tom Zuidema and others on the other hand has transformed our knowledge of American societies before and after the conquest: we now have completely new perspectives on the Indian reaction to the European invasion. The two anthologies of Miguel León-Portilla, in particular, *Visión de los vencidos: Relaciones indígenas de la conquista* (Mexico, D.F., 1959, translated as *The Broken Spears,* London, 1962), and *El reverso de la conquista: Relaciones aztecas, mayas e incas* (Mexico, D.F., 1964), have been complete revelations. Add to these Miguel León-Portilla, *Los franciscanos vistos por el hombre náhuatl: Testimonios indígenas del siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1985) and David Damrosch, 'The aesthetics of conquest: Aztec poetry before and after the conquest', *Representations,* 33 (Winter 1991), 101–20. Nathan Wachtel's *La vision des vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole, 1530–1570* (Paris, 1971, translated as *The Vision of the Vanquished,* Hassocks, Sussex, Eng., 1977), has continued in the same vein.

Works of synthesis, with a comparative perspective, such as Alberto Mario Salas, *Las armas de la conquista* (Buenos Aires, 1950), or Friedrich Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations* (New York, 1972), are unfortunately only too rare. Most current research is restricted to limited areas, usually at the regional level. What follows is only a selective survey; see

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

also bibliographical essay II:13. To the well-known works of Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952) and *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), Juan Friede, *Los Quimbayas bajo la dominación española, 1559–1810* (Bogotá, 1963) and Jean Borde and Mario Góngora, *Evolución de la propiedad rural en el valle de Puanque* (Santiago, Chile, 1956), can now be added, for Mexico, William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1972), John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978) and *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca* (Norman, Okla., 1989), and Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of Early Mexico* (Los Angeles, 1976). Among many other more recent notable works on Mesoamerica, see Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua–Christian Moral Dialogue* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989) and James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, Calif., 1992). Also deserving mention is Serge Gruzinski, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire: Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique Espagnol, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988); Eng. trans., *The Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993). Both Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, N.J., 1984) and Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987) are essential works and highly recommended. W. George Lovell's *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala: A Historical Geography of the Cuchumatán Highlands, 1500–1821* (Montreal, 1985) and Grant D. Jones, *Maya Resistance to Spanish Rule: Time and History on a Colonial Frontier* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989) add some breadth.

For the Andes the numerous articles of Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, especially on the *mita*, his publication of the *Memorial de Charcas: 'Chrónica' inédita de 1582* (Lima, 1969), and his study of the alliance of the Huancas with the Spanish invaders, *La destrucción del Imperio de los Incas: La rivalidad política y señorial de los curacazgos andinos* (Lima, 1973) deserve mention. For the Ecuadorian region, see the excellent works of Udo Oberem: 'Don Sancho Hacho, ein cacique mayor des 16. Jahrhunderts', *JGSWGL*, 4 (1967), 199–225; 'Trade and trade goods in the Ecuadorian montaña'; in Patricia J. Lyon (ed.), *Native South Americans* (Boston, 1974); *Los Quijos: Historia de la transculturación de un grupo indígena en el oriente ecuatoriano, 1538–1958*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1971); and *Notas y documentos sobre miembros de la familia del Inca Atahuallpa en el siglo XVI: Estudios etnohistóricos del Ecuador* (Guayaquil, 1976); and the path-breaking study of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Frank Salomon, *Los señores étnicos de Quito en la época de los Incas* (Otavalo, 1980). For the southern Andes, see Josep M. Barnadas, *Charcas: Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial* (La Paz, 1973). On Chile, see Leonardo León, *Lonkos, Curakas and Zupais: The Collapse and Re-making of Tribal Society in Central Chile, 1536–1560* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies research paper, 29, 1992). At a more general level, there are important contributions from Franklin Pease, *Los últimos incas del Cuzco* (Lima, 1972), and *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1978); from Karen Spalding, *De indio a campesino: Cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial* (Lima, 1978), and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributo en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978). Two important and influential ethnohistorical monographs are Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1984), and Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, Wis., 1982). A brief but insightful examination of key events at Cajamarca in 1532 is Sabine MacCormack, 'Atahualpa y el libro', *Revista de Indias*, 48 (1988), 693–714. Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1986) traces this important chronicler's influences. A collection of essays of Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (eds.), *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991) explores both old and new themes. The remarkable work by Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indigenas en el arte* (La Paz, 1980), which links iconographical material, both pre-Columbian and colonial with an examination of indigenous myths and beliefs also deserves mention: It opens up completely new perspectives on the historical anthropology of art. Finally, a special issue of *AESC* (September–December 1978) edited by John V. Murra and Nathan Wachtel, is devoted to 'l'anthropologie historique des sociétés andines'; Eng. trans. John V. Murra, and Nathan Wachtel (eds.), *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986).

This flowering of ethnohistorical research has stimulated, both for Mesoamerica and the Andes, numerous publications of sources, with full scholarly apparatus: for example, *Beyond the Codices*, edited by Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan and James Lockhart (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976); and the publication of two bilingual editions (English–Nahuatl, and Spanish–Nahuatl) of the early colonial records of the Indian municipality of Tlaxcala: James Lockhart, Frances Berdan and Arthur J. O. Anderson (trans. and eds.), *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala, 1545–1627* (Salt Lake City, 1986) and Eustaqio

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Celestino Solís et al. (trans. and eds.), *Actas de Cabildo de Tlaxcala, 1547–1567* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). See also a useful new edition of Diego Muñoz Camargo's apologetic late sixteenth-century work, *Historia de Tlaxcala,* edited by Germán Vázquez (Madrid, 1986). On the Andes, see Garci Diez de San Miguel, *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito (1567),* edited by John V. Murra and Waldemar Espinosa Soriano (Lima, 1964); Iñigo Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Visita a la Provincia de León de Huánuco (1562),* edited by John V. Murra, 2 vols. (Huánuco, 1967–72); *Tasa de la visita general Francisco de Toledo,* edited by Noble D. Cook (Lima, 1975); *Visita general de Perú por el virrey don Francisco de Toledo: Arequipa, 1570–1575,* edited by Alejandro Málaga Medina (Arequipa, 1974); *Collaguas I,* edited by Franklin Pease (Lima, 1977). See also critical editions of *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle,* edited by Gérald Taylor (Paris, 1980), published in Spanish as *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: Manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1987), and including an important biographical study of the most famous extirpator of idolatry, Francisco de Avila, by Antonio Acosta. A recent English version has been exquisitely edited and translated by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste: *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991). Salomon prefaces the latter with an informative and substantial contextual essay. Another essential primary source for the Andes is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* edited by John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980, reprinted in paperback, Madrid, 1987). Under the same rubric can be classified an admirable publication by Silvio Zavala, *El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú (extractos del siglo XVI),* vol. 1 (Mexico, D.F., 1978). Luis Millones has collected a number of important documents and studies on the Taki Onqoy movement in south-central Peru in the 1560s: *El retorno de las huacas: Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, siglo XVI* (Lima, 1990). Finally, of immense importance for students of Peruvian religious history is an extraordinary group of seventeenth-century idolatry trials from one province in the Archbishopric of Lima compiled by Pierre Duviols (ed.), *Cultura andina y represión: Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco, 1986).

On the 'frontiers', besides the comparative study of Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson, Ariz., 1962), there are a number of more specific studies: Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550–1600* (Berkeley,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1952); Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniards* (Norman, Okla., 1960); a recent work on the conquest and the Pueblo Indians, Ramón A. Gutiérrez's *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); R. E. Latcham, *La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos: Sus armas y métodos militares* (Santiago, Chile, 1915) and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Araucanos* (Santiago, Chile, 1922); Robert C. Padden, 'Cultural change and military resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550–1730', *South-Western Journal of Anthropology* (1957), 103–21; Alvaro Jara, *Guerre et société au Chili: Essai de sociologie coloniale: La transformation de la guerre d'Araucanie et l'esclavage des Indiens du début de la Conquête espagnole aux débuts de l'esclavage légal* (1612) (Paris, 1961). Further works on the southern frontier can be found in essay I:4.

3. SPAIN AND AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

In addition to the general studies by Domínguez Ortiz, Elliott and Lynch, listed in essay II:1, there are a number of more specialized studies of Spanish government and society which ought to be taken into account by anyone interested in following the relationship between Spain and its American possessions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The best brief account of the reign of Charles V is by H. G. Koenigsberger, 'The empire of Charles V in Europe', in vol. 2 of *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958). There are two biographies of Philip II: Peter Pierson, *Philip II of Spain* (London, 1975) and Geoffrey Parker, *Philip II* (Boston and Toronto, 1978). But incomparably the most important study of the age of Philip II is by Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1966); translated as *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London, 1972–3), which is especially useful for tracing the shift in the centre of gravity of Spanish power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic during the course of Philip's reign. I. A. A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560–1620* (London, 1976), is a pioneering piece of research into Spain's organization for war and the strains imposed by warfare on the Spanish administrative system. For a study of the general who personified the 'black legend' for most of Protestant Europe, see William S. Maltby, *Alba: A Biography of Fernando Alvarez*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba, 1507–1582 (Berkeley, 1983). The period is surveyed in Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict* (London and New York, 1983).

A good introduction to Castilian agriculture and property ownership in the sixteenth century is David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984). On the religious and social climate in Spanish lands, good starting points are a number of the essays in Stephen Haliczer (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London and Sydney, 1987) and Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain* (London, 1984). Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et L'Espagne,* (Paris, 1937; revised, Geneva, 1991), with two Spanish editions, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1950 and 1966) remains important for the pre-Tridentine period despite its age, while William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1982) is indispensable as an introduction to popular regional practices. A difficult book which is nonetheless packed with information on the church in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is A. D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society Under the Reign of Philip II and Philip III* (Lampeter, Wales, 1991). On the social expectations for women and the reality of women's lives, Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, N.J., 1990) offers a beginning.

Problems relating to the decline of Spain are discussed by J. H. Elliott in *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1989). Spain's position in the first half of the seventeenth century is treated in considerably more detail in J. H. Elliott's work on the principal minister of Philip IV, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1986). A political biography is R. A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621–1665* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). There is a brilliant treatment of the theme of decline by Pierre Vilar, 'Le temps du Quichotte', *Europe,* 34 (1956). The reign of Charles II, the least-known period in the history of Habsburg Spain, is discussed in Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century* (London, 1980), while R. A. Stradling surveys the vicissitudes of Spanish power in *Europe and the Decline of Spain* (London, 1981).

John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598–1700* (Oxford, 1992), has the great merit of relating the history of seventeenth-century Spain to that of Spanish America, but there is a crying need for a systematic and comprehensive study of this relationship over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a whole. Pierre and Huguette Chaunu's *Séville*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

et l'Atlantique, 8 vols. (Paris, 1958–9), does this on a massive scale for the commercial relationship, but many other aspects of the relationship, at both the institutional and the personal level, have scarcely begun to be explored. Vivid portraits of different colonial personages appear in parts 1 and 2 of David A. Brading's ambitious *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). A useful study of emigrants is Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1989). And a major contribution, the culmination of many years' work, is Enrique Otte (transcr. and ed.), *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616* (Seville, 1988). Some 650 letters, the majority from the last quarter of sixteenth century, build upon the smaller selection of letters published previously in English by Otte and James Lockhart, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970). Some ground-breaking essays on the emergence of identities in America which were, in many ways, distinct from those of the mother country appear in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). Some indication of other possibilities is suggested by the uncompleted, and in many respects flawed, work of Manuel Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de Las Casas,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1953–60), which places under a microscope the crown's policies towards the Indies between 1516 and 1523 and the role of its advisers and officials in formulating and implementing those policies, but which is distorted by its obsessive hatred of Ferdinand the Catholic and his men. For the reign of Philip II, the title of José Miranda's *España y Nueva España en la época de Felipe II* (Mexico, D.F., 1962) promises well, but the book consists of two separate sections, one on Spain and the other on New Spain, and while each constitutes an excellent essay in itself, the connection between the two is never developed.

In view of the dearth of studies examining simultaneous developments in the metropolis and the colonies, the bibliographical suggestions which follow will include works on both Spain and Spanish America.

J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940) and Silvio Zavala, *La filosofía política en la conquista de América* (Mexico, D.F., 1947) are helpful introductions to the Spanish theory of empire, as is chap. 2 of Mario Góngora's *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). J. A. Fernández-Santamaría, *The State, War and Peace* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977) is a close examination of Spanish political theory in the first half of the sixteenth

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

century, which includes discussions of attitudes toward the Indies, while Venancio Carro, *La teología y los teólogo-juristas españoles ante la conquista de Indias* (Seville, 1945), directly addresses the problem of the conquest of America in scholastic thought.

Spanish theories of empire are discussed by Colin M. MacLachlan in *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change* (Berkeley, 1988). H. G. Koenigsberger, *The Practice of Empire* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969), although concerned with the government of Sicily under Philip II, raises issues of general importance for the understanding of Spanish administrative practice. Also of interest is Horst Pietschmann, *El estado y su evolución al principio de la colonización española de América* (Mexico, D.F., 1989). The most important organ for the administration of the Spanish New World was the Council of the Indies, and the composition and institutional history of this council are examined in detail in the classic work by Ernst Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1935–47), to which should be added the volume of essays by D. Ramos and others, *El Consejo de las Indias en el siglo XVI* (Valladolid, 1970). Aspects of financial administration are discussed by Ismael Sánchez-Bella, *La organización financiera de las Indias, siglo XVI* (Seville, 1968).

A splendid mass of documentation for the study of the viceroys of Mexico and Peru during the Habsburg period has now been made available by Lewis Hanke, in *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria,* Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 233–7 (Madrid, 1976–8) for Mexico, and vols. 280–5 (Madrid, 1978–80) for Peru. A number of viceroys have received individual studies, of which the following are especially noteworthy: Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza: First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N.C., 1927); Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo: Supremo organizador del Perú,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1935–40); María Justina Sarabia Viejo, *Don Luís de Velasco: Virrey de Nueva España, 1550–1564* (Seville, 1978). The challenges and concerns of an important mid-seventeenth-century viceroy of Peru, Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, are surveyed briefly in Peter T. Bradley, *Society, Economy and Defence in Seventeenth-Century Peru: The Administration of the Count of Alba de Liste (1655–1661)* (Liverpool, 1992).

The best study of an *audiencia* is J. H. Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), and Woodrow Borah has written a rich study of the General Indian Court of the audiencia of Mexico, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley, 1983), but in general far too

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

little is known about Spanish judges and officials in the Indies. Peggy K. Liss, *Mexico under Spain, 1521–1556* (Chicago, 1975), besides synthesizing a complicated period in the history of Mexico, shows how the crown gradually imposed its authority on *conquistador* society. Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 1974) is a pioneering study of the educational background of the men who administered Spain and America, but too few of these men are yet known as individual personalities. This makes all the more valuable John Leddy Phelan's *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1967), which examines the contrasts between the ideals and the practice of the Spanish bureaucracy through a study of the career of Dr. Antonio de Morga, president of the *audiencia* of Quito from 1615 to 1636. Another approach to these judges and officials is by way of their own writings, of which Alonso de Zorita's *The Lords of New Spain,* translated and edited by Benjamin Keen (London, 1965) and Juan de Matienzo's *Gobierno del Perú,* edited by Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Paris and Lima, 1967) are especially revealing.

Other useful studies of different aspects of Spanish colonial administration are Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El corregidor de Indios en el Perú bajo los Austrias* (Madrid, 1957), and J. H. Parry's examination of *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs* (Berkeley, 1953), a theme which is also considered in Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia, Mo., 1977). For a fuller discussion of the literature on urban development and municipal administration, see essay II:7, and, on the church, see essay II:16.

The Spanish treatment of the Indians was a source of controversy to contemporaries and has remained so ever since. As Sverker Arnoldsson showed in his *La leyenda negra: Estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Göteborg, 1960), the 'black legend' of Spanish cruelty pre-dated the conquest of America, but the reports of the massacres and maltreatment of the Indians did much to determine the image of Spain in the European consciousness. This in turn called forth from Spain and its defenders a 'white legend'. Charles Gibson examines both in his anthology, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York, 1971). For a visual depiction of the 'black legend' see the engravings by Theodore deBry, recently collected in a splendid volume, *America deBry, 1590–1634* (Berlin, 1990; Spanish edition, Madrid, 1992).

Spanish theory and practice as regards the treatment of the indigenous

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

peoples of America has been the source of intense study and heated debate in the historiography of the past 50 years, a debate focused particularly, although not exclusively, on the controversial figure of Bartolomé de Las Casas. The bibliography on Las Casas is now enormous, as can be seen from the selection of titles at the end of Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen, *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History* (DeKalb, Ill., 1971), a selection of essays on different aspects of his career and reputation. A central figure in the Las Casas controversy has been Lewis Hanke, who has done more than anyone else to bring the aspirations and achievements of Las Casas to the attention of the English-speaking world, and whose *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949), and *Aristotle and the American Indians* (London, 1959) have breathed new life into the sixteenth-century debate for twentieth-century readers. The great French Hispanist, Marcel Bataillon, whose monumental study of the influence of Erasmus in Spain, *Erasmo y España,* mentioned above, also has important implications for sixteenth-century America, wrote a number of carefully argued essays on Las Casas and his writings, which were collected under a single cover in his *Études sur Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Paris, 1965). Out of a massive bibliography, besides Manuel Giménez Fernández, *Bartolomé de Las Casas,* cited above, two books deserve special mention: Juan Friede, *Bartolomé de Las Casas: Precursor del anticolonialismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), and Angel Losada, *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas a la luz de la moderna crítica histórica* (Madrid, 1970). A more recent biography which takes account of modern research is Philippe-Ignace André-Vicent, *Bartolomé de Las Casas: Prophète du Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1980). Also helpful among recent work is Marianne Mahn-Lot, *Bartolomé de Las Casas et le droit des Indiens* (Paris, 1982) and Anthony Pagden's 'Ius et Factum: Text and experience in the writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas', *Representations,* 33 (Winter 1991), 147–62. Angel Losada also devoted himself to studying and editing the works of Las Casas's rival, Sepúlveda.

Las Casas and Sepúlveda, however, are only two of the many sixteenth-century Spaniards, some well known and others scarcely known at all, who discussed the capacities and status of the Indians and the treatment they deserved. The works of some of these figures are only now becoming accessible for study, thanks to the efforts of scholars like Ernest J. Burrus, whose *The Writings of Alonso de la Vera Cruz,* 5 vols. (Rome, St. Louis, Mo., and Tucson, Ariz., 1968–76) shows the possibilities. Other contemporary documents of great interest are published by José A. Llaguno in *La personalidad jurídica del indio y el III Concilio Provincial Mexicano (1585)*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Mexico, D.F., 1963). Joseph Höffner, *Christentum und Menschenwürde: Das Anliegen der Spanischen Kolonialethik im goldenen Zeitalter* (Trier, 1947), remains a useful survey of sixteenth-century Spanish theories about the Indians. The best general account of Spanish scholastic attitudes toward Indians is Anthony Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology,* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982). An interesting focus on sixteenth-century missionary resistance to any extension of royal authority in the Indies which did not highlight and support intensive evangelisation by the friars is given by Demetrio Ramos in 'La crisis indiana y la Junta Magna de 1568', *JGSWGL,* 23 (1986), 1–61.

One of the major problems in the study of the controversy over the Indians is to determine what effects, if any, the theorizing had on colonial practice; and here a work like that by Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, *Indian Labor in Mainland Colonial Spanish America* (Newark, Del., 1975) serves as a salutary reminder of the gulf that separated ideals from reality. The effectiveness, or otherwise, of theory and legislation on behaviour in the Indies and the general question of the relationship between settler society and the *república de los indios* still requires much study at the local level, of the type undertaken by Juan Friede in his *Vida y luchas de don Juan del Valle, primer obispo de Popayán y protector de indios* (Popayán, 1961), or Eugene E. Korth, *Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile: The Struggle for Social Justice, 1535–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 1968). A number of the excellent essays in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (eds.), *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991) focus on both old and new themes in the Andean region.

On the sea link between Spain and the Indies, the *carrera de Indias,* and colonial trade, see essay II:4.

Problems of war, defence and taxation must loom large in any attempt to chart the changing relationship between metropolitan Spain and the Indies in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A. P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493–1688* (London, 1933; reprinted 1966), remains a useful outline survey of the incursions of North Europeans into the Spanish colonial world. This should be supplemented by Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder, 1580–1630* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1978) and by the same author's excellent re-assessment of *Drake's Voyages* (London, 1967). Paul E. Hoffman, *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535–1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism and Royal Parsimony* (Baton Rouge, La., and London, 1980) and Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Imperial Defence in the Early Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, 1987) are also recommended. Peter Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain, 1575–1742* (Glendale, Calif., 1960) examines the growing threat posed by piracy in the Pacific. For reactions to these attacks, Roland D. Hussey, 'Spanish reaction to foreign aggression in the Caribbean to about 1680', *HAHR,* 9 (1929), 286–302, is still of value. The defence of the Panama isthmus is examined by Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, 'La defensa militar del istmo de Panamá a fines del siglo XVII y comienzos del XVIII', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 9 (1952), 235–75, while Günter Kahle, 'Die Encomienda als militärische Institution im kolonialen Hispanoamerika', *JGSWGL,* 2 (1965), 88–105, traces the decline and fall of the military role of the *encomendero.* Detailed examinations of defence problems at a local level, and also of the consequences of enemy attack, may be found in J. A. Calderón Quijano, *Historia de las fortificaciones en Nueva España* (Seville, 1957); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Historia de Puerto Rico, 1600–1650* (Seville, 1974); Frank Moya Pons, *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo,* 3rd ed. (Santiago, D.R., 1977); Peter T. Bradley, *The Lure of Peru: Maritime Intrusion into the South Sea (1598–1701)* (London, 1989), and C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1688* (London, 1952). Olivares's scheme for the Union of Arms is briefly discussed in J. H. Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963), chapter 7, while Fred Bronner examines attempts to introduce it in Peru in 'La Unión de Armas en el Perú: Aspectos político-legales', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 24 (1967), 1133–71, but the scheme still requires a comprehensive treatment. For the introduction of the *alcabala* into the Indies, Robert S. Smith, 'Sales taxes in New Spain, 1575–1770', *HAHR,* 28 (1948), 2–37, is fundamental.

The seventeenth century is the least well known, and the least studied, of any century of Spanish-American history. Thanks to the pioneering work of Woodrow Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), the more sombre aspects of the century have tended to be emphasized, at the expense of its more creative and formative characteristics. The Borah thesis is examined in the light of more recent research by P. J. Bakewell in his introduction to the Spanish translation, *El siglo de la depresión en Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). An important study on Peru from the perspective of the imperial system and mindset is Kenneth J. Andrien's *Crisis and Decline: The Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985). J. I. Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610–1670* (Oxford, 1975), discusses some of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

processes at work in seventeenth-century Mexican society, as does José F. de la Peña, *Oligarquía y propiedad en Nueva España, 1550–1624* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), which examines the theme of the consolidation of an elite, on the basis of rich new documentation. An important aspect of the creole question is analysed by A. Tibesar in 'The Alternativa: A study in Spanish–Creole relations in seventeenth-century Peru', *TA*, 11 (1955), 229–83, but in general more work has been done for New Spain than for Peru on the formation of a settler society with its own growing sense of identity. Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1959), Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813* (Chicago, 1976) and D. A. Brading, *The First America,* mentioned above, are the outstanding recent contributions to a subject of fundamental importance for understanding the eventual break with Spain.

4. SPAIN AND AMERICA: THE ATLANTIC TRADE, 1492–*c.* 1720

In spite of a great quantity of recent literature the history of Spanish and Spanish American oceanic navigation and trade before 1720 is very uneven in its availability and level of sophistication. Some aspects, eras and episodes are well known; others, such as the connections between certain specific areas and the *carrera,* have been studied hardly at all. Yet others, such as the dimensions and significance of smuggling, can never be known accurately. The subject has also suffered from a tug-of-war between romance and statistics. Some writers have emphasized treasure, pirates, hurricanes, galleons and derring-do on the Spanish Main. The other school has counted the ships, the crews, the crossings, the prices, the cargoes, until the graphs and tables reduce the whole epic to banality.

The literature on the expansion of Europe is immense and there are many approaches. One of the most imaginative and comprehensive surveys is Pierre Chaunu, *L'expansion européenne du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1969), a fine example of the author's emphasis on economics and geography. Another general survey, more closely tied to men and events, is Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). Carlo Cipolla in his entertaining *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (New York, 1966), summarizes what we know about the role of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

material advantages in Europe's advance overseas. John H. Parry, *Europe and a Wider World, 1415–1715* (London, 1959), explains early routes, ships, navigation and trade.

The Portuguese explorations have produced an enormous amount of scholarship, as can be appreciated by scrutinizing the bibliography in Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius's excellent survey, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1977). The Portuguese writings of the age are listed and briefly discussed in Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, 'A literatura portuguesa de viagems (século XV, XVI, XVII)', *Revista de Historia,* 40/81 (1970), 51–74.

Perhaps the best of the recent crop of books on Columbus is Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (London, 1991). Also useful for its description of the age is William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). Samuel Eliot Morison's *The European Discovery of America,* 2 vols. (New York, 1971, 1974), especially vol. 2 on the southern voyages, contains a wealth of material on early voyages, ships, crews, navigational methods, and life at sea (see especially chap. 8, 'The mariner's day'). For a brief survey of the new research on Columbus, see essay II:1.

Two manuals of navigation of the period have been published: Pedro de Medina, *Libro de cosmographía,* first published in 1538, translated into many languages, and superbly edited and translated in a modern and facsimile edition as *A Navigator's Universe: The Libro de Cosmographia of 1538,* by Ursula Lamb (Chicago, 1972); and Diego García de Palacio, *Instrucción náutica para navegar,* which first appeared in Mexico in 1587 and in Madrid in facsimile in 1944. See also José María López Piñero, *El arte de navegar en la España del Renacimiento* (Barcelona, 1979).

For the sixteenth-century Spanish background, see essay II:3 and, especially, the works of Fernand Braudel, John H. Elliott and John Lynch.

The best succinct analysis of the pre-eminence of Iberia's south-west corner, and of the role played by the stepping-stone islands, is by Pierre Chaunu, in his *Conquête et exploitation des nouveaux mondes (XVIe siècle)* (Paris, 1969). John H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (New York, 1966), is a convenient, clearly explained account of the same determinants. The map on page 40 is eloquent. Chap. 2 explains how Seville came to dominate as the American port, both in the Spanish and the Andalusian contexts. It also contains the early history of the *Casa de Contratación,* and much else on the history of the Indies. The early and continuing importance of the Canaries is covered in Francisco Morales Padrón, *El comercio*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

canario–americano (*siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*) (Seville, 1955). A more recent work is Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1982). There are many accounts of voyages. Tomás de la Torre's amusing yet harrowing account has been published several times, most recently as, *Desde Salamanca, España, hasta Ciudad Real, Chiapas: Diario de viaje, 1544–1545* (Mexico, D.F., 1945).

The Atlantic sea link between Spain and the New World up to the middle of the seventeenth century has been examined at length and in overwhelming detail by Pierre and Huguette Chaunu. Their massive *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504–1650*, 13 vols. in 8 (Paris, 1955–60) is the one indispensable source for the *carrera*. Vol. 7, *Construction Graphique*, is enormously informative in its visual impact as it discusses winds, currents, voyages, distances in time, ships, gross movements of ships, cargoes, and origins and destinations of cargoes. Volume 8:1 studies the evolution of ship types; navigation; once again and at length the reasons for the Andalusian–Guadalquivir ports complex and its predominance; the stepping-stone islands; and the role of the *carrera* in the development of each part of Spanish America. Vol. 8:2, which is in fact two volumes, discusses macro-movements, the great cycles of Spanish Atlantic commerce, and the inflation in prices. Throughout, and in a variety of ways, the authors discuss the determinants of ship size and speed, the length of voyages, and the weight, bulk and profitability of cargoes.

These determinants are discussed more compactly by L. Denoix in 'Caractéristiques des navires de l'époque des grandes découvertes', in *V^e Colloque d'Histoire Maritime* (Paris, 1966). Another basic text on Spain, the *carrera* and Spanish America is Clarence H. Haring's *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918; reprinted Gloucester, Mass., 1964). Works by J. Everaert, Antonio García-Baquero González, Lutgardo García Fuentes, Henry Kamen and Michel Morineau, which continue the story of the *carrera* beyond 1650 until its demise in the late eighteenth century, are discussed in context below.

Other aspects of Seville and the *carrera* may be found in Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), which may overstate its case, and in the work of a contemporary, Joseph de Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales*, first published in Seville in 1672 and reprinted in Buenos Aires in 1945. An English translation was published by Captain

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

John Stevens in 1702, republished in facsimile in 1977. The laws governing the early *flota* system are to be found in Volume IV of Diego Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano,* 4 vols. (first published in 1596; facsimile, Madrid, 1945).

On the island period of discovery and settlement and the gold cycle, see, beside the Chaunus, the works of Carl O. Sauer and Kenneth R. Andrews cited in essay II:1.

On early Spanish migration to the New World, see the work of Peter Boyd-Bowman and Magnus Mörner cited in essay II:6.

The slave trade in Nicaraguan Indians is discussed by David R. Radell in 'The Indian slave trade and population of Nicaragua during the sixteenth century', in *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492,* William M. Denevan (ed.) (Madison, Wis., 1976), 67–76. William L. Sherman in *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1979), would disagree with Radell, and with the author of this essay, on the extent of the trade and the numbers involved.

The following give a general account of the *encomienda* and the tribute: Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Exploitation of Land in Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952); Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid, 1945); and José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1951). See also essays II:9 and II:10. On the collapse of the Indian population, see essay II:6 and, on silver mining, essay II:8.

Woodrow Borah and Sherburne Cook began the study of price inflation in Mexico in their *Price Trends of Some Basic Commodities in Central Mexico, 1531–1570* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), while Earl J. Hamilton's classic *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), did the same for Spain. A modern study of American bullion and the price revolution is by Pierre Vilar, *Oro y moneda en la historia (1450–1900)* (Barcelona, 1969; English translation, London, 1976).

Cochineal as a product in Atlantic commerce is the subject of Raymond L. Lee, 'American cochineal in European commerce, 1526–1625', *Journal of Modern History,* 23 (1951), 205–24. For indigo, see Manuel Rubio Sánchez, *Historia del añil o xiquilite en Centro América,* 2 vols. (San Salvador, 1976, 1978). For pearling, see Enrique Otte, *Las perlas del Caribe* (Caracas, 1977). The work of the Chaunus has much information on these and the lesser Atlantic cargoes.

Woodrow Borah studied the first links between Mexico and Peru in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Early Colonial Trade between Mexico and Peru (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954). For Venezuela's small trades with Cartagena and much larger cacao trade with Veracruz, see the two books by Eduardo Arcila Farías, *Economía colonial de Venezuela* (Mexico, D.F., 1956), and *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos xvi y xvii* (Mexico, D.F., 1950) and several articles and a forthcoming book by Eugenio Piñero. Havana's trade patterns are described in detail in Levi Marrero, *Cuba, economía y sociedad,* 13 vols. to date (San Juan, P.R., and Madrid, 1972–80). William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1959), is a classic story of the Philippine link. Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (xvi^e^, xvii^e^, xviii^e^ siècles): Introduction méthodologique et indices* (Paris, 1960), emphasizes the economic and the quantifiable in this trade.

On the defence of the Indies against the incursions of North Europeans, see essay II:3.

For the literature on the slave trade to Spanish America, see essay II:14. The classic work is Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1906), but on the formal structures of the trade, see Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Le destin de noirs aux Indies de Castille: XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1984) and, on the administrative and commercial side, Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con América: Asientos de Grillo y Lomelín, 1663–1674* (Seville, 1984). A comprehensive volume is Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Oxford, 1986).

The rise of smuggling in its various aspects can be followed in Curtis Nettels, 'England and the Spanish American trade, 1680–1715', *Journal of Modern History,* 3 (1931), 1–32; A. P. Thornton, 'Spanish slave-ships in the English West Indies, 1660–85', *HAHR,* 35 (1955), 374–85; Sergio Villalobos R., 'Contrabando francés en el Pacífico, 1700–1724', *RHA,* 51 (1961), 49–80; and Vera Lee Brown, 'Contraband trade as a factor in the decline of Spain's empire in America', *HAHR,* 8 (1928), 178–89. A recent flurry of books on contraband includes: Celestino Andrés Arauz Monfante, *El contrabando holandés en el Caribe durante la primera mitad del siglo XVIII,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1984); Hector R. Feliciano Ramos, *El contrabando inglés en el Caribe y el Golfo de México* (Seville, 1990); Zacarías Moutoukias, *Contrabando y control colonial en el siglo XVII: Buenos Aires, el Atlántico, y el espacio peruano* (Buenos Aires, 1988); and a previously unpublished essay by a creole merchant, José Ignacio de Pombo's *Comercio y contrabando en Cartagena de Indias, 2 de junio de 1800* (Bogotá, 1986). Other trends of that period in the Caribbean have been skilfully summarized in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the early chapters of Geoffrey J. Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade, 1700–1789* (London, 1979).

John H. Elliott examines the decline of Spain in a series of insightful essays in *Spain and its World, 1500–1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1989), and in even more detail in his study of the first minister and favourite of Philip IV, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1986). Whether there was a coincidental or related decline in the colonies, or any decline at all, has been the subject of debate. For opposite views, see, for example, Woodrow Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), and John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598–1700* (Oxford, 1992). Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique,* show conclusively that the *carrera* declined from the 1620s to mid-century and perhaps beyond.

Two authors, using different consular reports and interpretations, have found a dramatic rise in Spanish imports of American bullion after about 1670 until the end of the century. They are J. Everaert, *De internationale en koloniale Handel der Vlaamse Firma's te Cadiz, 1670–1700* (Bruges, 1973), especially p. 395, and Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux: Les retours de trésors américaines d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris and London, 1985). Henry Kamen discusses these findings and the stages of Spain's demographic, economic and commercial recovery in *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665–1700* (London and New York, 1980). The official *carrera*'s decline to even lower levels, 1650–1700, and its ephemeral slight revivals, are traced in Lutgardo García Fuentes, *El comercio español con América, 1650–1700* (Seville, 1980). Those who wish to follow Spain's Atlantic career still further in time should read María del Carmen Borrego Plá, 'Tráfico comercial de España con Indias (1700–1714)' in *La burguesía mercantil gaditana (1650–1868)* (Cádiz, 1976), 145–50; Antonio García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico, 1717–1778: El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1976); and John Fisher's valuable study of legal trade with the Indies, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade, 1778–1796* (Liverpool, 1985).

Changes in English shipping and trading patterns can be followed in Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London, 1962), in the same author's *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), and in his two articles on English foreign

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

trade between 1660 and 1775, in W. E. Minchington (ed.), *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London, 1969). A good book on the other main rivals is Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1989). See also more generally, James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990).

Theories on the role of the Spanish *carrera* in European and American history are numerous, and all cannot be listed here. For some of these long-term impacts the following are suggestive: Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays in Economic Dependence in Perspective* (New York, 1970) and the provocative Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System,* 3 vols. to date (New York and London, 1976–89). Fernand Braudel's massive opus, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe–XVIIIe siècle,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1979), is long, repetitious and disorganized, but it has many brilliant passages, including several discussions of the larger, worldwide implications of the *carrera* and of American colonial bullion.

5. SPAIN AND AMERICA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

On Spain in the eighteenth century, see John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700–1808* (Oxford, 1989), Gonzalo Anes, *El antiguo régimen: Los Borbones* (Madrid, 1975), and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y estado en el siglo XVIII español* (Madrid, 1976). Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700–15* (London, 1969) is still valuable. The impact of the Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism is discussed in Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1958), Jean Sarrailh, *L'Espagne eclairé de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1954) and Antonio Mestre, *Ilustración y reforma de la iglesia: Pensamiento político-religioso de don Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781)* (Valencia, 1968). On jansenism, see Joël Saugnieux, *Le Jansénisme espagnol du XVIIIe siècle: Ses composantes et ses sources* (Oviedo, 1975). The classic work of Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976) is still worth consulting. On the economy there is Jordi Nadal and Gabriel Tortella (eds.), *Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona, 1974), Gonzalo Anes,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Las crisis agrarias en la España moderna (Madrid, 1970), and David R. Ringrose, *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain 1750–1850* (Durham, N.C., 1970) and *Madrid and the Spanish Economy 1560–1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983).

For the revolution in government, see the first part of D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration 1782–1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata* (London, 1958), Luis Navarro García, *Intendencias de Indias* (Seville, 1959), J. R. Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System, 1764–1814* (London, 1970) and Jacques A. Barbier, *Reform and Politics in Bourbon Chile, 1755–1796* (Ottawa, 1980). For its impact in New Granada, see John Leddy Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781* (Madison, Wis., 1978). For Peru, see Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne, 1985). On the bureaucracy and Creole participation, see Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias 1687–1821* (Columbia, Miss., 1977), Susan Migden Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810: Amor al Real Servicio* (Durham, N.C., 1987), and the indispensable *Biographical Dictionary of Audiencia Ministers in the Americas, 1687–1821*, ed. Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler (Westport, Conn., 1982). The campaign against the Church is dealt with by Nancy M. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759–1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London, 1968) and D. A. Brading, 'Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico', *JLAS*, 15/1 (1983), 1–22. Several books deal with the army: Juan Marchena Fernández, *Oficiales y soldados en el ejército de América* (Seville, 1983), Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico 1760–1810* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1977), Leon G. Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru 1750–1810* (Philadelphia, 1978), and *Military Reform and Society in New Granada 1773–1808* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978) and *Cuba, 1753–1815: Crown, Military and Society* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986), both by Allan J. Kuethe. For the impact of the Bourbon reforms on the Creole elite, see D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991) and his 'Government and Elite in Late Colonial Mexico', *HAHR*, 53/3 (1973), 389–414.

Trade with America is dealt with by Geoffrey J. Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade 1707–1789* (London, 1979) and by Antonio García-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico 1717–1778,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1976) and *Comercio colonial y guerras revolucionarias* (Seville, 1972). But see also J. R. Fisher, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade, 1778–1796* (Liverpool, 1985), Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, *Comercio exterior de Veracruz 1778–1821* (Seville, 1978), Carlos Daniel Malamud, *Cádiz y Saint Malo en el comercio colonial peruano (1668–1725)* (Cadiz, 1986), Barbara H. and Stanley J. Stein, 'Concepts and realities of Spanish economic growth 1759–1789', *Historia Ibérica,* 1 (1973), 103–19, and Josep M. Delgado et al., *El comerç entre Catalunya i America (segles XVIII i XIX)* (Barcelona, 1986).

On the late colonial economy the starting point must be Alexander von Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1807–11), a master-work available also in English and Spanish. On colonial mining, see D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico,* mentioned above; J. R. Fisher, *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru 1776–1824* (Liverpool, 1977); Rose Marie Buechler, *The Mining Society of Potosí, 1776–1810* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1981), Enrique Tandeter, 'Forced and free labour in late colonial Potosí', *Past and Present,* 93 (1981), 98–136, and D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, 'Colonial Silver mining: Mexico and Peru', *HAHR,* 52/4 (1972), 545–79. For Cuba there is Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *The Sugar Mill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba 1760–1860* (New York, 1976). On Central America, see Troy S. Floyd, 'Bourbon palliatives and the Central American mining industry 1765–1800', *TA,* 18 (1961), 103–25, and 'The indigo merchant: promotor of Central American economic development 1700–1800', *BHR,* 39 (1965), 466–88. On Venezuela, see E. Arcila Farías, *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1950) and P. Michael McKinley, *Pre-revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy and Society 1777–1811* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). On Colombia, see A. D. McFarlane, 'Economic change in the viceroyalty of New Granada with special reference to overseas trade 1739–1810' (Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1977) and Ann Twinam's important analysis of the province of Antioquia, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia* (Austin, Tex., 1982). For Peru there is W. Kendall Brown, *Bourbons and Brandy: Imperial Reform in Eighteenth-Century Arequipa* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986) and a general synthesis of the economies of Lower and Upper Peru by Jaime R. Ríos Burga, *Ciclos productivos en el espacio peruano colonial, siglos XVI–XIX: Una aproximación a una síntesis cuantitativa* (Lima, 1986). For Chile, see Marcello Carmagnani, *Les mécanismes de la vie*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

économique dans une société coloniale: Le Chili, 1680–1830 (Paris, 1973); Sergio Villalobos, *El comercio y la crisis colonial* (Santiago, Chile, 1968); Mario Góngora, *Orígen de los 'inquilinos' de Chile central* (Santiago, Chile, 1960) and Armando de Ramón and José Manuel Larraín, *Orígenes de la vida económica chilena, 1659–1808* (Santiago, Chile, 1982). For the Río de la Plata area, see the introductory chapter of Tulio Halperín-Donghi, *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires 1778–1810: Family and Commerce* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978) and Jerry W. Cooney, *Economía y sociedad en la intendencia del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1990). For Mexico there is Brian R. Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico 1750–1821* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971) and Guy P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700–1850* (Boulder, Colo., 1989). For Ecuador, see Robson B. Tyrer, *Historia demográfica y económica de la audiencia de Quito: Población indígena e industria textil 1600–1800* (Quito, 1988); Michael T. Hammerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973); and María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, *Guayaquil en el siglo XVIII: Recursos naturales y desarrollo económico* (Seville, 1987).

The fiscal profit of empire can be assessed from John J. Tepaske and Herbert S. Klein, *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America,* 3 vols. (Durham, N.C., 1982) and their *Ingresos y egresos de la Real Hacienda de Nueva España,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1986). But see also D. A. Brading, 'Facts and figments in Bourbon Mexico', *BLAR,* 4 (1985), 61–4, Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986), and Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux: Les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris and London, 1985).

6. POPULATION

Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), traces the general evolution of Latin America's population: chapters 3 and 4 deal with the changes that occurred during the period of Spanish rule. The work contains an extensive bibliography, and has undergone revision in its second Spanish edition, *La población de América latina: Desde los tiempos pre-colombinos al año 2000* (Ma-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

drid, 1977). The classic work of Angel Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América*, vol. 1, *La población indígena, 1492–1950*, and vol. 2, *El mestizaje y las castas coloniales* (Buenos Aires, 1954), while obviously now out of date, nevertheless contains information that is still useful relating to the native American population.

The sources for population history – tributary counts, parish registers, etc. – are abundant in Spanish America. The types of statistics, their quality, and the techniques their analysis requires have been examined, in general terms, in Woodrow Borah, 'The historical demography of Latin America: Sources, techniques, controversies, yields', in P. Deprez (ed.), *Population and Economics* (Winnipeg, 1970), 173–205. A preliminary checklisting of sources has been carried out in several countries, under the auspices of the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE), in collaboration with the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), and is entitled *Fuentes para la demografía histórica de América latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). See also C. Arretx et al., *Demografía histórica en América Latina: Fuentes y métodos* (San José, C.R., 1983). Within the field of the joint Oxford–Syracuse project, see Keith Peachy, 'The Revillagigedo census of Mexico, 1790–1794: A background study', *Bulletin of the Society for Latin American Studies*, 25 (1976), 63–80, David J. Robinson and David G. Browning, 'The origin and comparability of Peruvian population data, 1776–1815', *JGSWGL*, 14 (1977), 199–222, and D. J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American Population History* (Boulder, Colo., 1981). N. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Les régistres paroissiaux en Amérique latine: Quelques considérations sur leur exploitation pour la démographie historique', *Revue Suisse d'Histoire*, 17 (1967), 60–71, discusses the historical value of parish registers, a question which has undergone reconsideration in Claude Morin, *Santa Inés Zacatelco (1646–1812): Contribución a la demografía del México colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), and in Rosemary D. F. Bromley, 'Parish registers as a source in Latin American demographic and historical research', *Bulletin of the Society for Latin American Studies*, 19 (1974), 14–21.

The demographic research so far carried out for colonial Spanish America as a whole is assessed in Borah, 'Historical demography', focusing on the first century after the conquest. Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, 'La demografía histórica de América latina: Necesidades y perspectivas', in *La historia económica en América latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), vol. 2, 82–99, go on to suggest directions for further investigations. Mention

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

should also be made of B. H. Slicher van Bath, 'De historische demografie van Latijns Amerika: Problemen en resultaten van onderzoek', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis,* 92 (1979), 527–56. Ciro F. S. Cardoso, 'La historia demográfica: Su penetración en Latinoamérica y en América central', *ESC* 9 (1973), 115–28, reviews modern developments in population history with special reference to Central America. H. Tovar Pinzón, 'Estado actual de los estudios de demografía histórica en Colombia', *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura,* 5 (1970), 65–140, carried out a comparable task for Colombia. As for bibliographies covering particular areas, for Mexico there is Enrique Florescano, 'Bibliografía de la historia demográfica de Mexico (época prehispana–1910)', *HM,* 21 (1971–2), 525–37, and for the Andean region, Michael T. Hamerly, 'La demografía histórica de Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia: Una bibliografía preliminar', *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Guayas,* 3 (1974), 24–63. On Spanish migration to America see Magnus Mörner, 'A bibliography on Spanish migration', in F. Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old,* 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), vol. 2, 797–804. *Latin American Population History Newsletter* appears twice a year with information on work published, research in progress and professional meetings.

The debate on the ill effects that the conquest had on the native American population on the eve of the European invasion focused initially on Mexico, because of the important contributions made by the Berkeley school. In particular, see S. F. Cook and W. Borah, 'The rate of population change in Central Mexico, 1550–1579', *HAHR,* 37 (1957), 463–70, and *The Indian Population of Central Mexico, 1531–1610* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960); and W. Borah and S. F. Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), and 'Conquest and population: A Demographic approach to Mexican history', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 113 (1969), 177–83. It gave rise at once to a lively controversy: see A. Rosenblat, *La población de América en 1492* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), which has been revived. See William T. Sanders, 'The population of the Central Mexican symbiotic region, the basin of Mexico, and the Teotihuacán valley in the sixteenth century', in William M. Denevan (ed.), *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison, Wis., 1976; 2nd ed., 1992), 85–150; B. H. Slicher van Bath, 'The calculation of the population of New Spain, especially for the period before 1570', *BELC,* 24 (1978), 67–95; Rudolph A. Zambardino, 'Mexico's population in the sixteenth century: Demo-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

graphic anomaly or mathematical illusion?', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 11 (1980), 1–27, and it has been extended to other regions of Spanish America, once again partly through the initiative of S. F. Cook and W. Borah, in *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (3 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971–79). Denevan, *Native Population,* recapitulates the debate and opens up fresh perspectives. On Central America, see R. M. Carmack et al., *The Historical Demography of Highland Guatemala* (Albany, N.Y., 1982); L. Newson, *The Cost of the Conquest: Indian Decline in Honduras under Spanish Rule* (Boulder, Colo., 1986) and *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman, Okla., 1987); W. R. Fowler, Jr., 'La población nativa de El Salvador al momento de la conquista española', *Mesoamérica,* 15 (1988), 79–116. Also useful on demographic change is W. G. Lovell, *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala: A Historical Geography of the Cuchumatán Highlands, 1500–1821* (Montreal, 1985; rev. ed. 1992). On the northern Andes, see Suzanne Austin Alchon, *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). On the population of the central Andes there has been some important modern work. See N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978), and, above all, N. David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981). For a comparison of Peru and New Spain, see Carlos Sempat Assadourian, 'La despoblación indígena en el Perú y Nueva España: La formación de la economía colonial', *HM,* 38 (1989), 419–53.

The role that epidemics played in bringing about demographic catastrophe has been highlighted in W. Borah, '¿América como modelo? El impacto demográfico de la expansión europea sobre el mundo no europeo', *Cuadernos Americanos,* 6 (1962), 176–85; Henry F. Dobyns, 'An outline of Andean epidemic history to 1720', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 37 (1963), 493–515; Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972). F. Guerra, 'The earliest American epidemic: The influenza of 1493', *Social Science History,* 12 (1988), 305–25; and E. Florescano and E. Malvido (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1982). As yet there are no specific evaluations of the impact of the other contributory factors.

For immigration into America from other continents there are several works of synthesis. Spanish migration has been minutely inventoried by Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico de cuarenta mil pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI,* vol. 1 *1493–1519* (Bogotá, 1964), vol. 2: *1520–1539* (Mexico, D.F., 1968); *Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the New*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

World (1493–1580) (Buffalo, N.Y., 1973); 'Patterns of Spanish emigration to the Indies until 1600', *HAHR,* 56/4 (1976), 580–604, and (assessed by M. Mörner), 'Spanish migration to the New World prior to 1810: A report on the state of research', in Chiappelli, *First Images of America,* vol. 2, 737–82. See also J. L. Martínez, *Pasajeros a Indias; Viajes transatlánticos en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1983) and I. Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1989). Two specific groups of migrants are studied in P. Borges Morán, *El envío de misioneros a América durante la época española* (Salamanca, 1977) and J. Marchena Fernández, *Oficiales y soldados en el ejército de América* (Seville, 1983). Eighteenth-century immigration to Mexico has been analysed by Charles F. Nunn, *Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700–1760* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979). David A. Brading, 'Grupos étnicos, clases y estructura ocupacional en Guanajuato (1792)', *HM,* 21 (1971–2), 460–80, calculates the proportion of Spaniards who were there around 1792. African migration is examined in Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969).

The widespread internal movements of population have been recently discussed in D. J. Robinson (ed.), *Migration in Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990) and A. M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720* (Durham, N.C., 1990). See also T. Calvo and G. López, *Movimientos de población en el Occidente de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Previous studies emphasizing Indian congregations are H. F. Cline, 'Civil congregations of the Indians in New Spain, 1598–1606', *HAHR,* 29/3 (1949), 349–69, A. Málaga Medina, 'Las reducciones en el virreinato del Perú (1532–1580)', *RHA,* 80 (1975), 9–45, Peter Gerhard, 'Congregaciones de indios en la Nueva España antes de 1570', *HM,* 26 (1977), 347–95, B. García Martínez, *Los pueblos de la sierra: El poder y el espacio entre los indios del norte de Puebla hasta 1700* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) and Nancy M. Farriss, 'Nucleation versus dispersal: The dynamics of population movement in colonial Yucatán', *HAHR,* 58/2 (1978), 187–216. For a later period, see M. M. Swann, *Migrants in the Mexican North: Mobility, Economy and Society in a Colonial World* (Boulder, Colo., 1989). A late Caribbean migration is discussed in C. E. Deive, *Las emigraciones dominicanas a Cuba, 1795–1808* (Santo Domingo, 1989). For urbanization, see essay II:7.

Even though the first century after the conquest continues to attract most of the research in population history, a recent shift has begun to favour the late colonial period. This new trend is due, in part, to the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

higher quality of the sources for that period. Parish registers of baptisms, burials and marriages from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have begun to be investigated. Claude Morin, Thomas Calvo and Elsa Malvido published simultaneously three wide-ranging studies on the Puebla area: *Santa Inés Zacatelco,* mentioned above, *Acatzingo: Demografía de una parroquia mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), and 'Factores de despoblación y reposición de la población de Cholula (1641–1810)', *HM,* 23 (1973–4), 52–110. See also M. A. Cuenya Mateos, 'Evolución demográfica de una parroquia de la Puebla de los Angeles, 1660–1800', *HM,* 36 (1987) 443–64 and S. L. Brinckmann, 'Natalidad y mortalidad en Tecali (Puebla), 1701–1801', *Siglo XIX,* 4/7 (1989), 219–69. Northern Mexico in a later period is discussed in David A. Brading, *Haciendas and ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León, 1700–1780* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978) and in M. M. Swann, *Tierra Adentro: Settlement and Society in Colonial Durango* (Boulder, Colo., 1982). Work based on the registers of urban parishes has so far achieved only partial coverage: Lima has received attention from Claude Mazet, 'Population et société à Lime aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles', *Cahiers des Amériques Latines,* 13–14 (1976), 53–100, Valparaíso from R. Salinas, 'Carácteres generales de la evolución demográfica de un centro urbano chileno: Valparaíso, 1685–1830', *Historia,* 10 (1971), 177–204, and a rural community in Chile from R. Mellafe and R. Salinas, *Sociedad y población rural en la formación de Chile actual: La Ligua, 1750–1850* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). Lima's register begins as early as 1562. N. D. Cook is busy analysing a number of country parishes in the Collaguas region, where it was the custom to enter the various racial groups in different books. Even small subdivisions within the dual organization of this Andean community had separate registers. See N. D. Cook, *The People of the Colca Valley: A Population Study* (Boulder, Colo., 1982). H. Aranguiz Donoso, 'Notas para el estudio de una parroquia rural del siglo XVIII: Pelarco, 1786–1796', *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación,* 1969, 37–42, E. F. Love, 'Marriage patterns of persons of African descent in a colonial Mexico City parish', *HAHR,* 51/1 (1971), 79–91, and Marcello Carmagnani, 'Demografía y sociedad: La estructura social de los centros mineros del norte de México, 1600–1720', *HM,* 21 (1971–2), 419–59, compare differential behaviours by ethnic group.

From tax assessments and civil or ecclesiastical censuses the spatial and social distribution of the population and its increase or decrease have been studied. We cannot give details here of the many local histories of varying importance, but only of those studies which cover wide areas. Using late

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

colonial censuses, G. Vollmer, *Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Vizekönigreich Peru zu Ende der Kolonialzeit 1741–1821* (Bad Homburg, 1967) analyses the ethnic composition of Peru's population and its distribution; John V. Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), does likewise for Venezuela, using the ecclesiastical censuses of the diocese of Caracas. S. F. Cook and W. Borah, *The Population of the Mixteca Alta, 1520–1960* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), M. Carmagnani, 'Colonial Latin American demography: Growth of Chilean population, 1700–1830', *Journal of Social History,* 1(1967), 179–91, R. B. Tyrer, *Historia demográfica y económica de la Audiencia de Quito* (Quito, 1988), M. T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973), and C. Morin, *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: Crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), trace the development of the population in the Mixteca Alta, Chile, Quito, the coastland of Guayaquil, and Michoacán, respectively. See also D. J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979).

Census materials also make it possible to dissect the demographic structure of groups (family, fertility, mortality and migratory movements). E. González and R. Mellafe, 'La función de la familia en la historia social hispanoamericana colonial', *Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas,* 8 (1965), 57–71, started a general debate on the family in Hispanic America, which has to be supplemented by more recent, more specific studies. Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History,* vol. 1, explore the transformation of the family in Mexico, from the time of the conquest onwards. There are data on the evolution of endogamy in Oaxaca in J. K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978). Related issues are discussed in P. Seed, 'The Church and the patriarchal family: Marriage conflicts in sixteenth and seventeenth-century New Spain,' *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985), 284–93; T. Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Guadalajara, 1989); C. Castañeda, *Violación, estupro y sexualidad: Nueva Galicia 1790–1821* (Guadalajara, 1989); E. Malvido, 'El abandono de los hijos: Una forma de control del tamaño de la familia y del trabajo indígena: Tula (1683–1730)', *HM,* 116 (1980), 521–61. A general survey concerning Mexico is P. Pérez Herrero, 'Estructura familiar y evolución económica en México (1700–1850): Antiguas y nuevas hipóteses de investigación', *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica,* 8 (1990), 76–109. Late colonial families are discussed by S. M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1820: Family and Commerce* (Cam-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bridge, Eng., 1978) and by Silvia M. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif., 1985). Variations in fecundity are discussed by Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population history*, vol. 2. Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Slave mortality and reproduction on Jesuit haciendas in Colonial Peru', *HAHR*, 55/2 (1975), 177–99, deals with one particular group, the slaves, but has only a thin data base. On population and labour generally, see N. Sánchez-Albornoz (ed.), *Población y mano de obra en América Latina* (Madrid, 1985).

A sophisticated statistical elaboration of censuses and of vital records has been undertaken experimentally by the group of demographers in CELADE as mentioned earlier (C. Arretx et al., 1983). See also C. A. Rabell, 'Evaluación del registro de defunciones infantiles: Una crítica a los registros parroquiales de San Luis Potosí, México (1735–1799)', *RMS*, 38 (1976), 171–85, and C. A. Rabell and N. Necochea, 'La mortalidad adulta en una parroquia rural novohispana durante el siglo XVIII', *HM*, 36 (1987), 405–42.

Efforts to reduce mortality rates in the eighteenth century have been analysed by Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City, 1761–1813: An Administrative, Social and Medical Study* (Austin, Tex., 1965). M. M. Smith, 'The "Real expedición marítima de la vacuna" in New Spain and Guatemala', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 64 (1974), 1–74, traces the spread of vaccination of New Spain and in Guatemala.

7. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

COLLECTIONS AND GUIDES

Proceedings of the nine Symposia on Latin American Urbanization from Its Origins to Our Time held since 1966, originally at meetings of the International Congress of Americanists, yield a broad view of contemporary research on Latin American urban history. They include almost 200 papers from many disciplines, ranging from pre-Columbian times to the present and from case studies to broad conceptual statements and bibliographic reviews. About one-third deal with colonial Spanish America. The published proceedings are: J. E. Hardoy and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), *El proceso de urbanización en América desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días* (Buenos Aires, 1969); J. E. Hardoy, E. W. Palm and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), 'The

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

process of urbanization in America since its origins to the present time' in *Verhandlungen des XXXVIII: Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses*, 4 (Stuttgart and Munich, 1972), 9–318; R. P. Schaedel et al., *Urbanización y proceso social en América* (Lima, 1972); J. E. Hardoy and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), *Las ciudades de América Latina y sus áreas de influencia a través de la historia* (Buenos Aires, 1975); J. E. Hardoy and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), *Asentamientos urbanos y organización socioproductiva en la historia de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1977); J. E. Hardoy, R. M. Morse and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), *Ensayos histórico-sociales sobre la urbanización en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1978); W. Borah, J. Hardoy and G. A. Stelter (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas: The Background in Comparative Perspective*, special issue, *Urban History Review* (Ottawa, 1980); R. M. Morse and J. E. Hardoy (eds.), *Cultura urbana latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1985); J. E. Hardoy and R. M. Morse (eds.), *Nuevas perspectivas en los estudios sobre historia urbana latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1989). English versions of 21 papers from the first four Symposia were published in R. P. Schaedel, J. E. Hardoy and N. S. Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague, 1978). Six papers from the Sixth Symposium appeared in *Comparative Urban Research*, 8/1 (1980).

Other collections include: R. Altamira y Crevea et al., *Contribuciones a la historia municipal de América* (Mexico, D.F., 1951); F. de Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la ciudad iberoamericana* (Madrid, 1975); D. J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979) and the documentary collections in F. Domínguez Compañy, *La vida en las pequeñas ciudades hispanoamericanas de la conquista, 1494–1549* (Madrid, 1978), *Ordenanzas municipales hispanoamericanas* (Madrid and Caracas, 1982), and *Política de poblamiento de España en América: La fundación de ciudades* (Madrid, 1984).

The basic bibliography for urbanization is F. de Solano et al., *El proceso urbano iberoamericano desde sus orígenes hasta los principios del siglo XIX: Estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid, 1973–4), listing over 1,800 items for the pre-Columbian and colonial periods (also in Solano, *Estudios*, 727–866). J. E. Hardoy et al., *Urbanización en América Latina: Una bibliografía sobre su historia*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1975 and 1977), also covers pre-Columbian urbanization and the colonial period. For municipal sources, see A. Millares Carlo, *Los archivos municipales de Latinoamérica: Libros de actas y colecciones documentales, apuntes bibliográficos* (Maracaibo, 1961). Research reviews include: S. M. Socolow and L. L. Johnson, 'Urbanisation in colonial Latin America', *Journal of Urban History*, 8/1 (1981), 27–59; W. Borah, 'Trends in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

recent studies of colonial Latin American cities', *HAHR*, 64/3 (1984), 535–54; and F. Bronner, Urban society in colonial Spanish America: Research trends', *LARR*, 21/1 (1986), 7–72.

BACKGROUNDS

The volumes by Solano et al., *El proceso urbano*, and Hardoy et al. (*Urbanización*) cover pre-Columbian research. J. E. Hardoy, *Pre-Columbian Cities* (New York, 1973) is a good conspectus with extensive references.

For the Spanish background: E. A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, vol. 3: *Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal* (New York, 1967); A. García y Bellido et al., *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1968); L. García de Valdeavellano, *Sobre los burgos y los burgueses de la España medieval* (Madrid, 1960); J. M. Font y Rius, 'Les villes dans l'Espagne du Moyen Age' in Société Jean Bodin, *La ville* 1 (Brussels, 1954), 263–95; J. Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), section on 'urban economy'; J. A. Maravall, *Las comunidades de Castilla*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1970); A. Alvarez de Morales, *Las hermandades: expresión del movimiento comunero en España* (Valladolid, 1974); R. Ricard, 'La *Plaza Mayor* en Espagne et en Amérique Espagnole', *AESC*, 2/4 (1947), 433–8; R. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972). Some of the themes introduced in the first section of this chapter are expanded in R. M. Morse, 'A prolegomenon to Latin American urban history', *HAHR*, 52/3 (1972), 359–94.

CARTOGRAPHY AND ICONOGRAPHY

J. E. Hardoy surveys published and manuscript sources in 'La cartografía urbana en América Latina durante el período colonial: Un análisis de fuentes', in Hardoy, Morse and Schaedel (eds.), *Ensayos*, 19–58. See also, Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Planos de monumentos arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, 3 vols. (Seville, 1933); F. Chueca Goitia and L. Torres Balbás, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1951). Spain's Comisión de Estudios Históricos de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo presents a handsomely illustrated record in *Puertos y fortificaciones en América y Filipinas* (Madrid, 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

GENERAL STUDIES

If urban history is construed to include 'settlement patterns', if the central role of towns in Spanish colonization is accepted and if urban centres are viewed as linked to regional and transatlantic economies, then the sources for urban history become almost coextensive with those for Spanish American history in general. The bibliographies cited above list some of this material.

Two broad humanistic studies that stress the importance of colonial origins are J. L. Romero, *Latinoamérica: Las ciudades y las ideas* (Buenos Aires, 1976) and A. Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (Hanover, N.H., 1984). Various general issues are mapped out in R. M. Morse, 'Some characteristics of Latin American urban history', *AHR,* 67/2 (1962), 317–38; G. A. Kubler, 'Cities and culture in the colonial period in Latin America', *Diogenes,* 47 (1964), 53–62; C. Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); and J. K. Chance, 'The colonial Latin American city: Preindustrial or capitalist', *Urban Anthropology,* 4/3 (1975), 211–28. Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan M. Socolow (eds.), *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), focuses on social history. The urbanization process to 1630 can be followed in J. M. Houston, 'The foundation of colonial towns in Hispanic America', in R. P. Beckinsale and J. M. Houston (eds.), *Urbanization and Its Problems* (Oxford, 1968), 352–90; and J. E. Hardoy and C. Aranovich, 'Urbanización en América Hispana entre 1580 y 1630', *BCHIE,* 11 (1969), 9–89. G. Céspedes del Castillo traces the Lima–Buenos Aires rivalry in *Lima y Buenos Aires* (Seville, 1947). K. Davis takes a comparative hemispheric view in 'Colonial expansion and urban diffusion in the Americas', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* 1/1 (1960), 43–66, while R. R. Reed shows how Spain's New World experience influenced urbanization in the Philippines in *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978).

C. Bayle gives an informed survey of municipal life and institutions in *Los cabildos seculares en la América Española* (Madrid, 1952), as does F. Domínguez Compañy in *Estudios sobre las instituciones locales hispanoamericanas* (Caracas, 1981). M. Góngora examines the legal context of municipal government in *El estado en el derecho indiano* (Santiago, Chile, 1951) and, more succinctly, in *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), 98–119. J. M. Ots Capdequí, *España en América: El régimen de tierras en la época colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1959)

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

shows the importance of the municipality in controlling land distribution. For cabildos, see also A. Muro Orejón, 'El ayuntamiento de Sevilla: Modelo de los municipios americanos', *Anales de la Universidad Hispalense,* 21/1 (1960), 69–85, and F. X. Tapia, *El cabildo abierto colonial* (Madrid, 1966).

W. Borah reviews the voluminous literature bearing on the accommodation of Indians to urban life under Spain in 'Aspectos demográficos y físicos de la transición del mundo aborigen al mundo colonial', in Hardoy, Morse and Schaedel (eds.), *Ensayos,* 59–89. See also, C. Bayle, 'Cabildos de indios en América Española', *Missionalia Hispanica,* 8/22 (1951), 5–35; M. Mörner, *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Stockholm, 1970); F. de Solano, 'Urbanización y municipalización de la población indígena', in Solano (ed.), *Estudios,* 241–68.

W. Borah also assesses the often controversial literature on Spanish American urban design in 'European cultural influence in the formation of the first plan for urban centers that has lasted to our time', in Schaedel et al., *Urbanización,* 157–90. See also G. M. Foster's chapter, 'Cities, towns, and villages: The grid-plan puzzle', in his *Culture and Conquest* (Chicago, 1960), 34–49; G. Guarda, *Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano* (Santiago, Chile, 1965); E. W. Palm, 'La ville espagnole au nouveau monde dans la première moitié du XVI^{e} siècle', *La découverte de l'Amérique, 10^{e} Stage International d'Études Humanistes* (Paris, 1968); L. Benevolo, 'Las nuevas ciudades fundadas en el siglo XVI en América Latina', *BCIHE,* 9 (1969), 117–36; L. M. Zawiska, 'Fundación de las ciudades hispanoamericanas', *BCIHE,* 13 (1972), 88–128; D. P. Crouch, D. J. Carr and A. I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), which analyzes the city-planning ordinances of the Laws of the Indies; G. Kubler, 'Open-grid town plans in Europe and America', in Schaedel, Hardoy and Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization,* 327–42.

For other topics see F. Domínguez Compañy, 'Actas de fundación de ciudades hispanoamericanas', *RHA,* 83 (1977), 19–51; R. Archila, 'La medicina y la higiene en la ciudad' in Solano, *Estudios,* 655–85; F. de Solano, 'An introduction to the study of provisioning in the colonial city' and G. Gasparini, 'The colonial city as a center for the spread of architectural and pictorial schools', both in Schaedel, Hardoy and Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization,* 99–129 and 269–81. F. W. Knight and P. K. Liss (eds.), *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1991), includes chapters on Havana, Vera Cruz, Cartagena and Buenos Aires.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

REGIONAL STUDIES

Antilles

C. O. Sauer presents a coherent account, with good maps, of Spanish town-founding in the Antilles and Tierra Firme to 1519 in *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966). J. M. F. de Arrate y Acosta, *Llave del Nuevo Mundo* (Mexico, D.F., 1949) is a descriptive and historical account of Havana by a town councillor, written in the 1750s and first published in 1830. E. W. Palm, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española, con una introducción a América,* 2 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955) is near-definitive for the topic and deals broadly with the origins of New World urbanization. See also J. Pérez de Tudela, 'La quiebra de la factoría y el nuevo poblamiento de la Española', *Revista de Indias,* 60 (1955), 197–252; J. Artiles, *La Habana de Velázquez* (Havana, 1946); I. A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el siglo XVI,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1927), *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en la primera mitad del siglo XVII* (Havana, 1930), and *Santiago de Cuba and Its District (1607–1640)* (Madrid, 1918); F. Moya Pons, *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo,* 3rd ed. (Santiago, D.R., 1977); C. Dobal, *Santiago en los albores del siglo XVI: El solar de Jacagua* (Santiago, D.R., 1985); Adolfo de Hostos, *Ciudad murada, ensayo acerca del proceso de la civilización en la ciudad española de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (Havana, 1948); A. Sepúlveda Rivera, *San Juan: Historia ilustrada de su desarrollo urbano, 1508–1898* (San Juan, P.R., 1989); M. A. Castro de Dávila, 'The place of San Juan de Puerto Rico among Hispanic American cities', *Revista Interamericana,* 6/2 (1976), 156–73.

Mesoamerica

C. Gibson treats the reorientation of pre-Columbian cities and settlement patterns under Spanish rule in Mexico in *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952), *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), especially the chapters 'Towns' and 'The city', and 'Spanish-Indian institutions and colonial urbanism in New Spain', in Hardoy and Schaedel (eds.), *El proceso,* 225–39. This theme also features in studies of Mexico's three main regions in I. Altman and J. Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of Early Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976). On continuities and transformations of Nahua political structures into the urban environments

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of the colonial era, see also Robert S. Haskett, 'Indian town government in colonial Cuernavaca: Persistence, adaptation and change', *HAHR*, 67/2 (1987), 203–31, and Susan Kellogg, 'Aztec inheritance in sixteenth-century Mexico City: Colonial patterns, prehispanic influences', *Ethnohistory*, 33/3 (1986), 313–30. Sidney David Markman, 'Extinción, fosilización y transformación de los 'pueblos de indios' del Reino de Guatemala', *Mesoamérica*, 8/14 (1987), 407–27, provides an historical overview of Indian towns in colonial Central America. A careful examination and application of a major early census is Herbert R. Harvey, 'Household and family structure in colonial Tepetlaoztoc: An analysis of the Códice Santa María Asunción', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 18 (1986), 275–94. A. Moreno Toscano and E. Florescano, 'El sector externo y la organización espacial y regional de México (1521–1910)', in J. W. Wilkie, M. C. Meyer and E. Monzón de Wilkie (eds.), *Contemporary Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 62–96, relates changing urban systems to economics, public policy and transportation. G. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1948) has much to say on demography and urban form. Also highly recommended is Sidney David Markman, *Architecture and Urbanization in Colonial Chiapas, Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1984). M. Giménez Fernández, *Hernán Cortés y su revolución comunera* (Seville, 1948) shows Cortés's strategic use of municipal organization. P. W. Powell studies the special challenge of urban settlement on the Chichimeca frontier in *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of Spain, 1550–1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952). Central American urbanization is treated in M. J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History 1520–1720* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973) and, more explicitly, by S. D. Markman, *Colonial Architecture of Antigua Guatemala* (Philadelphia, 1966), and several of his papers for the Symposia on Latin American urbanization, cited above. On the borderlands, see Gilbert R. Cruz, *Let There Be Towns: Spanish Municipal Origins in the American Southwest, 1610–1810* (College Station, Tex., 1989).

On Mexico City, see M. Toussaint, F. Gómez de Orozco and J. Fernández, *Planos de la ciudad de México, siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico, D.F., 1938); E. W. Palm, 'Tenochtitlán y la ciudad ideal de Durero', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, N.S. 40 (1951), 59–66; S. B. Schwartz, 'Cities of empire: Mexico and Bahia in the sixteenth century', *JIAS* 11/4 (1969), 616–37; E. Poulain, *Vie économique et sociale à Mexico d'après les 'Actas del cabildo de la ciudad de Mexico', 1594–1616* (Caen, 1966); R. E. Boyer, *La gran inundación: Vida y sociedad en la ciudad de México (1629–1638)* (Mexico,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

D.F., 1975); L. S. Hoberman, 'Merchants in seventeenth-century Mexico City: A preliminary portrait', *HAHR*, 57/3 (1977), 479–503; R. Feijóo, 'El tumulto de 1624' and 'El tumulto de 1692', *HM*, 14/1 (1964), 42–70 and 14/4 (1965), 656–79; M. Alvarado Morales, 'El cabildo y regimiento de la ciudad de México en el siglo XVII: Un ejemplo de oligarquía criolla', *HM*, 28 (1979), 489–514; G. Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno de la ciudad de México en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1982).

On other towns and cities, see J. MacAndrew, *The Open-air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); F. Chevalier, 'Signification sociale de la fondation de Puebla de los Angeles', *RHA*, 23 (1947), 105–30; J. Hirschberg, 'La fundación de Puebla de los Angeles: Mito e realidad', *HM*, 28/2 (1978), 185–223; F. Marín-Tamayo, *La división racial en Puebla de los Angeles bajo el régimen colonial* (Puebla, 1960); J. Bazant, 'Evolution of the textile industry of Puebla, 1544–1845', *CSSH*, 7/1 (1964), 56–69; M. Carmagnani, 'Demografía y sociedad: La estrutura social de los centros mineros del norte de México', *HM*, 21 (1970–1), 419–59; P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas 1546–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); J. K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); E. Chinchilla Aguilar, *El ayuntamiento colonial de la ciudad de Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1961); C. Lutz, *Historia sociodemográfica de Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773* (Antigua, 1982); S. Webre, 'Water and Society in a Spanish–American City: Santiago de Guatemala, 1555–1773', *HAHR*, 70/1 (1990), 57–84.

Northern South America

J. A. and J. E. Villamarín trace the reworking of native settlement patterns on the *sabana* of Bogotá in 'Chibcha settlement under Spanish rule: 1537–1810' in Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric*, 25–84. Other regional studies include: A. Castillero, *Políticas de poblamiento en Castilla del Oro y Veragua en los orígenes de la colonización* (Panama, 1972); C. Martínez, *Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1967); Damián Ramírez Gómez, *Descubrimiento, fundación, historia de Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1984); G. Gasparini, 'Formación de ciudades coloniales en Venezuela, siglo XVI', *BCIHE*, 10 (1968), 9–43; A. Perera, *Historia de la organización de pueblos antiguos en Venezuela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1964). On one founder's exploits, see Diego Garcés Giraldo, *Sebastián de Belalcázar, fundador de ciudades, 1490–1551: Estudio biográfico* (Cali, 1986). José Ignacio Avellaneda, 'The men of Nikolaus Federmann: Conquerors of the New

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Kingdom of Granada', *TA*, 43/4 (1987), 385–94, is a prosopographic study of the 106 men who co-founded Bogotá.

On particular towns and cities, see C. Verlinden, 'Santa María la Antigua del Darién, première "ville" coloniale de la Tierra Firme américaine', *RHA*, 45 (1958), 1–48; A. Rubio, *Esquema para un análisis de geografía urbana de la primitiva ciudad de Panamá, Panamá la Vieja, 1519–1671* (Panama, 1947); G. Gasparini, *Caracas colonial* (Buenos Aires, 1969); P. M. Arcaya, *El cabildo de Caracas* (Caracas, 1965); J. V. Lombardi, 'The rise of Caracas as a primate city' in Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric*, 433–72; S. Blank, 'Patrons, clients, and kin in seventeenth-century Caracas', *HAHR*, 54/2 (1974), 260–83; E. Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias: Puerto y plaza fuerte* (Madrid, 1960); G. Arboleda, *Historia de Cali*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Cali, 1956); G. Colmenares, *Cali: Terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes* (Bogotá, 1980); V. Cortés Alonso, 'Tunja y sus vecinos', *Revista de Indias*, 25/99–100 (1965), 155–207; P. Marzahl, *Town in the Empire: Government, Politics, and Society in Seventeenth Century Popayán* (Austin, Tex., 1978); Néstor Madrid-Malo, *Barranquilla, el alba de una ciudad* (Bogotá, 1986); Virgilio Tosta, *Historia de Barinas, Vol. I: 1577–1800* (Caracas, 1986).

South America: West Coast and Andes

J. Basadre made a classic analysis of changing settlement patterns and their political implications from Incan to modern times in *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo en la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1929). A provocative new study on the consolidation of architectural forms in the church-building and town foundation of early colonial Peru is Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990). G. Lohmann Villena studies the *corregidor's* key role in *El corregidor de indios en el Perú bajo los Austrias* (Madrid, 1957). Newer scholarship offers further clues in J. V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima, 1975), especially the chapter entitled 'El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas'; N. Wachtel, *Sociedad e ideología* (Lima, 1973); K. Spalding, *De indio a campesino* (Lima, 1974); M. A. Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades en el Perú durante el siglo XVI: Estudio urbanístico* (Seville, 1979); Keith A. Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1984), dealing with Arequipa and its region. T. Gisbert treats pre-Columbian and colonial settlement patterns in her well-illustrated *Historia de la vivienda y*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

los asentamientos humanos en Bolivia (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Administrative studies include J. P. Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs* (Durham, N.C., 1954) and J. Alemparte, *El cabildo en Chile colonial,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1966). G. Guarda stresses military determinants for Chile in *Influencia militar en las ciudades del Reino de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1967); M. Carmagnani features economic factors in 'Formación de un mercado compulsivo y el papel de los mercaderes: La región de Santiago de Chile (1559–1600)', *JGSWGL,* 12 (1975), 104–33, and *Les mécanismes de la vie économique dans une société coloniale: Le Chile, 1580–1830* (Paris, 1973); and M. Góngora treats social structure in 'Urban social stratification in colonial Chile', *HAHR,* 55/3 (1975), 421–48.

On particular cities, see J. C. Super, 'Partnership and profit in the early Andean trade: The experiences of Quito merchants, 1580–1610', *JLAS,* 11/2 (1979), 265–81; M. L. Conniff, 'Guayaquil through independence: Urban development in a colonial system', *TA,* 33/3 (1977), 385–410; J. Bromley and J. Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima, 1945); M. Colin, *Le Cuzco à la fin du XVII^e^ et au début du XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1966); G. Lohmann Villena's excellent edition of the *corregidor* Miguel Feijóo de Sosa's *Relación descriptiva de la ciudad y provincia de Truxillo del Perú,* 2 vols. (1763; Lima, 1984); B. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí,* 3 vols. (Providence, R.I., 1965); L. Hanke, *The Imperial City of Potosí* (The Hague, 1956); A. Crespo R., *Historia de la ciudad de La Paz, siglo XVII* (Lima, 1961); J. M. Barnadas, *Charcas, 1535–1565: Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial* (La Paz, 1973); M. Beltrán Ávila, *Capítulos de la historia colonial de Oruro* (La Paz, 1925); J. Urquidi Zambrano, *La urbanización de la ciudad de Cochabamba* (Cochabamba, 1967); R. Martínez Lemoine, 'Desarrollo urbano de Santiago (1541–1941)', *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología,* 15/42–3 (1978), 57–90; A. de Ramón, *La ciudad de Santiago entre 1650 y 1700* (Santiago, Chile, 1975).

The Río de la Plata Region

J. E. Hardoy and L. A. Romero provide a synthesis of Argentine urban history and a critique of sources in 'La ciudad argentina en el período precensal (1516–1869)', *Revista de la Sociedad Interamericana de Planificación,* 5/17 (1971), 16–39. J. Comadrán Ruiz supplies demographic context in *Evolución demográfica argentina en el período hispano (1535–1810)* (Buenos Aires, 1969). A classic study of colonial Buenos Aires, first published in 1900 and influenced by Le Play's sociology, is J. A. García,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

La ciudad indiana, in his *Obras completas,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1955), vol. 1, 283–475. See also A. Razori, *Historia de la ciudad argentina,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1945); R. Levillier, *Descubrimiento y población del norte de Argentina por españoles del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1943); R. Zorraquín Becú, 'Los cabildos argentinos', *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales,* 11/47 (1956), 95–156; R. Zabala and E. de Gandía, *Historia de la ciudad de Buenos Aires,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1936–7); N. Besio Moreno, *Buenos Aires, puerto del Río de la Plata: Estudio crítico de su población 1536–1936* (Buenos Aires, 1939); J. Comadrán Ruiz, 'Nacimiento y desarrollo de los núcleos urbanos y del poblamiento de la campaña del país de Cuyo durante la época hispana (1551–1810)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 19 (1952), 145–246; J. Álvarez, *Historia de Rosario (1689–1939)* (Buenos Aires, 1943); L. E. Azarola Gil, *Los orígenes de Montevideo, 1607–1749* (Buenos Aires, 1933); F. R. Moreno, *La ciudad de Asunción* (Buenos Aires, 1926); R. Gutiérrez, 'Estructura urbana de las misiones jesuíticas del Paraguay', in Hardoy and Schaedel (eds.), *Asentamientos,* 129–53, and Alfredo Viola, *Origen de algunos pueblos del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1986).

LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

In general, two concise syntheses are W. Borah, 'Latin American cities in the eighteenth century: A sketch', in Borah, Hardoy and Stelter (eds.), *Urbanization,* 7–14, and D. A. Brading, 'The city in Bourbon Spanish America: Elite and masses', *Comparative Urban Research,* 8/1 (1980), 71–85. Surveys and statistics for Latin America and for eight countries from 1750 to 1920 are found in R. M. Morse, *Las ciudades latinoamericanas,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973), vol. 2; urban statistics are also given in Borah's paper just cited and in R. E. Boyer and K. A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th-Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Los Angeles, 1973). E. M. Lahmeyer Lobo studies urban merchant guilds in *Aspectos da atuação dos consulados de Sevilha, Cádiz e da América Hispânica na evolução econômica do século xviii* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965). C. Esteva Fabregat quantifies urban and rural racial composition in 'Población y mestizaje en las ciudades de Iberoamérica: Siglo XVIII', in Solano (ed.), *Estudios,* 551–604.

For the Antilles and Mexico, see M. Nunes Dias, *O comércio livre entre Havana e os pôrtos de Espanha (1778–1789),* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1965); A. R. Caro de Delgado, *El cabildo o régimen municipal puertorriqueño en el siglo XVIII* (San Juan, P.R., 1965); Jean Saint-Vil, 'Villes et bourgs de Saint

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Domingue au XVIII[eme] siècle', *Conjonction,* 138 (1978), 5–32; A. Moreno Toscano, 'Regional economy and urbanization: Three examples of the relationship between cities and regions in New Spain at the end of the eighteenth century', in Schaedel, Hardoy and Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization,* 399–424; D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); F. de la Maza, *La ciudad de México en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1968); J. E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); M. D. Morales, 'Estructura urbana y distribución de la propiedad en la Ciudad de México en 1813', *HM,* 25 (1976), 363–402; E. Báez Macías, 'Planos y censos de la ciudad de México 1753', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 7/1–2 (1966), 407–84; A. Moreno Toscano and J. González Angulo, 'Cambios en la estructura interna de la ciudad de México (1753–1882)', in Hardoy and Schaedel (eds.), *Asentamientos,* 171–95; D. B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City 1761–1813* (Austin, Tex., 1965); R. Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787–1810,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1971); L. L. Greenow, 'Spatial dimensions of the credit market in eighteenth-century Nueva Galicia', in Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric,* 227–79; E. Van Young, 'Urban market and hinterland: Guadalajara and its region in the eighteenth century', *HAHR,* 59/4 (1979), 593–635; R. D. Anderson, 'Race and social stratification: A comparison of working-class Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821', *HAHR,* 68/2 (1988), 209–43; D. E. López Sarrelangue, *Una villa mexicana en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1966); M. L. Moorhead, *The Presidio* (Norman, Okla., 1975).

For South America, see A. Twinam, 'Enterprise and elites: Eighteenth-century Medellín', *HAHR,* 59/3 (1979), 444–75; A. McFarlane, 'The 'Rebellion of the Barrios': Urban insurrection in Bourbon Quito', *HAHR,* 69/2 (1989), 283–330; J. P. Moore, *The cabildo in Peru under the Bourbons* (Durham, N.C., 1966); V. A. Barriga (ed.), *Memorias para la historia de Arequipa, 1786–1796,* 3 vols. (Arequipa, 1941–8); A. Moreno Cebrián 'Cuarteles, barrios y calles de Lima a fines del siglo XVIII', *JGSWGL,* 18 (1981), 97–161; L. Durand Flórez, *Criollos en conflicto: Cuzco después de Tupac Amaru* (Lima, 1985); J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, 'La Paz en el siglo XVIII", *BCIHE,* 20 (1975), 22–92; Enrique Tandeter, 'Trabajo forzado y trabajo libre en el Potosí colonial tardío,' *Estudios CEDES,* 3/6 (1980); G. Guarda, *La ciudad chilena del siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires, 1968); Santiago Lorenzo, *Orígen de las ciudades chilenas: Las fundaciones del siglo XVIII* (Santi-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ago, Chile, 1983); G. Guarda, *Conjuntos urbanos histórico-arquitectónicos de Valdivia, siglos xviii–xix* (Santiago, Chile, 1980); G. O. Tjarks, *El consulado de Buenos Aires y sus proyecciones en la historia del Río de la Plata,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1962); J. L. Moreno, 'La estructura social y demográfica de la ciudad de Buenos Aires en el año de 1778', *Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Universidad Nacional del Litoral) 8 (1965), 151–70; S. M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978) and *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810* (Durham, N.C., 1988); L. L. Johnson and S. M. Socolow, 'Population and space in eighteenth century Buenos Aires', in Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric,* 339–68; F. J. Cervera and M. Gallardo, 'Santa Fe, 1765–1830: Historia y demografía', *Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas,* 9 (1966–7), 39–66; P. S. Martínez Constanzo, *Historia económica de Mendoza durante el virreinato, 1776–1810* (Madrid, 1961); D. J. Robinson and T. Thomas, 'New towns in eighteenth century Argentina', *JLAS,* 6/1 (1974), 1–33; R. Gutiérrez, *Estructura socio-política, sistema productivo y resultante espacial en las misiones jesuíticas del Paraguay durante el siglo XVIII* (Resistencia, 1974); three articles in *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología,* 15/42–3 (1978): R. E. Velázquez, 'Poblamiento del Paraguay en el siglo XVIII' (175–89), M. Lombardi, 'El proceso de urbanización en el Uruguay en los siglos XVIII y XIX' (9–45), and J. Rial, A. M. Cocchi and J. Klaczko, 'Proceso de asentamientos urbanos en el Uruguay: Siglos XVIII y XIX' (91–114).

Much information on late colonial urban conditions in northern South America and Mexico is found in: F. Depons, *Voyage à la partie orientale de la Terre-ferme dans l'Amérique Méridionale (1801–1804),* 3 vols. (Paris, 1806), A. von Humboldt and A. Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent during the Years 1799–1804,* 7 vols. (London, 1814–29), and Humboldt's *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain,* 4 vols. (London, 1811).

8. MINING

No good general book on colonial Spanish American mining yet exists. Carlos Prieto's *Mining in the New World* (New York, 1973) is slight. Perceptive observations abound, however, in D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, 'Colonial silver mining: Mexico and Peru', *HAHR,* 52/4 (1972), 545–79, and in Alvaro Jara, *Tres ensayos sobre economía minera hispanoamericana* (Santiago, Chile, 1966). For silver production over the entire

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

colonial period, see Richard L. Garner, 'Long-term silver mining trends in Spanish America: A comparative analysis of Peru and Mexico', *AHR*, 93/4 (1988), 898–935. Adám Szászdi, 'Preliminary estimates of gold and silver production in America, 1501–1610', in Hermann Kellenbenz, *Precious Metals in the Age of Expansion* (Stuttgart, 1981), gives more detailed estimates for the first century. Modesto Bargalló, *La minería y la metalurgía en la América española durante la época colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1955) concentrates on technical aspects of mining and refining, on which it is still the best study available. For the Spanish background to colonial mining, see Julio Sánchez Gómez's impressively thorough *De minería, metalúrgica y comercio de metales: La minería no férrica en el Reino de Castilla, 1450–1610*, 2 vols. (Salamanca, 1989).

The fundamental bibliography is Eugenio Maffei and Ramón Rúa Figueroa, *Apuntes para una biblioteca española de libros, folletos y artículos, impresos y manuscritos, relativos al conocimiento y explotación de las riquezas minerales y a las ciencias auxiliares*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1871), reprinted in VI Congreso Internacional de Minería, vols. 2 and 3 (León, 1970). This is supplemented by Justo García Morales, *Apuntes para una bibliografía minera española e iberoamericana (1870–1969)*, VI Congreso Internacional de Minería, vol. 4 (León, 1970). A valuable recent updating is Frédérique Langue, 'Bibliografía minera colonial', *Suplemento de Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 45/1 (Seville, 1988), 137–62.

Only one significant collection of colonial documents specifically on mining exists: Modesto Bargalló, *La amalgamación de los minerales de plata en Hispanoamérica colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). Various colonial treatises and histories on, or dealing with, mining are available. Among these are, for New Spain: Francisco Xavier de Gamboa, *Comentarios a las Ordenanzas de Minas* (Madrid, 1761), translated as *Commentaries on the Mining Ordinances of Spain*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), good on technical as well as legal questions; Fausto de Elhúyar, *Memoria sobre el influjo de la minería en . . . la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1825) and *Indagaciones sobre la amonedación en la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1816); José Garcés y Eguía, *Nueva teórica y práctica del beneficio de los metales* (Mexico, D.F., 1802, reprinted 1977); Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, 4 vols. (London, 1811–22), translated into Spanish as *Ensayo político sobre el Reino de la Nueva España* (Mexico D.F., 1966). For South America, see Luis Capoche, *Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (Madrid, 1959), which is fundamental for Potosí up to *c.* 1585; also for Potosí, see García de Llanos, *Diccionario y maneras de hablar que se usan en las minas y sus labores, en los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ingenios y beneficios de los metales (1609) (La Paz, 1983); Alvaro Alonso Barba, *Arte de metales* (Madrid, 1640; Eng. trans. London, 1923), a remarkable seventeenth-century refining treatise by a priest of Charcas; Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (1676–1738), *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, 3 vols. (Providence, R.I., 1965); Pedro Vicente Cañete y Domínguez, *Guía histórica, física, política, civil y legal del Gobierno e Intendencia de la Provincia de Potosí* (1787; Potosí, 1952). Also important is Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basle, 1556; Eng. trans. London, 1912, repr. New York, 1950), an influential work in Spanish America.

Of all regions of Spanish America, New Spain has most attracted the attention of modern mining historians. Henry R. Wagner, 'Early silver mining in New Spain', *RHA*, 14 (1942), 49–71, studies the early decades. The beginnings of amalgamation are traced in Alan Probert, 'Bartolomé de Medina: The patio process and the sixteenth-century silver crisis', *Journal of the West*, 8 (1969), 90–124. Several individual districts have been examined, in: Robert C. West, *The Mining Community of Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949); Oscar Alatriste, *Desarrollo de la industria y la comunidad minera de Hidalgo del Parral durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (1765–1810) (Mexico D.F., 1983); P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas 1546–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); Philip L. Hadley, *Minería y sociedad en el centro minero de Santa Eulalia, Chihuahua* (1709–1750) (Mexico, D.F., 1975); D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), which deals particularly with Guanajuato but also embraces other centres and multifarious topics related to mining. John H. Coatsworth surveys silver production with an economist's eye in 'The Mexican mining industry in the eighteenth century', in Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Economies of Mexico and Peru During the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986), 26–45. Doris M. Ladd presents innovative labour history in *The Making of a Strike: Mexican Silver Workers in Real del Monte, 1766–1775* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1988); and Elinore M. Barrett makes a welcome break with silver in *The Mexican Colonial Copper Industry* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987). Walter Howe, *The Mining Guild of New Spain and Its Tribunal General, 1770–1810* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), is thorough. Humboldt's *Political Essay* is indispensable still for the eighteenth century. See also Miguel León-Portilla et al., *La minería en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1978).

Central American mining is treated by Murdo J. MacLeod in *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley and Los

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Angeles, 1973); and by Linda A. Newson in *The Cost of Conquest: Indian Decline in Honduras under Spanish Rule* (Boulder, Colo., 1986), and *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman, Okla., 1987). For New Granada, see especially Robert C. West, *Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia* (Baton Rouge, La., 1952); Germán Colmenares, *Historia económica y social de Colombia, 1537–1719* (Medellín, 1976), and *Cali: Terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes, siglo XVIII* (Cali, 1975); William F. Sharp, *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Chocó, 1680–1810* (Norman, Okla., 1976); and Ann Twinam, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia* (Austin, Tex., 1982). On Quito little is to be had, but Aquiles R. Pérez, *Las mitas en la Real Audiencia de Quito* (Quito, 1947) has information on mining as well as labour. See also Alfonso Anda Aguirre, *Zaruma en la colonia* (Quito, 1960).

The most thorough work for silver mining in Peru (within its present boundaries) is John R. Fisher, *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776–1824* (Liverpool, 1977). Theoretical questions and approaches are laid out in Carlos Sempat Assadourian et al., *Minería y espacio económico en los Andes, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima, 1980). Miguel Molina Martínez, *El Real Tribunal de Minería de Lima (1785–1821)* (Seville, 1986), deals mainly with the administration of late colonial mining in Peru, but also brings in operational aspects of silver production.

Potosí has attracted much attention in recent years, though a comprehensive work drawing together the many threads that have been followed by researchers is still lacking. Josep María Barnadas, *Charcas, 1535–1565: Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial* (La Paz, 1973), is informative on early mining both in Charcas generally and in Potosí in particular. The introduction by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza L. to Arzáns's *Historia* is the closest approach yet made to a general history of the town. An older general treatment now available in Spanish translation is Gwendolin B. Cobb, *Potosí y Huancavelica: Bases económicas del Perú, 1545–1640* (La Paz, 1977). Indian mine labour is the subject of Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí Mita, 1573–1700: Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Peter Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545–1650* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1984); Jorge Basadre, 'El régimen de la mita', *Letras* (Lima, 1937), 325–63; and various works by Enrique Tandeter, among them 'Forced and free labour in late colonial Potosí', *Past and Present*, 93 (November 1981), 98–136, and 'La producción como actividad popular: "Ladrones de minas" en Potosí', *Nova Americana*, 4 (1981), 43–65. Questions of production, technology and capital are to

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

some extent treated in Gastón Arduz Eguía, *Ensayos sobre la historia de la minería altoperuana* (Madrid, 1985) and in Peter Bakewell, *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The Life and Times of Antonio López de Quiroga* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988). For late colonial Potosí, see Rose Marie Buechler, *The Mining Society of Potosí, 1776–1810* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981).

For Chile, Ernesto Greve, 'Historia de la amalgamación de la plata', *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía,* 102 (1943), 158–259, is broader than it sounds. Marcello Carmagnani, in *El salariado minero en Chile colonial: Su desarrollo en una sociedad provincial: El Norte Chico, 1690–1800* (Santiago, Chile, 1963) describes mining and labour in an important gold district. The same author's *Les mécanismes de la vie économique dans une société coloniale: Le Chili, 1680–1830* (Paris, 1973), also brings in mining. Organisation, finance and technology in late colonial mining in Chile are treated in Luz María Méndez Beltrán, *Instituciones y problemas de la minería en Chile, 1787–1826* (Santiago, Chile, 1979).

For mercury mining, see above all M. F. Lang, *El monopolio estatal del mercurio en el México colonial (1550–1710)* (Mexico, D.F., 1977) and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las minas de Huancavelica en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville, 1949). For the social history of Huancavelica, the brief treatment of Carlos Contreras, *La ciudad del mercurio: Huancavelica, 1570–1700* (Lima, 1982), is valuable. For the eighteenth century, see Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Huancavelica Mercury Mine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), and Antonia Heredia Herrera, *La renta del azógue en Nueva España: 1709–1751* (Seville, 1978). For Almadén, see the study by A. Matilla Tascón, *Historia de las minas de Almadén,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1958, 1987).

9. THE FORMATION AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE HACIENDA IN NEW SPAIN

The study of the hacienda as a productive unit in the creation of new forms of exploitation of the soil and of labour is a relatively recent phenomenon in Mexico. Lesley B. Simpson, *Exploitation of Land in Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952) illustrates with quantitative data the impressive, early conversion of Indian lands into agricultural and stock-raising enterprises owned and run by Spaniards. François Chevalier, *La formation des grands domaines au Mexique* (Paris, 1952; Sp. ed., 1956;

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Eng. ed., *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966) continued the traditional interest in forms of land tenure – for example Helen Phipps, *Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1925); George McCutchen McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923); Silvio Zavala, *De encomienda y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América española* (Mexico, D.F., 1940; reprinted in *Estudios Indianos,* Mexico, D.F., 1948; 2nd ed., 1984); Jesús Amaya Tapete, *Ameca: Protofundación mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1951) – and gave a new dimension to studies on land ownership and agriculture. Using a wide variety of private and official archives, Chevalier reconstructed the main processes which influenced the formation of the latifundia, traced their development over time, and related the expansion of the hacienda to the general development of the colony and in particular to the establishment of a new economic structure.

Although the dominant theme is still that of land ownership, most recent studies include an analysis of production and productivity, systems of labour, technology, administration, the market, and other micro- and macro-economic aspects. A detailed exposition of the themes and standpoints of such studies may be found in Magnus Mörner, 'The Spanish American hacienda: A survey of recent research and debate', *HAHR,* 53/1 (1973), 183–216; Reinhard Liehr, 'Orígenes, evolución y estructura socioeconómica de la hacienda hispanoamericana', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 33 (1976), 527–77; and Eric Van Young, 'Mexican rural history since Chevalier', *LARR,* 18/3 (1983), 5–61, a review of thirty years' historical literature on the rural history of colonial Mexico. See also Eric Van Young, 'The age of paradox: Mexican agriculture at the end of the colonial period, 1750–1810', in Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986), an excellent overview. Equally recent is the attempt to define more precisely the economic characteristics of the hacienda and to pinpoint the differences between it and the latifundium, the plantation and other institutions. This attempt to arrive at a more rigorous definition was begun by Eric R. Wolf and Sidney W. Mintz in 'Haciendas and plantations in Middle America and the Antilles', *Social and Economic Studies,* 6 (1957), 380–412. This has been followed up, albeit irregularly, in later years. See, for example, James Lockhart, 'Encomienda and hacienda: The evolution of the great estate in the Spanish Indies', *HAHR,* 49/3 (1969), 411–29; Robert G. Keith, 'Encomienda, hacienda and corregimiento in Spanish America: A structural analysis', *HAHR,* 51/3 (1971),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

431–46, and his introduction to the collective work he edited, *Haciendas and Plantations in Latin American History* (New York, 1977), 1–35.

Since 1970, the analysis of agricultural problems during the colonial period has taken the form of regional studies, and in particular of monographs devoted to one or more haciendas. Over these years, a number of monographs have appeared which, apart from describing the formation of this type of landed estate, have tackled more deeply the problems of production, labour, the market and the influence of landowners on the social and political life of the region. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964) created a model for scholarly analysis at a regional level which has been adopted by many researchers interested in agricultural issues. The collective work, *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), edited by Enrique Florescano, brought together a series of essays which consider issues of property, production, labour and market outlets in various privately owned estates and in Jesuit haciendas, the latter being preferred for the richness and accessibility of their archives. Ward Barrett published one of the best studies on the economy of the sugar hacienda, *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle* (Minneapolis, 1970), in which he paid special attention to the technical and administrative aspects of the hacienda, as well as to labour costs and productivity. See also Gisela von Wobeser, *La hacienda azucarera en la época colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). However, the vast majority of studies have concentrated on the Jesuit-owned haciendas: Ursula Edwald, *Estudios sobre la hacienda colonial en México: Las propiedades rurales del Colegio Espíritu Santo en Puebla* (Wiesbaden, 1970); James D. Riley, *Hacendados jesuitas en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Herman K. Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford, Calif., 1980).

Also numerous are studies which examine the formation and development of one or more haciendas over extended periods. See, for example, Jan Bazant, *Cinco haciendas mexicanas* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Edith Boorstein Couturier, *La hacienda de Hueyapan, 1559–1936* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Enrique Semo (ed.), *Siete ensayos sobre la hacienda mexicana, 1780–1880* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). These monographs and other economic studies have stimulated the analysis of agrarian problems region by region. William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1972) is an important study which points to a sharp contrast between the development of Indian and Spanish properties in this region and the findings of Chevalier, Gibson and other authors with regard to the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

centre and north of Mexico. On the vast northern cattle-raising region, Charles H. Harris has written a fundamental work which traces the economic, social and political history of a large family-owned latifundium: *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarro Family, 1765–1867* (Austin, Tex., 1975). The Puebla–Tlaxcala area has been the subject of continuing scrutiny by a group of German scholars, who have published such studies as that of Ursula Edwald, already cited, and Hans J. Prem, *Milpa y hacienda: Tenencia de la tierra indígena y española en la cuenca del Alto Atoyac, Puebla, México 1520–1650* (Wiesbaden, 1978). Among these, particularly worthy of note is Herbert J. Nickel, *Soziale Morphologie der Mexikanischen Hacienda* (Wiesbaden, 1978; Sp. trans., *Morfología social de la hacienda mexicana,* Mexico, D.F., 1988), which gives a general model of the Mexican hacienda and compares this with that of the Puebla–Tlaxcala area. See also his *Relaciones de trabajo en las haciendas de Puebla y Tlaxcala, (1740–1914)* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). One of the best analyses of the origin and development of the hacienda in a particular region is Robert Patch, 'La formación de estancias y haciendas en Yucatán durante la colonia', *Boletín de la Escuela de Ciencias Antropológicas de la Universidad de Yucatán* (July–August 1976).

On the Bajío, the main grain-producing region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, David A. Brading's *Haciendas and ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León 1700–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978), is one of the first studies on the formation of the ranches. In his unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Creole Mexico: Spanish elites, haciendas and Indian towns, 1750–1810' (University of Texas, 1976), John Tutino examines the social stratification of landowners and the relationship between haciendas and villages in Central Mexico. Claude Morin examines these relationships, agricultural production and the situation of Indian workers in *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). One of the best studies on the regional agricultural economy is Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Los Angeles, 1981), which considers production, labour, the market and the hacienda system in the region of Guadalajara. Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of Early Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), brings together a series of regional essays describing agrarian processes, the formation of haciendas and the relations between them and the Indian villages in Yucatán, Oaxaca, Toluca, Tlaxcala, the Valley of Mexico, Querétaro, Zacatecas and Coahuila.

The books of Chevalier and Simpson mentioned above provide the best

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

information on the expansion of cattle raising and the formation of cattle estancias and haciendas in the sixteenth century. William H. Dusenberry, *The Mexican Meseta: The Administration of Ranching in Colonial Mexico* (Urbana, Ill., 1963), provides an overall analysis of the organization created by cattle breeders in order to regulate seasonal migration, grazing rights, legal matters and the slaughter of cattle. Ramón Ma. Serrera, *Guadalajara, ciudad ganadera: Estudio regional novohispano, 1760–1805* (Seville, 1977), contains an analysis of the breeding of cattle, horses, mules and sheep, of the economic function of these activities in the region, and of the great ranching families. See also Cuauhtémoc Esparza Sánchez, *Historia de la ganadería en Zacatecas, 1532–1911* (Zacatecas, 1988).

Changes in the agrarian landscape brought about by the development of the haciendas and ranches and by the introduction of new crops and animals are treated in some of the works already mentioned. Alejandra Moreno Toscano offers us a general panorama of these changes in her *Geografía económica de México: Siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1968). Peter Gerhard has studied in some detail the effects of policies which obliged Indian villages to merge into larger units: see 'Congregaciones de indios en la Nueva España antes de 1570', *HM*, 26 (1976–7), 347–95, and 'La evolución del pueblo rural mexicano: 1519–1975', *HM*, 24 (1974–5), 566–78.

The transformation of large tracts of Indian land into private estates owned by Spaniards gave rise to new forms of soil exploitation based on new systems of labour, which in turn created a new pattern of relations between workers and landowners. Between 1929 and 1950, several studies presented an initial view of the chronological development of the systems of agricultural labour and some of their principal characteristics: Lesley B. Simpson, *The Encomienda: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonia, 1492–1550* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1929), *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1938 and 1940), and *The Encomienda of New Spain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950); Silvio Zavala, 'Los orígenes coloniales del peonaje en México', *El Trimestre Económico*, 10 (1943–4), 711–48, reprinted in *Estudios Indianos*, 1984; S. Zavala and María Castelo (eds.), *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España, 1552–1805*, 8 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1939–46; 2nd ed. 1980). See also Silvio Zavala, *El servicio personal de los indios en la Nueva España, siglo XVI*, 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1984–9), which contains important documentary material on indigenous labour in Spanish agriculture and cattle-raising.

Based on these studies and on those of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán on the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

importation of black slaves (*La población negra de México, 1519–1810*, Mexico, D.F., 1940), of George Kubler on the effects of the demographic crisis on the supply of Indian labour (*Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century* 2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1948), and on the research into the epidemics and demographic catastrophes of the sixteenth century he himself had carried out with S. F. Cook, W. Borah's important study, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951) showed how the decline of the Indian population, together with the increase in the Spanish population, was decisive in the structural transformation of the colonial economy in the sixteenth century from one essentially based on tribute to one based on the hacienda and peonage. According to Borah, the loss of the labour force which was one of the props of colonial society caused a general economic crisis, the organization of labour along different lines, namely the creation of a landless peasantry, and new forms of production and circulation of agricultural produce.

In *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule,* Charles Gibson produced the most comprehensive study currently available on Indian labour in any one region. The analysis of systems of agricultural labour in the Valley of Mexico led him to suggest that debt peonage was no longer predominant in this region at the end of the eighteenth century, and that the methods of coercion used initially to retain workers had changed owing to the transformation of the hacienda into an institution which offered regular wages throughout the year and attractive living and social conditions for the Indians who had lost their lands or had cut their links with their community of origin. This hypothesis has been raised in almost all recent studies on the haciendas and agricultural labour, but none has proved convincingly that debt peonage and political coercion ceased to be important as methods of retaining labourers on the haciendas. The studies mentioned above on the haciendas rather confirm that the practice of retaining wages persisted, and prove that the worker did not usually receive payment in cash, but in credit facilities and goods, all of which demonstrates the presence of political and social pressures which curtailed the worker's freedom of movement and employment.

More recent studies – see, for example, John Tutino, 'Life and labor on north Mexican haciendas: The Querétaro–San Luis Potosí region: 1775–1810', and E. Florescano, 'Evaluación y síntesis de las ponencias sobre el trabajo colonial', in *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), 339–77 and 756–97 – show that the permanent labourers on the haciendas, the peons, constituted a new social grouping,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

a product of racial mixture, acculturation and the economic changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, the majority of seasonal labourers were from Indian villages (see E. Florescano, Isabel González Sánchez et al., *La clase obrera en la historia de México: De la colonia al imperio,* Mexico, D.F., 1980). On labour coercion, see also an article by Susan M. Deeds, 'Rural work in Nueva Vizcaya: Forms of labor coercion on the periphery', *HAHR,* 63/3 (1989), 425–49.

Until the 1960s the predominant assumption in agrarian studies was that the hacienda was a self-sufficient unit of a feudal rather than commercial type. This thesis has been replaced by new interpretations which show that the hacienda originated in the introduction of the mercantile economy and that its development ran parallel to the growth of mercantile exchange and market outlets. In *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, 1708–1810* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), E. Florescano examined the principal mechanisms which regulated the demand for and availability of grain on the urban market, and related fluctuations in the price of maize to agricultural crisis and seasonal shortages. Later studies have confirmed the presence of such mechanisms in various regions; see the works by D. A. Brading on León and Eric Van Young on Guadalajara cited above, and in the mining area, see Richard L. Garner, 'Zacatecas, 1750–1821: The study of a late colonial Mexican city' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1970).

The theoretical basis which permitted a deeper economic interpretation of the relationship between agriculture and the market and the dominant economic system was provided by Marxist studies, in particular the work of Witold Kula, *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System* (original Polish edition, 1962; Buenos Aires, 1974; London, 1976). Inspired by this and other Marxist studies, Carlos Sempat Assadourian, Angel Palerm and Marcello Carmagnani, among others, have treated in a different way the problem of the articulation of the colonial economy with the world system, the characteristics which forged the development of the mercantile colonial economy and the subordinate role played in this by agriculture compared with mineral production. On this issue, see the studies by these authors in E. Florescano (ed.), *Ensayos sobre el desarrollo económico de México y América Latina, 1500–1975* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). See also Arij Ouweneel, 'The agrarian cycle as a catalyst of economic development in eighteenth-century central Mexico: The arable estate, Indian villages and proto-industrialisation in the central highland valleys', *I-AA,* 15/3 (1989), 399–417.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The dependence of primary producers in the face of the seasonal and cyclical fluctuations of the market (see Florescano, *Precios;* Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos;* Van Young, *Hacienda and Market;* Garner, 'Zacatecas, 1750–1821') produced an even greater dependence among farmers and cattle raisers on commercial capital. During the eighteenth century this expressed itself, in the main urban and mining centres, through the domination of the mechanisms of circulation of agricultural produce and the control of market outlets by the merchant sector; for this, see the already mentioned study by Van Young; Harris, *A Mexican Family Empire;* Tutino, 'Creole Mexico', and Marco Bellingeri, *Las haciendas en México: El caso de San Antonio Tochatlaco, 1800–1920* (Mexico, D.F., 1980). The studies by Asunción Lavrin on the credit extended by religious institutions to producers and merchants ('El capital eclesiástico y las élites sociales en Nueva España a fines del siglo XVIII', paper presented at the V Simposio de Historia Económica de América Latina, Lima, 1978); Linda Greenow (*Credit and Socio-economic Change in Colonial Mexico: Loans and Mortgages in Guadalajara, 1720–1820,* Boulder, Colo., 1983); R. B. Lindley (*Haciendas and Economic Development: Guadalajara, Mexico, at Independence,* Austin, Tex., 1983; Sp. trans., 1987) on credit and family relations within the colonial elite of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Guadalajara; Gisela von Wobeser on the contraction of debts among the owners of haciendas (*San Carlos Borromeo: Endeudamiento de una hacienda colonial, 1608–1729,* Mexico, D.F., 1980); J. Tutino on the concentration of wealth and land within the commercial sector ('Creole Mexico'); and Doris Ladd on the colonial aristocracy (*The Mexican Nobility at Independence,* Austin, Tex., 1976), all demonstrate the gradual erosion of the power of primary producers in the face of the credit and capital accumulated by merchants, and the formation of a small but powerful oligarchy of great families, predominant among which were merchants.

John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), examines the agrarian roots of Indian and peasant rebellions in Mexico during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

10. THE RURAL ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

The rural history of Spanish South America finally began to receive some attention from scholars during the 1970s. Even now, far more research is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

devoted to the large estates than to smallholders and *comunidades*. See Magnus Mörner, 'The Spanish American hacienda: A survey of recent research and debate', *HAHR*, 53/2 (1973), 183–216; articles by Reinhard Liehr in H. J. Puhle (ed.), *Lateinamerika: Historische Realität und Dependencia-Theorien* (Hamburg, 1976), 105–46, and H. Pietschmann in G. Siebenmann (ed.), *Die lateinamerikanische Hacienda: Ihre Rolle in der Geschichte von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Diessenhofen, 1979), 37–48. Interesting perspectives are provided by Cristóbal Kay, 'Desarrollo comparativo del sistema señorial europeo y del sistema de hacienda latinoamericano', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 31 (1976), 681–723. Agricultural productivity and technology during the colonial period have until now received very little attention. An old but still important study of the legal aspects is J. M. Ots Capdequí, *El régimen de la tierra en la América española durante el período colonial* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1946).

A general survey of Peruvian rural history is provided by V. Roel Pineda, *Historia social y económica de la Colonia* (Lima, 1970). More recent monographs include R. G. Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); M. Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: El Valle de Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima, 1976); Keith A. Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1984), which deals with Arequipa; S. E. Ramírez-Horton, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economies of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), which deals with Lambayeque province; and M. Mörner, *Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia* (Lima, 1978). On the local level, Nils Jacobsen, 'Land tenure and society in the Peruvian Altiplano: Azángaro, 1770–1820' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982) and Luis Miguel Glave and Isabel Remy, *Estructura agraria y vida rural en una región andina: Ollantaitambo entre los siglos XVII–XIX* (Cuzco, 1983) are admirable. See also Isabel Remy, 'Historia agraria cusqueña: Balance y perspectivas', in Alberto Chirif, Nelson Manrique and Benjamín Quïjandria (eds.), *Perú: El problema agrario en debate* (Lima, 1990), 63–85. A pioneering work on coastal production is María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Recursos naturales renovables y pesca: Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima, 1981). The valley of Chancay has been studied in several contributions by J. Matos Mar and others. In vol. 2 of *Trabajos de historia*, 4 vols. (Lima, 1977) Pablo Macera studied Jesuit haciendas and the history of sugar production. See also Nicholas P. Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru 1600–1767* (Albany, N.Y., 1980). For labour, see Frederick

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); for the role of the Indians as labour and in trade, K. Spalding, *De indio a campesino: Cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial* (Lima, 1974). Food supply is discussed in O. Febres Villaroel, 'La crisis agrícola en el Perú en el último tercio del siglo XVIII', *Revista Histórica,* 27 (Lima, 1964), 102–99, and Demetrio Ramos, *Trigo chileno, navieros del Callao y hacendados limeños entre la crisis agrícola del siglo XVIII y la comercial de la primera mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1967). For the trade in cocoa and wine see also L. M. Glave, 'Trajines: Un capítulo en la formación del mercado interno colonial', *Revista Andina,* 1/1 (Cuzco, 1983), 9–76. Irrigation is studied by H. Villanueva U. and J. Sherbondy (eds.), *Cuzco: Agua y poder* (Cuzco, 1979).

The most serious work so far on the rural history of Upper Peru (Bolivia) is B. Larson, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1988). Labour aspects are dealt with by N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978). Aspects of the marketing of rural produce are taken up in Olivia Harris, B. Larson and E. Tandeter (eds.), *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: Estrategias y reproducción social, siglos XVI a XX* (La Paz, 1987) and, focusing on yerba mate, Juan Carlos Garaviglia, *Mercado interno y economía colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). A general survey is provided by Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: El mercado interior, regiones y espacio económico* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Articles by S. Rivera Cusicanqui and others have appeared in the journal *Avances* (La Paz, 1978–). See also Daniel J. Santamaría, 'La propiedad de la tierra y la condición social del indio en el Alto Perú, 1780–1810', *DE,* 17/6 (1977), 253–71. E. Tandeter and N. Wachtel, 'Precios y producción agraria: Potosí y Charcas en el siglo XVIII', *DE,* 29/90 (1983), 197–230, is a pioneering study. On the local level, the small study *Siporo: Historia de una hacienda boliviana* (La Paz, 1984) by Alberto Crespo R. and his team deserves to be mentioned.

Mario Góngora was the pioneer in the field of Chilean rural history. His works include: *Orígen de los 'inquilinos' de Chile Central* (Santiago, Chile, 1960); (with J. Borde), *Evolución de la propiedad rural en el Valle del Puanque* (Santiago, Chile, 1956); *Encomenderos y estancieros: Estudios acerca de la constitución social aristocrática de Chile después de la Conquista, 1580–1660* (Santiago, Chile, 1970); *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). See also Rafael Baraona, Roberto Santana and Ximena Aranda, *Valle de Putaendo: Estudio de estructura agraria* (Santiago,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile, 1961). Also R. Mellafe, 'Latifundio y poder rural en Chile de los siglos XVII y XVIII', *Cuadernos de Historia,* vol. 1 (Santiago, Chile, 1981), 87–108. An important and unique contribution is that of M. Carmagnani, *Les mécanismes de la vie économique dans un société coloniale: Le Chile, 1680–1830* (Paris, 1973).

For short surveys of the rural history of the Río de la Plata, see C. Sempat Assadourian, G. Beato and J. C. Chiaramonte, *Argentina: De la conquista a la Independencia* (Buenos Aires, 1972); H. C. E. Giberti, *Historia económica de la ganadería argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1961); A. R. Castellanos, *Breve historia de la ganadería en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1971). Pedro Santos Martínez, *Historia económica de Mendoza durante el Virreinato, 1776–1810* (Madrid, 1961), and Ernesto J. A. Maeder, *Historia económica de Corrientes en el período virreinal, 1776–1810* (Buenos Aires, 1981) are important works in the field of regional history. C. Garzón Maceda, *Economía del Tucumán: Economía natural y economía monetaria: Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII* (Córdoba, Arg., 1968), is another penetrating study of general interest. Rural history is also dealt with in J. L. Mora Mérida, *Historia social de Paraguay, 1600–50* (Seville, 1973). On the Jesuit missions, see M. Mörner, *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata: La era de los Habsburgos* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and his article on the rivalry of Uruguayan *ganado cimarrón* in *Revista Portuguesa de História,* 9 (1961), and Nicholas P. Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767* (Albany, N.Y., 1983). See also E. A. Coni, *Historia de las vaquerías de Río de la Plata, 1555–1750* (Buenos Aires, 1956) and the articles by J. C. Garaviglia and T. Halperín Donghi in Enrique Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). S. M. Socolow, 'Economic activities of the *porteño* merchants: The viceregal period', *HAHR,* 55/1 (1975), 1–24, and J. C. Garaviglia, 'Economic growth and regional differentiation: The River Plate region at the end of the eighteenth century', *HAHR,* 65/1 (1985), 51–89 are also useful.

The Audiencia of Quito (Ecuador) is still little explored. More data on rural and social history than the title suggests can be found in Segundo Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito, comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la Colonia* (Bonn, 1976). See also Galo Ramón V., *La resistencia andina: Cayambe 1500–1800* (Quito, 1987). On the rural textile industry, see J. Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, 'Obrajes y obrajeros del Quito colonial', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 39 (Seville, 1982), 341–65. See also Segundo Moreno Yáñez and U. Oberem, *Contribución a la*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

etnohistoria ecuatoriana (Otavalo, 1981). On the coast, see María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, *Guayaquil en siglo XVIII: Recursos naturales y desarrollo económico* (Seville, 1987) and M. T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973).

In Colombia, the sociologist O. Fals Borda was the pioneer in rural history. See his *El hombre y la tierra en Boyacá* (Bogotá, 1957), and his article, 'Indian congregations in the New Kingdom of Granada: Land Tenure Aspects, 1595–1850', in *TA*, 13/4 (1957), 331–51. On the Indian communities, see also an article by T. Gómez in *Caravelle: Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brésilien*, 27 (Toulouse, 1977). The main contributions by G. Colmenares include *Haciendas de los jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1969) and *Historia económica y social de Colombia, 1537–1719* (Bogotá, 1973). See also the impressive work by G. Colmenares and Zamira Díaz de Zuloaga, *Sociedad y economía en el Valle del Cauca*, vol. 1, *Cali: Terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes: Siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1983). Vol. 2, *Guerra y economía en las haciendas: Popayán 1780–1830* (Bogotá, 1983). On Antioquia in the eighteenth century, see Ann Twinam, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia* (Austin, Tex., 1982). See also J. A. Villamarín, 'Haciendas en la Sabana de Bogotá, Colombia, en la época colonial: 1539–1810', in Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones*, and contributions to the *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* (1963–).

In his pioneering work, *Economía colonial de Venezuela* (Mexico, D.F., 1946), E. Arcila Farías dealt mainly with commercialization. For a broader approach, see Federico Brito Figueroa, *Estructura económica de Venezuela colonial* (Caracas, 1963), an analysis in strictly Marxist terms. P. Michael McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy and Society, 1777–1811* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985) deals with the far-flung economically important province, not just the city. A fine study on Venezuela in the late colonial and early national periods is M. Izard, *La agricultura venezolana en una época de transición* (Caracas, 1972).

11. ASPECTS OF THE INTERNAL ECONOMY: LABOUR, TAXATION, DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE

There are no satisfactory surveys of the Spanish American colonial economies. A provocative, thoughtful, but dated Marxist interpretation is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sérgio Bagú, *Economía de la sociedad colonial: Ensayo de historia comparada de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1949). Also somewhat dated is Emilio A. Coni, *Agricultura, comercio e industria coloniales (siglo XVI–XVIII)* (Buenos Aires, 1941). A more modern but less stimulating study is Demetrio Ramos, *Minería y comercio interprovincial en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII)* (Valladolid, 1970). More recently, see Juan Carlos Vedoya, *Historia social y económica de la colonia, siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Tandil, Arg., 1985). A useful synthesis of the economies of Lower and Upper Peru in the colonial period is Jaime R. Ríos Burga, *Ciclos productivos en el espacio peruano colonial, siglos XVI–XIX: Una aproximación a una síntesis cuantitativa* (Lima, 1986), while a significant contribution for New Spain and Peru in the late colonial period is Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986). A well-documented economic history of colonial Paraguay is Juan Bautista Rivarola Paoli, *La economía colonial* (Asunción, 1986). Much useful material on economic institutions can still be found in C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947). A study with a very different emphasis, as the title suggests, is the short book by Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (New York, 1970). For the Atlantic sea link, Atlantic trade and the Atlantic economy in general, see essay II:4.

LABOUR

A convenient summary of Indian colonial labour systems is by Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, *Indian Labor in Mainland Colonial Spanish America* (Newark, Del., 1975). Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz (ed.), *Población y mano de obra en América Latina* (Madrid, 1985) also provides a useful overview. The evolution of such labour systems may be grasped by reading in sequence the introductions to the several volumes by Silvio Zavala and María Castelo (eds.), *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España, 1552–1805*, 8 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1939–46). Readers should also consult Zavala's *El servicio personal de los indios en el Perú (extractas del siglo XVI, XVII, XVIII)*, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1978–80), which has extensive discussion of the Peruvian encomienda, mita and peonage, and the same author's companion volumes, *El servicio de los indios en Nueva España*, vol. 1: *1521–1550;* vol. 2: *1550–1575* (Mexico, D.F., 1984–1985). A photofacsimile edition of the royal confirmations of encomiendas and sales of office which were compiled between 1629 and 1635 by Antonio de León Pinelo has been published as

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Tratado de confirmaciones reales de encomiendas, oficios i casos, en que se requieren para las Indias Occidentales, edited by Eduardo Arcila Farías (Caracas, 1979). The encomienda, how it declined because of population loss and royal legislation, and how some entrepreneurs used it as a device for capital accumulation and diversification, are discussed in José Miranda, *La función económica del encomendero en los orígenes del régimen colonial: Nueva España, 1523–1531* (Mexico, D.F., 1965). A later encomendero prosopography is Robert T. Himmerich, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521–1555* (Austin, Tex., 1991).

The link between the encomienda and land tenure in general is discussed in two very different essays: James Lockhart, 'Encomienda and hacienda: The evolution of the great estate in the Spanish Indies', *HAHR,* 49/3 (1969), 411–29; and Robert G. Keith, 'Encomienda, hacienda and corregimiento in Spanish America: A structural analysis', *HAHR,* 51/3 (1971), 431–46. The pioneer of studies on peonage is, once again, Silvio Zavala, in his 'Los orígenes coloniales del peonaje en México', *TE,* 10 (1943–4), 711–48. See also Genaro V. Vázquez, *Legislación del trabajo en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1938); Samuel Kagan, *Los vagabundos en la Nueva España, siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1957); Richard Konetzke, 'Los mestizos en la legislación colonial', *Revista de Estudios Políticos,* 112–14 (1960), 113–30, 179–215; and Karen Spalding, *De indio a campesino: Cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial* (Lima, 1974). For the literature on black slavery, see, essay II:14.

A comparative study of the transformations in labour practices and land tenure in several important Nahua towns in sixteenth-century central Mexico is Jesús Ruvalcaba Mercado, *Agricultura india en Cempoala, Tepeapulco y Tulancingo, siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). A study of early Mexican haciendas is Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *The Leverage of Labor: Managing the Cortés Haciendas in Tehuantepec, 1588–1688* (Durham, N.C., 1989). For the later period departure points are offered in a collection by Arij Ouweneel and Cristina Torales Pacheco (comps.), *Empresarios, indios y estado: Perfil de la economía mexicana, siglo XVIII* (Amsterdam, 1988); Claude Morin's detailed *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: Crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); and Doris M. Ladd, *The Making of a Strike: Mexican Silver Workers' Struggles in Real del Monte, 1766–1775* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1988). For Peru, a number of studies deserve special mention: on land and labour, Susan Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economies of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), details the origins and evolution of hacien-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

das in the north coastal Lambayeque region; Keith Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1984), focuses on the southern region of Arequipa; and Nicholas P. Cushner's various studies on Jesuit ranches are also useful; while with regard to mines, Peter Bakewell's *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545–1650* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985) and Jeffrey A. Cole's *The Potosí Mita, 1573–1700: Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes* (Stanford, Calif., 1985) are an essential combination. For more bibliography on mining, see II:8. For work on migration and movement, see David J. Robinson (ed.), *Migration in Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990) and Ann M. Wightman's *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1520–1720* (Durham, N.C., 1990). A well-researched study of forced Indian labour in twelve towns in early seventeenth-century Mérida is Edda O. Samudio Azpúrua, *El trabajo y los trabajadores en Mérida colonial: Fuentes para su estudio* (San Cristóbal, Ven., 1984). See also Robson Brines Tyrer, *Historia demográfica y económica de la audiencia de Quito: Población indígena e industria textil, 1600–1800* (Quito, 1988).

TAXATION

Gabriel Ardant is the main authority on systems of taxation. See, for example, his massive *Théorie sociologique de l'impôt,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1965). José Miranda surveys the history and economies of Indian tribute in Mexico in his *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1952). Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz covers a later and longer period, including the post-independence tributes of the nineteenth century, in *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978). Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, *El tributo indígena en el Perú, siglos XVI y XVII* (Pamplona, 1979) is thorough but lacks interpretation and imagination.

Derramas and *repartimientos de mercancías* await detailed history and analysis. Meanwhile, a good study of the late colonial *repartimientos* in Peru is A. Moreno Cebrián, *El corregidor de indios y la economía peruana en el siglo XVIII: Los repartos forzosos de mercancías* (Madrid, 1977). See also Jurgen Golte, *Repartos y rebeliones: Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial* (Lima, 1980). We are equally lacking in definitive works on the specific institutions which Indians adopted so readily, the *caja de comunidad* and the *cofradía.* There are two unpublished doctoral dissertations containing extensive information: Francis Joseph Brooks, 'Parish and *cofradía* in eighteenth-century Mexico' (Princeton University, 1976); and Gary Wendell Graff,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'*Cofradías* in the new kingdom of Granada: Lay fraternities in a Spanish-American frontier society, 1600–1755' (University of Wisconsin, 1973). See also Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Formas de gobierno indígena* (Mexico, D.F., 1953); Pedro Carrasco, "The civil religious hierarchy in Mesoamerican communities: Pre-Spanish background and colonial development', *American Anthropologist,* 63 (1961), 483–97; appropriate parts of the impressive study by Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans la Perú colonial* (Paris, 1971); and José Miranda and Silvio Zavala, 'Instituciones indígenas en la colonia', in A. Caso (ed.), *Métodos y resultados de la política indigenista en México* (Mexico, D.F. 1954), 29–167.

DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE

On the *consulados* see, for example, Germán O. E. Tjarks, *El consulado de Buenos Aires, y sus proyecciones en la historia del Río de la Plata,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1962) and the older Robert S. Smith, *The Spanish Guild Merchant: A History of the Consulado, 1250–1700* (Durham, N.C., 1940). Government *estancos* or monopolies are the subject of a series of works from the Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos in Seville. The most recent is by José Jesús Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque en Nueva España, 1663–1810* (Seville, 1979). The crown's revenues are studied exhaustively in Francisco Gallardo y Fernández, *Orígen, progresos y estado de las rentas de la corona de España, su gobierno y administración,* 8 vols. (Madrid, 1805–8).

The Indian economy and market system are discussed in such well-known works as Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964); Josep M. Barnadas, *Charcas, 1535–1565: Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial* (La Paz, 1973); and Magnus Mörner, *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Stockholm, 1970). On the possible extent of influence of trade routes in central Mexico, see Ross Hassig, *Trade, Tribute and Transportation: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1985). Lawrence H. Feldman's *A Tumpline Economy: Production and Distribution Systems in Sixteenth-Century Eastern Guatemala* (Culver City, Calif., 1985), is a useful study of the production of goods and distribution in this early colonial region of Central America. On Andean integration into the mercantile economy, an important newer study is Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: Estrategias y reproducción social, siglos XVI a XX* (La Paz, 1987). See also Rossana Barragán Romano,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'En torno al modelo comunal mercantil: El caso de Mizque, Cochabamba, en el siglo XVII', *Chungara*, 15 (1985), 125–41.

For long-distance commerce, routes and markets, the following should provide an introduction: Woodrow Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954); Marcello Carmagnani, *Les mécanismes de la vie économique dans une société coloniale: Le Chili (1680–1830)* (Paris, 1973); Manuel Moreyra y Paz Soldán, *El comercio de exportación en el Pacífico a comienzos del siglo XVIII* (Lima, 1944); and María Encarnación Rodríguez Vicente, *El tribunal del consulado de Lima en la primera mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1960). Lawrence A. Clayton reviews some works on Pacific trade in 'Trade and navigation in the seventeenth-century viceroyalty of Peru', *JLAS*, 7/1 (1975), 1–21, and gives us a good picture of a colonial shipyard and port in *Caulkers and Carpenters in a New World: The Shipyards of Colonial Guayaquil* (Athens, Ohio, 1980). The Potosí–Buenos Aires route has a large but scattered bibliography. Helpful are Mario Rodríguez, 'Dom Pedro of Braganza and Colônia do Sacramento, 1680–1705', *HAHR*, 38/2 (1958), 180–208; and Sergio Villalobos R., *Comercio y contrabando en el Río de la Plata y Chile, 1700–1811* (Buenos Aires, 1965). An amusing account of the journey between Buenos Aires and Lima is 'Concolorcorvo', *El Lazarillo: A Guide for Inexperienced Travelers between Buenos Aires and Lima, 1773*, translated by Walter D. Kline (Bloomington, Ind., 1965). See also Zacarías Moutoukias, *Contrabando y control colonial en el siglo XVII: Buenos Aires, el Atlántico y el espacio peruano* (Buenos Aires, 1988). A creole merchant's interesting account of why illegal trade flourished near the end of the eighteenth century is José Ignacio de Pombo, *Comercio y contrabando en Cartagena de Indias, 2 de junio de 1800* (Bogotá, 1986). Fairs are discussed in Manuel Carrera Stampa, 'Las ferias novohispanas', *HM*, 2 (1952–3), 319–42, which also contains maps of trade routes, and in Allyn C. Loosley, 'The Puerto Bello fairs', *HAHR*, 13 (1933), 314–35. A challenging article questioning whether the fair was an accurate indicator of trade and analysing alternative routes is Enriqueta Vila Vilar, 'Las ferias de Portobelo: Aparencia y realidad del comercio con Indias', *Lotería*, 358 (January–February 1986), 39–93. Carrera Stampa also wrote a pioneering work on craft guilds, *Los gremios mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521–1810* (Mexico, D.F., 1954).

The literature on merchants is extensive, especially for the eighteenth century. An article on a less well-known early group is John C. Super, 'Partnership and profit in the early Andean trades: The experiences of Quito mer-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

chants, 1580–1610', *JLAS*, 11/2 (1979), 265–81. Important for the early period is Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590–1660: Silver, State and Society* (Durham N.C., 1991). Work on colonial industries has also been voluminous. On the textile *obrajes*, see John C. Super, 'Querétaro *obrajes:* Industry and society in provincial Mexico 1600–1810', *HAHR*, 56/2 (1976), 197–216; Robson Tyrer, 'The demographic and economic history of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian population and the textile industry 1600–1810' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1976; Sp. trans., Quito, 1988, cited above); Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, 'El obraje colonial ecuatoriano: Aproximación a su estudio', *Revista de Indias*, 27 (1977), 471–541; G. P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); Richard J. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539–1840* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); and Carmen Viqueira and José I. Urquiola, *Los obrajes en la Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1990).

Other colonial industries have interested scholars such as Eduardo Arcila Farias, who described Venezuela's cacao in *Economía colonial de Venezuela* (Mexico, D.F., 1946), and the trade in it to Veracruz in *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico, D.F., 1959); Manuel Rubio Sánchez, *Historia del añil o xiquilite en Centroamérica*, 2 vols. (San Salvador, 1976, 1978); and John E. Kicza, 'The pulque trade of late colonial Mexico City', *TA*, 27 (1980), 193–221. There is a census of the small manufacturers of Buenos Aires in Lyman L. Johnson, 'The entrepreneurial reorganization of an artisan trade: The bakers of Buenos Aires, 1770–1820', *TA*, 27 (1980), 139–60. On other individual entrepreneurs and resourceful groups, see María Cristina Torales (ed.), *La compañía de comercio de Francisco Ignacio de Yraeta, 1767–1797: Cinco ensayos*, 2 vols. (Mexico D.F., 1985); John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); Peter Bakewell, *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The Life and Times of Antonio López de Quiroga* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989); Lyman L. Johnson, 'The racial limits of Guild solidarity: An example from colonial Buenos Aires', *RHA*, 99 (1985), 7–26; and Jay Kinsbruner, *Petty Capitalism in Spanish America: The Pulperos of Puebla, Mexico City, Caracas and Buenos Aires* (Boulder, Colo., 1987).

Sixteenth-century price inflation was the object of a study by Woodrow Borah and Sherburne Cook, *Price Trends of Some Basic Commodities in Central Mexico, 1531–1570* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958). Enrique Flores-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cano covered the same problems for the last century of the colonial period in his *Precios de maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, 1708–1810* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). A useful synthesis of the later literature on price movements is Ruggiero Romano, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la historia de precios en América colonial,' *HISLA: Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social*, 7/1 (1986), 65–103, and valuable essays appear in a recent collection by Lyman L. Johnson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), *Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990).

For opposing views on the seventeenth-century crisis, see Woodrow Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), and John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598–1700* (Oxford, 1992). But the debate goes on. For example, a work which examines the deterioration of the Dominican economy in the seventeenth century is Frank Peña Pérez, *Cien años de miseria en Santo Domingo, 1600–1700* (Santo Domingo, 1985).

The colonial boom of the eighteenth century and the partial setbacks which took place in the years before independence have been studied in many of the works already cited. The other side of the eighteenth-century economic boom is nowhere better summed up than in D. A. Brading's *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978). See also Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981). Other works on the late colonial economy include Ann Twinam's analysis of the province of Antioquia, *Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia* (Austin, Tex., 1982); María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, *Guayaquil en el siglo XVIII: Recursos naturales y desarrollo económico* (Seville, 1987); Armando de Ramón and José Manuel Larraín, *Orígenes de la vida económica chilena, 1659–1808* (Santiago, Chile, 1982); and Jerry W. Cooney, *Economía y sociedad en la intendencia del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1990).

12. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Sophisticated discussion of Spanish American social organization is extremely rare. But see by James Lockhart, 'Encomienda and hacienda: The evolution of the great estate in the Spanish Indies', *HAHR*, 49 (1969), 411–29; introduction to Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of Early Mexico: Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution (Los Angeles, 1976); 'Capital and province, Spaniard and Indian: The example of late sixteenth-century Toluca', in Altman and Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico,* 99–123. See also Woodrow Borah, 'Race and class in Mexico', *Pacific Historical Review,* 23 (1954), 331–42; Enrique Otte, 'Träger und Formen der wirtschaftlichen Erschliessung Lateinamerikas im 16. Jahrhundert', *JGSWGL,* 4 (1967), 226–66; and Richard Boyer, 'Mexico in the seventeenth century: Transition of a colonial society', *HAHR,* 57/3 (1977), 454–78. The latter two articles are perhaps more economic than social in orientation. Two broad thematic works by Magnus Mörner cover all Spanish America for the entire colonial period and are in a part social, part legal vein: *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), and *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Stockholm, 1970). See also Guillermo Céspedes's synthesis, *Latin America: The Early Years* (New York, 1974), summarizing much basic research. James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976) contains analysis of general social types and processes together with specific examples; Otte's 'Die europäischen Siedler und die Probleme der Neuen Welt', *JGSWGL,* 6 (1969), 1–40 contains additional similar material. For a wider canvas, see James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983).

The remarkable florescence of writing on the social history of early Latin America has mainly taken the form of works at once specific and theoretical, specific in that they closely reconstruct the progress of individual persons or organizations in a specific time and place, and theoretical in that thereby they reveal previously unknown categories and patterns basic to the general social process. James Lockhart, 'The social history of colonial Latin America: Evolution and potential', *LARR,* 7/1 (1972), 6–45, surveys this literature up to *c.* 1970, including such contributions as Mario Góngora, *Grupos de conquistadores en Tierra Firme (1509–1530)* (Santiago, Chile, 1962) and James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560* (Madison, Wis., 1968). The following are some of the more important monographs completed in this general vein since then: Mario Góngora, *Encomenderos y estancieros: Estudios acerca de la constitución social aristocrática de Chile después de la conquista, 1580–1600* (Santiago, Chile, 1970); P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); James Lockhart, *The Men of*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru (Austin, Tex., 1972); Leon G. Campbell, 'A creole establishment: The Audiencia of Lima in the later eighteenth century', *HAHR*, 52/1 (1972), 1–25; Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); Mario Góngora, 'Urban social stratification in colonial Chile', *HAHR*, 55/3 (1975), 421–48; Peter Marzahl, *Town in the Empire: Government, Politics, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Popayán* (Austin, Tex., 1978); D. A. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978); Herman W. Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981); Ann Twinam, *Miners, Merchants, and Farmers in Colonial Colombia* (Austin, Tex., 1982); Efraín Trelles Aréstegui, *Lucas Martínez Vegaso: Funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial* (Lima, 1982); John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); Keith A. Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1984); Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986); John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987); Peter Bakewell, *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The Life and Times of Antonio López de Quiroga* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988); Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989); Robert J. Ferry, *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567–1767* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989); Robert T. Himmerich, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521–1555* (Austin, Tex., 1991). As the list shows, the history of rural estates plays a dominant role in this literature, but mining is not neglected, and the difficult, complex topic of urban society has begun to receive some attention, though much more is required.

Until the 1980s, this sort of research, which broadly speaking we may term career-pattern history, has been aimed primarily at the Hispanic sector of Spanish American society, mainly for technical reasons for source availability and accessibility. In the late 1980s, books began to appear on the Indians of the central regions which, though not perhaps identical in approach to those above, share a great deal with them: Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, Wis., 1982); Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

under Inca and Spanish Rule (Stanford, Calif., 1984); Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986); Robert S. Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1991); and James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

Another kind of work exists, which is more aggregate or statistical, sometimes containing a considerable amount of anecdotal illustration, without prior close attention to functioning entities and the detail of the social context within which the phenomena examined operated. This type of research tends to throw less direct light on social categories and processes, yet seen in conjunction with the type of research just cited, it can yield valuable insights and can reach into some areas not otherwise accessible to investigation. See, for example, William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1972); Germán Colmenares, *Historia económica y social de Colombia, 1537–1719* (Bogotá, 1973); Stephanie Blank, 'Patrons, clients, and kin in seventeenth-century Caracas', *HAHR*, 54/2 (1974), 260–83; Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780–1826* (Austin, Tex., 1976); John V. Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976); Robert G. Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda Sytem on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Peter Boyd-Bowman, 'Patterns of Spanish emigration to the Indies until 1600', *HAHR*, 56/4 (1976), 580–604; Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760–1810* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1977); Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia, Mo., 1977); Susan Migden Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978); John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); Leon G. Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru, 1750–1810* (Philadelphia, 1978); William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, Calif., 1979); Julia Hirschberg, 'Social experiment in New Spain: A Prosopographical study of the early settlement at Puebla de los Angeles, 1531–1534', *HAHR*, 59/1 (1979), 1–33; Lyman L. Johnson, 'Manumission in colonial Buenos Aires', *HAHR*, 59/2 (1979), 258–79; Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, 'Dowries and wills: A view of women's socioeconomic role in colonial Guadalajara and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Puebla, 1640–1790', *HAHR*, 59/2 (1979), 280–304; Herbert S. Klein, 'The structure of the hacendado class in late eighteenth-century Alto Perú: The Intendencia de La Paz', *HAHR*, 60/2 (1980), 191–212; Michael M. Swann, *Tierra Adentro: Settlement and Society in Colonial Durango* (Boulder, Colo., 1982); Cheryl English Martin, *Rural Society in Colonial Morelos* (Albuquerque, N.Mex. 1985); Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

13. INDIAN SOCIETIES UNDER SPANISH RULE

A major work of reference for the ethnohistory and particularly the ethnohistorical bibliography of Mesoamerica is the *Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, which comprises the four final volumes (12–15) of Robert Wauchope (ed.), *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Austin, Tex., 1964–75). The four volumes were edited by Howard Cline and they contain articles on the relevant bibliographical materials, the *Relaciones geográficas*, the chronicles and their authors, the pictorial manuscripts (codices), materials in the native and in the European traditions, and much else. There is no comparable guide to the ethnohistorical source material of South America. But see – albeit dated – Julian H. Steward (ed.), *The Handbook of South American Indians*, especially vol. 2, (Washington, D.C., 1946). Two useful summary articles that survey the bibliography and the state of research *c.* 1970 are. John V. Murra, 'Current research and prospects in Andean ethnohistory', *LARR*, 5 (1970), 3–36, and Karen Spalding, 'The colonial Indian: Past and future research perspectives', *LARR*, 7 (1972), 47–76.

Basic works on Spanish institutional controls over Indians include Clarence Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, rev. ed. (New York, 1963), which is still a useful one-volume general summary. For other general works, see essay II:1. A number of monographs treat special topics: Alberto Mario Salas, *Las armas de la conquista* (Buenos Aires, 1950), on conquest, warfare, and weapons; Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid, 1935) and *Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América* (Madrid, 1935; rev. ed., 1971); L. B. Simpson, *The Ecomienda in New Spain* (1950; rev. ed., Berkeley, 1966), Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El corregidor de indios en el*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Perú bajo los Austrias (Madrid, 1957); Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildos seculares en la América española* (Madrid, 1952); and many others. Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, Eng., 1972; rev. ed., 1993) is fundamental for the history of encomiendas, corregimientos, town foundations, and local institutions and events. Special note should be taken of Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949), on the campaign for fair treatment of Indians, and of Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the South-West 1533–1960* (Tucson, Ariz., 1962), an examination of white–Indian contacts in northern Mexico and the south-west of the United States.

The classic treatment of the friars' efforts to convert the Indians in Mexico to the 1570s is Robert Ricard, *La 'conquête spirituelle' du Mexique* (Paris, 1933); Eng. trans., *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders of New Spain, 1523–1572* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966). Many of Ricard's conclusions, however, have been contested. One influential counterpoint is J. Jorge Klor de Alva, 'Spiritual conflict and accommodation in New Spain: Toward a typology of Aztec responses to Christianity, in *The Inca and Aztec States 1400–1800: Anthropology and History,* edited by G. A. Collier, R. I. Rosaldo and J. D. Wirth (New York, 1982), 345–66. Also of interest on this early missionary era in New Spain are Miguel León-Portilla's brief but important *Los franciscanos vistos por el hombre náhuatl: Testimonios indígenas del siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); a welcome new addition of Motolinia's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* by Georges Baudot (Madrid, 1985); Mauricio J. Mixco's fine English translation and revision of Luis Nicolau d'Olwer's classic 1952 study, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499–1590* (Salt Lake City, 1987) and, on the same subject, a set of stimulating essays in J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones (eds.), *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún, Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1988). Important, too, are a new facsimile edition of a major Nahuatl–Spanish confession manual, with a valuable introductory essay by Roberto Moreno, Alonso de Molina's *Confesionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Louise M. Burkhart's challenging study, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua–Christian Moral Dialogue* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989); and, for a slightly later period, Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, *The Treatise of Ruiz de Alarcón (1629)*, ed. and trans. J. R. Andrews and R. Hassig (Norman, Okl., 1984), the most authoritative English edition of this 1629 work which was meant as a manual for

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

confessors of Indians and extirpators of idolatry. The historical literature on northern Mexican and borderlands missions is too extensive to summarize here.

The 'missionary era' in the Andes is less known than the similar period in Mexico. Still useful, however, are Fernando de Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú* (Seville, 1953) and Antonine Tibesar, *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru (1532–1600)* (Washington, D.C., 1953). Two thought-provoking discussions of sixteenth-century Peruvian religious themes are Sabine MacCormack, ' "The Heart Has Its Reasons": Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in early colonial Peru', *HAHR*, 65/3 (1985), 443–66 and Carlos Sempat Assadourian, 'Las rentas reales, el buen gobierno y la hacienda de Dios: El parecer de 1568 de Fray Francisco de Morales sobre la reformación de las Indias temporal y espiritual', *Histórica*, 9/1 (1985), 75–130. And see Sabine MacCormack's study, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). A more thorough guide to important literature on religious matters appears in essay II:16. Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou coloniale. 'L'extirpation de l'idolatrie' entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima, 1971), translated into Spanish as *La destrucción de las religiones andinas* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), remains an essential departure point for the study of the Limeño Church's efforts to extirpate idolatry in the course of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.

Important writings on tribute, land and labour, largely from the Spanish administrative point of view, are José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1952); L. B. Simpson, *Exploitation of Land in Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952); François Chevalier, *La formation des grands domaines au Mexique: Terre et société aux XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris, 1952; also in Spanish and English translations); and the series of introductions to the volumes of Silvio A. Zavala and María Costelo (eds.), *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España*, 8 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1939–46). An important modern work on the hacienda in Peru is Robert G. Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976). A general survey of labour is Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, *Indian Labor in Mainland Colonial Spanish America* (Newark, Del., 1975). Articles by James Lockhart, 'Encomienda and Hacienda: The evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies', *HAHR*, 49/3 (1969), 411–29, and Robert G. Keith, 'Encomienda, Hacienda and Corregimiento in Spanish America: A structural analysis', *HAHR*, 51/3 (1971), 431–46

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

provide other useful general outlines. For more on these themes see essay II:11. On relations between Spaniards and Indians, the article by Elman R. Service, 'Indian-European relations in colonial Latin America', *American Anthropologist,* 57 (1955), 411–25, and the general treatment by Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), are worthy of attention.

The study of Indian society under colonial conditions owes much to the seminal work of the California demographers L. B. Simpson, Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, beginning in the 1940s and continuing to the present, and published principally in the Ibero-Americana series. See essay II:6. Borah especially has developed the original demographic materials in studies of Indian social organization, tribute payment, labour and prices. Some of the more important later studies on Indian demography would include both of Linda A. Newson's monumental contributions for Central America, *The Cost of Conquest: Indian Decline in Honduras Under Spanish Rule* (Boulder, Colo., 1986) and *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman, Okla., 1987) and, for the Andes, Noble David Cook's *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981) and Suzanne Austin Alchon, *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991).

Pioneering work in the analysis of Nahuatl texts and codices for what they yield on Indian social structure and social history has been accomplished by Pedro Carrasco, Joaquín Galarza, Hans J. Prem and others. Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart have also examined the colonial history of the Nahuatl language in *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976). Important additions in this area include the publication of two bilingual editions (English–Nahuatl and Spanish–Nahuatl) of the early colonial record of the Indian municipality of Tlaxcala: James Lockhart, Frances Berdan and Arthur J. O. Anderson (trans. and eds.), *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala, 1545–1627* (Salt Lake City, 1986), and Eustaqio Celestino Solís et al. (trans. and eds.), *Actas de Cabildo de Tlaxcala, 1547–1567* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). The former selects twenty-five sessions, while the latter represents the complete minutes of 184 meetings of the Indian council. Historical essays precede both editions. An invaluable reference work, giving a chronology of Nahuatl scholarship from 1546 to 1980 and a catalogue of Nahuatl printed works (some 2,961 items), is Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, *Tepuztlahcuilolli: Impresos en náhuatl: Historia y bib-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

liografía, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988). James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford, Calif., 1991) is of wide interest.

Treatments of colonial Indian society in particular areas of Mexico include Delfina López Sarrelangue, *La nobleza indígena de Pátzcuaro en la época virreinal* (Mexico, D.F., 1965); Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952) and *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1964); William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1972) and *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, 1979); Ronald Spores's expanded study (from the 1967 original) of the Mixteca Alta, *The Mixtecs and Colonial Times* (Norman, Okla., 1984); the collection of studies edited by Ida Altman and James Lockhart, *Provinces of Early Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976); and James Lockhart. *The Nahuas after the Conquest. A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, 1992). John K. Chance, *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca* (Norman, Okla., 1989) extends this author's investigations into the Villa Alta district in the backlands of rural Oaxaca. See also Marcello Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses: El proceso de reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), which links the forging of a mid-colonial identity with territory in Oaxaca; S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacán, 1580–1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), which presents insights into kinship and property in colonial Indian society; and Arij Ouweneel and Simon Miller (eds.), *The Indian Community of Colonial Mexico: Fifteen Essays on Land Tenure, Corporate Organizations, Ideology and Village Politics* (Amsterdam, 1990). Two notable studies of Cuernavaca by Robert S. Haskett plot continuities and transformations of Nahua political structures into the colonial era: 'Indian town government in colonial Cuernavaca: Persistence, adaptation and change', *HAHR*, 67/2 (1987), 203–31, and 'Living in two worlds: Cultural continuity and change among Cuernavaca's ruling elite', *Ethnohistory*, 35/1 (1988), 34–59. Susan Kellogg charts postconquest inheritance patterns in 'Aztec inheritance in sixteenth-century Mexico City: Colonial patterns, prehispanic influences', *Ethnohistory*, 33/3 (1986), 313–30. Also deserving special mention is Serge Gruzinski, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire: Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique Espagnol, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988); Eng. trans. *The Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993). The first four chapters of the same author's *Man-Gods in the Mexican High-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

lands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800 (Stanford, Calif., 1989) explore four extraordinary case studies of colonial Indians.

Work on the rest of Mesoamerica has also increased. Some useful primary sources, accessible to English readers, should be noted first: a reedition of Ephraim G. Squier's 1860 translation of Diego García de Palacio, *Letter to the King of Spain: Being a Description of the Ancient Provinces of Guazacapan, Izalco, Cuscatlan and Chuquimula, in the Audiencia of Guatemala,* with additional notes by A. von Frantzius and Frank E. Comparato (Culver City Calif., 1985), and a Spanish facsimile edition of García de Palacio's original, edited by María del Carmen León Cázeres (Mexico, D.F., 1983); and Antonio de León Pinelo's important memoir from 1639, translated with notes by Doris Zemurray Stone in 1932, *Report Made in the Royal Council of the Indies: On the Pacification and Population of the Provinces of the Manche and Lacandon,* reedited with additional notes by Frank E. Comparato (Culver City, Calif., 1986). Of the secondary works in English, Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, N.J., 1984) and Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987) are essential works. A model piece of historical geography is W. George Lovell's *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala: A Historical Geography of the Cuchumatán Highlands, 1500–1821* (Montreal, 1985). In addition, Grant D. Jones, *Maya Resistance to Spanish Rule: Time and History on a Colonial Frontier* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989); Eliás Zamora Acosta, *Los mayas de las tierras altas en el siglo XVI: Tradición y cambio en Guatemala* (Seville, 1985); and Severo Martínez Peláez, *Motines de indios: La violencia colonial en Centroamérica y Chiapas* (Puebla, Mex., 1985) all examine different responses of indigenous culture to Spanish domination.

While the scope of colonial Mesoamerican scholarship is nothing if not impressive, it can no longer be said that contemporary Andean studies lag far behind. In South America comparable work began later, but current research is making rapid headway. A pioneering survey was George Kubler, 'The Quechua in the colonial world' in vol. 2 (1946) of the *Handbook of South American Indians,* mentioned above. A number of sixteenth-century studies by María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, particularly *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima, 1983), John V. Murra's essays in *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima, 1975) and the same author's careful editions of sixteenth-century *visitas,* have proved equally influential. Nathan Wachtel, *La vision*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

des vaincus (Paris, 1971); Eng. trans., *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru Through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977), a wide-ranging, imaginative, structuralist analysis of Indian life and thought in Peru, and *La Lutte contre les religions* by Pierre Duviols, mentioned above, have set high standards for all later investigators. Amid a burgeoning literature, two important and influential monographs are Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1984), and Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, Wis., 1982). The scholarly edition of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* prepared by John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno and George L. Urioste (Mexico, D.F., 1980), is an essential primary source. Adorno's *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1986), which traces this important chronicler's influences, and her essay on *indios ladinos* in the volume edited by Kenneth J. Andrien and herself, mentioned below, also make for rewarding reading. Two significant essays on regional Indian lords in the colonial era build upon earlier conclusions of Spalding and Stern on this theme: based on information from the Lambayeque region on the north coast, Susan E. Ramírez, 'The *dueño de indios:* Thoughts on the consequences of shifting bases of power of the *curaca de los antiguos* under the Spanish in sixteenth-century Peru', *HAHR,* 67/4 (1987), 575–610 and, challenging Guaman Poma's negative depiction of the colonial *kuraka* as a usurper and opportunist, Thierry Saignes, 'De la borrachera al retrato: Los caciques andinos entre dos legitimidades –Charcas', *Revista Andina,* 5/1 (1987), 139–70. Ann M. Wightman's *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The* Foresteros *of Cuzco, 1570–1720* (Durham, N.C., 1990) breaks new ground on Indian movement and the fate of the Spanish policy of *reducción,* and Irene M. Silverblatt's controversial synthesis, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1987) focuses on female power and the effects of successive conquests and consolidations on Andean women. A number of excellent essays on both old and new themes appear in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (eds.), *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991). And Bruce Mannheim has produced an innovative and valuable history of southern Peruvian Quechua in *The Language of the Inka Since the European Invasion* (Austin, Tex., 1991).

In the realm of accessible primary sources, one of the richest sources on colonial Andean religion and culture, still much ignored outside Andean-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ist circles, the so-called Huarochirí Manuscript, has been published in a number of excellent scholarly editions: Gérald Taylor (ed. and trans.), *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: Manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1987), including an important biographical study of the most famous extirpator of idolatry, Francisco de Avila, by Antonio Acosta; and in English Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste (ed. and trans.), *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991). Salomon prefaces the latter with an informative contextual essay. Luis Millones, whose articles in the 1960s and whose 1971 publication of Cristóbal de Albornoz's *Informaciones* began consideration of the Taki Onqoy uprising of the 1560s, has collected a number of important documents and studies on the still fascinating movement in south-central Peru: *El retorno de las huacas: Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, siglo XVI* (Lima, 1990). See also Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, *C. de Molina, C. de Albornoz: Fábulas y mitos de los Incas* (Madrid, 1989). Another important collection for students of Peruvian religious history is an extraordinary group of seventeenth-century idolatry trials compiled by Pierre Duviols (ed.), *Cultura andina y represión: Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco, 1986). A full manuscript of the 1551 Cusco chronicle of Juan de Betanzos (only 18 of 82 chapters were previously known) has been published as *Suma y narración de los incas,* transcribed and edited by María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid, 1987). The work is based on the testimony of Betanzos's Inka wife, Cuxirimay Ocllo (baptised Angelina Yupanqui), and treats the period from the reorganisation of Tahuantinsuyu by Pachacuti Inka into the early colonial period and neo-Inka state.

Three kinds of rebellion are discussed in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, Wis., 1987), a collection which includes a number of important contributions to mid- and late-colonial historiography; Stern's own introductory piece attempts to place Andean peoples in a wider comparative framework. Also with an eye to late colonial insurrection as a prologue to independence is Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Vienna, 1985). Deserving of special mention in the context of these colonial Andean hopes and dreams are the challenging studies of Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (Havana, 1986; Lima, 1987) and Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: Muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima, 1988).

On the peoples of lowland South America in the colonial years, among

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

many other studies too numerous to detail here, see especially an important synthesis by France Marie Renard-Casevitz, Thierry Saignes and A. C. Taylor (eds.), *L'Inca, l'espagnol et les sauvages: Rapports entre las sociétés amazoniennes et andines du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986); a compilation of primary sources on groups in what is today north-eastern Peru and eastern Ecuador, Francisco Figueroa et al., *Informes de jesuitas en el amazonas, 1660–1684* (Iquitos, 1986); and on an area further to the north-east, Neil L. Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit: A History of the Caribs in Colonial Venezuela and Guyana, 1498–1820* (Providence, R.I., 1988).

14. AFRICANS IN SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIAL SOCIETY

A survey of recent scholarship that also includes works on Brazil and the English, French, and Dutch possessions in the Caribbean, with some mention of the United States where comparisons are appropriate, can be found in the excellent bibliographical notes appended to Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York, 1986). Somewhat dated but still valuable for their perspectives are Frederick P. Bowser, 'The African in colonial Spanish America: Reflections on research achievements and priorities,' *LARR*, 7/1 (1972), 77–94; and Magnus Mörner, 'Recent research on Negro slavery and abolition in Latin America,' *LARR*, 13/2 (1978), 265–89.

In 1977, Joseph C. Miller began his admirable and ambitious bibliographical projects with *Slavery: A Comparative Teaching Bibliography* (Waltham, Mass., 1977), which was followed by *Slavery: A Worldwide Bibliography, 1900–1982* (White Plains, N.Y., 1985). Annual supplements are published in the journal *Slavery and Abolition*. See also the valuable compilation by John David Smith, *Black Slavery in the Americas: An Interdisciplinary Bibliography, 1865–1980*, 2 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1982). Guidance to archival sources will be found in Miguel Acosta Saignes, 'Introducción al estudio de los repositorios documentales sobre los africanos y sus descendientes en América,' *América Indígena*, 29 (1969), 727–86.

A number of very helpful dictionaries have made their appearance. Perhaps the most useful are Benjamín Núñez (comp.), *Dictionary of Afro-Latin American Civilization* (Westport, Conn., 1979) and Thomas M. Stephens (comp.), *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Gainesville, Fla., 1989). See also Robert M. Levine (comp.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Historical Dictionary and Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., 1980) and Randall M. Miller and John David Smith (eds.), *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* (Westport, Conn., 1988). The capstone to a lifetime of meritorious scholarship is Fernando Romero's *Quimba, fa, malomba négue: Afronegrismos en el Perú* (Lima, 1988).

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

For impressive surveys of the European background to Spanish American slavery, see William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1985); and David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966). For Spain itself at the dawn of the Age of Discovery, the standard work remains Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale, 1: Péninsule Ibérique–France* (Bruges, 1955), though the generalist may prefer his more accessible essays collected in *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization,* trans. Yvonne Freccero (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970). Other works of note are Vicente Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos* (Valencia, 1964) and 'Valencia y el comercio de esclavos en el siglo XV,' in Francisco de Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la abolición de la esclavitud* (Madrid, 1986), 33–85; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'La esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna,' in Carmelo Viñas y Mey (ed.), *Estudios de historia social de España,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1949–52), vol. 2, 367–428; Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Seville, 1979) and 'Aspectos diversos sobre la esclavitud en las ciudades andaluzas durante los siglos XV y XVI', in Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la abolición,* 15–32; and Ruth Pike, 'Sevillian society in the sixteenth century: Slaves and freedmen,' *HAHR,* 47/3 (1967), 344–59. For early Spanish attempts at slave trading, see Manuel Lobo Cabrera, 'Ideología y praxis en la proyección comercial y esclavista de Canarias hacia el Africa Occidental,' in Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la abolición,* 87–102.

THE SLAVE TRADE

From the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas to the end of the colonial period, the slave trade to Spanish America lay largely outside the bounds of official Spanish commerce, though its conduct in the hands of foreign suppliers was subject to constant and often futile regulation. The classic account of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Spanish policy toward the slave trade is Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1906). See also three fine general works on commerce between Spain and America: Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504–1650),* 8 vols. in 11 (Paris, 1955–60); Lutgardo García Fuentes, *El comercio español con América, 1650–1700* (Seville, 1980); and Antonio García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico, 1717–1778,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1976) – all of which mention those aspects of the slave trade that came under the purview of Spanish officialdom, especially those at the monopoly ports of Seville and Cádiz. An impressive number of monographs on the Spanish American slave trade, including the contraband trade, based on foreign and colonial, as well as Spanish, sources have appeared over the years. Worthy of note are: Alice Piffer Canabrava, *O comércio português no Rio da Prata, 1580–1640* (São Paulo, 1944); Rozendo Sampaio Garcia, 'Contribução ao estudo do aprovisionamento de escravos negros na América espanhola, 1580–1640,' *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 16 (1962), 5–195; Lutgardo García Fuentes, 'Licencias para la introducción de esclavos en Indias y envíos desde Sevilla en el siglo XVI,' *JGSWGL,* 19 (1982), 1–46; Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con América en la época de Felipe II* (Valladolid, 1979), 512–42; Jorge Palacios Preciado, *La trata de negros por Cartagena de Indias* (Tunja, Col., 1973); Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1739* (Urbana, Ill., 1981) and his 'The company trade and the numerical distribution of slaves to Spanish America, 1703–1739,' in Paul E. Lovejoy (ed.), *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1986), 27–42; Elena F. S. de Studer, *La trata de negros en el Río de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires, 1958); Bibiano Torres Ramírez, *La compañía gaditana de negros* (Seville, 1973); Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con América . . . 1663–1674* (Seville, 1984); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispano-América y el comercio de esclavos: Los asientos portugueses* (Seville, 1977) and her 'La sublevación de Portugal y la trata de negros,' *I-AA,* 2 (1976), 171–92; and Geoffrey J. Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade, 1700–1789* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979).

Clearly, any estimates of the volume of the Spanish–American slave trade for whatever region or period must be correlated with figures for the trade as a whole. The classic work in this respect is Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969). Curtin's calculations have been modified in many particulars, and the latest estimates may be

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

found in Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The volume of the Atlantic slave trade: A synthesis,' *Journal of African History*, 23 (1982), 473–501; and David Eltis, 'The nineteenth-century transatlantic slave trade: An annual time series of imports into the Americas broken down by region,' *HAHR*, 67/1 (1987), 109–38. For an overview of the trade during its apogee and decline, see Herbert S. Klein, 'Economic aspects of the eighteenth-century Atlantic slave trade,' in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), 287–310 and David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987).

The ambivalent and ambiguous stance of the Church with regard to the slave trade has been little studied, but two items are of interest: Alonso de Sandoval, *De Instauranda Aethiopum salute: El mundo de la esclavitud negra en América* ed. Angel Valtierra (Bogotá, 1956, from the 1627 Seville edition); and John K. Thornton, 'On the trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas,' *TA*, 44 (1988), 261–78. (The Sandoval work is best appreciated after reading the review by James F. King in *HAHR*, 37 [1957], 358–60.)

SLAVERY

With regard to the study of slavery in the western hemisphere, it is not too much to say that Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1947), effected a scholarly revolution. Slavery, and the related subjects of manumission, abolition, and race relations, became worthy of serious investigation, thought, and often heated debate. This was particularly true of the decade of the 1960s, and much of the scholarly excitement then generated is encapsulated in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969). Much of the research and thought of succeeding decades is summarized, though not as well for Latin America as it might have been, in Peter J. Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians* (New York, 1989).

On slavery and race relations in Spanish America the following are worthy of note: H. Hoetink (trans. Eva M. Hooykaas), *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies*, (London, 1967) and *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas: Comparative Notes on Their Nature and Nexus* (New York, 1973); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

three thoughtful essays by Octavio Ianni, Sidney W. Mintz, and Manuel Moreno Fraginals in Moreno Fraginals (ed.), *Africa in Latin America: Essays on History, Culture, and Socialization* (New York, 1984); and Magnus Mörner, 'Slavery, race relations and Bourbon reorganisation in the eighteenth century', in James Schofield Saeger (ed.), *Essays on Eighteenth Century Race Relations in the Americas* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1987), 8–30. Finally, mention should be made of the provocative, painstaking work by Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Colour, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford, 1988). It is Forbes's contention that both the extent, and the ethnic and cultural implications, of the relations between blacks and native Americans have been neglected and underestimated by scholars.

The best general account of slavery in colonial Spanish America is Klein, *African Slavery,* and valuable for their perspectives are Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990) and Magnus Mörner, 'The impact of regional variety on the history of the Afro-Latin Americans,' *SECOLAS–Annals,* 9 (1978), 1–13. Dated but still useful accounts are Leslie B. Rout, Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (New York, 1976); and Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1975, from the 1972 Spanish edition). Magnus Mörner has set the institution of slavery in a larger societal context in three works: *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967); *Historia social latinoamericana: Nuevos enfoques* (Caracas, 1979); and *Estratificación social hispanoamericana durante el período colonial* (Stockholm, 1980).

Of all Spain's American possessions, only in Cuba and (less so) in Puerto Rico did slavery acquire, for a turbulent century in the twilight of empire, a fundamental importance in both the economy and society, and the institution there has received an impressive amount of scholarly attention. For Cuba, the seminal works of Fernando Ortiz Fernández, especially *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos* (Havana, 1916), may still be read with profit, and the same is true of Alexander von Humboldt (trans. and notes by J. S. Thrasher), *The Island of Cuba* (New York, 1856); and Hubert H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868* (New York and London, 1907). More recent scholarship of very high quality includes: Kenneth F. Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774–1899* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976); Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1970); Leví Marrero, *Cuba: Economía y sociedad: Azúcar, ilustración y conciencia, 1763–1868,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1983–5);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio: El complejo económico social cubano del azúcar* (Havana, 1964); and Laird W. Bergad, *Cuban Rural Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Social and Economic History of Monoculture in Matanzas* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

Other works of note for Cuban slavery (up to the beginning of the nineteenth century) are: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Instituto de Ciencias Históricas, *La esclavitud en Cuba* (Havana, 1986); Jorge Castellanos and Isabel Castellanos, *Cultura afrocubana, I: El negro en Cuba, 1492–1844* (Miami, 1988); Francisco Castillo Meléndez, 'Población y defensa de la isla de Cuba (1650–1700),' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 44 (1987), 1–87; Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, *El negro en la economía habanera del siglo XIX* (Havana, 1971); Jack Ericson Eblen, 'On the natural increase of slave populations: The example of the Cuban black population, 1775–1900,' in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 211–48; Roland T. Ely, *Cuando reinaba su majestad el azúcar* (Buenos Aires, 1963); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba* (Baltimore, 1971); Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (New York, 1985); Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, 1967); Juan Francisco Manzano (ed. Edward J. Mullen), *The Life and Poems of a Cuban Slave: Juan Francisco Manzano, 1797–1854* (Hamden, Conn., 1981); John Robert McNeill, *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *La historia como arma y ostros estudios sobre esclavos, ingenios y plantaciones* (Barcelona, 1983); Josef Opatrný, *Antecedentes históricos de la formación de la nación cubana* (Prague, 1986); and Pablo Tornero, 'Emigración, población y esclavitud en Cuba (1767–1817),' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos,* 44 (1987), 229–80.

For Puerto Rico, Francisco A. Scarano's most informative *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800–1850* (Madison, Wis., 1984) now stands to supplement the classic account by Luis M. Díaz Soler, *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico, 1493–1890,* 2nd ed. (Río Piedras, 1965). See also: Sidney W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Baltimore, 1984); Arturo Morales Carrión, *Auge y decadencia de la trata negrera en Puerto Rico (1820–1860)* (Río Piedras, 1978); the essays of José Curet and Andrés Ramos Mattei in Ramos Mattei (ed.), *Azúcar y esclavitud* (Río Piedras, 1982); Ramos Mattei, *La hacienda azucarera: Su crecimiento y crisis en Puerto Rico (siglo XIX),* 2nd ed. (Río Piedras, 1986);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Adám Szászdi, 'Apuntes sobre la esclavitud en San Juan de Puerto Rico, 1800–1811,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 24 (1967), 1433–77.

Of the mainland colonies, Mexico has received the most scholarly attention. Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570–1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976) and Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Vera Cruz: Race, Ethnicity and Regional Development* (Austin, Tex., 1991) evoke in fine fashion the realities of slavery in that colony during its zenith, though the pioneering work of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519–1810*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1972) can still be read with profit for the late colonial period. Valuable supplementary information will be found in J. I. Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610–1670* (London, 1975), and Dennis N. Valdés, 'The decline of slavery in Mexico,' *TA*, 44 (1987), 167–94. More specialized works include: Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Medicina y magia: El proceso de aculturación en la estructura colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1963); Solange B. de Alberro, 'Negros y mulatos en los documentos inquisitoriales: Rechazo e integración,' in Elsa Cecilia Frost et al. (eds.), *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), 132–61 and 'Olvidar o recordar para ser: Españoles, negros y castas en la Nueva España, siglos XVI–XVII,' in *La memoria y el olvido* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), 135–44; Peter Boyd-Bowman, 'Negro slaves in early colonial Mexico,' *TA*, 26 (1969), 134–51; Geraldo Cardoso, *Negro Slavery in the Sugar Plantations of Veracruz and Pernambuco, 1550–1680: A Comparative Study* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Patrick J. Carroll, 'Black laborers and their experience in colonial Jalapa,' in Frost, *El trabajo*, 119–32, and 'Estudio sociodemográfico de personas de sangre negra en Jalapa, 1791,' *HM*, 23 (1973), 111–25; Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita, *Esclavos negros en las haciendas azucareras de Córdoba, Veracruz, 1690–1830* (Veracruz, 1987); Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita, 'Trabajadores esclavos en las haciendas azucareras de Córdoba, Veracruz, 1714–1763,' in Frost, *El trabajo*, 162–82; María Elena Cortés Jácome, 'La memoria familiar de los negros y mulatos, siglos XVI–XVII,' in *La memoria y el olvido* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), 125–34; Cathy Duke, 'The family in eighteenth-century plantation society in Mexico,' in Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (New York, 1977), 226–41; Norman F. Martin, 'Antecedentes y práctica de la esclavitud negra en la Nueva España del siglo XVI,' in Bernardo García Martínez et al. (comps.), *Historia y sociedad en el mundo de habla español: Homenaje a José Miranda* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), 49–68; Irene Vázquez Valle, 'Los habitantes de la ciudad de México vistos a

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

través del censo del año de 1753' (M.A. thesis, El Colegio de México, 1975); and Gisela von Wobeser, 'Los esclavos negros en México colonial: Las haciendas de Cuernavaca-Cuautla,' *JGSWGL*, 23 (1986), 145–71.

Many studies of the colonial Mexican economy contain valuable information on the role of slave labor. See especially: Ward Barrett, *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1970); Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *The Leverage of Labor: Managing the Cortés Haciendas in Tehuantepec, 1588–1688* (Durham, N.C., 1989); Ursula Ewald, *Estudios sobre la hacienda colonial en México: Las propiedades rurales del Colegio de Espíritu Santo en Puebla* (Wiesbaden, 1976); Herman W. Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); Cheryl English Martin, *Rural Society in Colonial Morelos* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985); P. L. G. van der Meer, 'El Colegio de San Andrés y la producción del azúcar en sus haciendas de Xochimancas y Barreto, 1750–1767,' in Arij Ouweneel and Cristina Torales Pacheco (comps.), *Empresarios, indios y estado: Perfil de la economía mexicana, siglo XVIII* (Amsterdam, 1988), 138–64; Claude Morin, *Michoacán en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: Crecimiento y desigualdad en una economía colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); José F. de la Peña, *Oligarquía y propiedad en la Nueva España, 1550–1624* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); Richard J. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539–1840* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Hermes Tovar Pinzón, 'Elementos constitutivos de la empresa agraria jesuíta en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII en México,' in Enrique Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), 132–222; and Gisela von Wobeser, *Hacienda azucarera en la época colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1988).

African slavery was both more important and more enduring in Peru than in Mexico, and our knowledge of the institution there has expanded significantly in the past twenty-odd years. Of particular importance are: James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison, Wis., 1968); Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Wine and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany, N.Y., 1980); Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986); and Alberto Flores Galindo S., *Aristocracia y plebe, Lima, 1760–1830: Estructura de clases y sociedad colonial* (Lima, 1984). Christine Hünefeldt is studying nineteenth-century Peruvian slavery, and has published to date *Mujeres: Esclavitud, emociones y libertad: Lima, 1800–1854* (Lima, 1988).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Also of interest for Peru are the following: Katharine Coleman, 'Provincial urban problems: Trujillo, Peru, 1600–1784,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), 369–408; Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Slave mortality and reproduction on Jesuit haciendas in colonial Peru,' *HAHR*, 55/2 (1975), 177–99; Keith A. Davies, *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1984); Brian R. Hamnett, 'Church wealth in Peru: Estates and loans in the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century,' *JGSWGL*, 10 (1973), 113–32; Emilio Harth-terré, *La presencia del negro en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima, 1971); Susan Ramírez Horton, *The Sugar Estates of the Lambayeque Valley, 1670–1800: A Contribution to Peruvian Agrarian History* (Madison, Wis., 1974); Pablo Macera, 'Feudalismo colonial americano: El caso de las haciendas peruanas,' in *Trabajos de historia* (Lima, 1977), vol. 3, 139–227, 'Instrucciones para el manejo de las haciendas jesuítas del Perú (siglos XVII–XVIII),' *Nueva Crónica*, 2/2 (1966), 5–31 and, *Las plantaciones azucareras en el Perú, 1821–1875* (Lima, 1974); Jorge Polo y la Borda, 'La hacienda Pachachaca (segunda mitad del siglo XVIII),' *Histórica*, 1/2 (1977), 223–47; Gabriela Ramos, 'Las manufacturas en el Perú colonial: Los obrajes de vidrios en los siglos XVII y XVIII,' *Histórica*, 13 (1989), 67–106; Raúl Rivera Serna, 'La agricultura y la ganadería en el Perú entre los años 1820 y 1850,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 44 (1987), 477–520; and Jean-Pierre Tardieu, 'La pathologie rédhibitoire de l'esclavage en milieu urbain: Lima XVII.eme siècle,' *JGSWGL*, 26 (1989), 19–35.

Our knowledge of African slavery in colonial Colombia has been very substantially increased in recent years. Of particular interest are three volumes published under the general title of *Sociedad y economía en el Valle del Cauca* (Bogotá, 1983): Germán Colmenares, *Cali: Terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes, siglo XVIII;* Zamira Díaz de Zuluaga, *Guerra y economía en las haciendas: Popayán, 1780–1830;* and José Escorcia, *Desarrollo político, social y económico, 1800–1854*. These works take their place alongside two other excellent studies by David L. Chandler, *Health and Slavery in Colonial Colombia* (New York, 1981) and William F. Sharp, *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Chocó, 1680–1810* (Norman, Okla., 1976). Still of great interest are two essays by Jaime Jaramillo Uribe in *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura:* 'Esclavos y señores en la sociedad colombiana del siglo XVIII,' 1 (1963), 3–62 and 'Mestizaje y diferenciación social en el Nuevo Reino de Granada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,' 3 (1965), 21–48. Special mention must also be made of Norman A. Meiklejohn's painstaking effort to measure slave law against reality:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'The implementation of slave legislation in eighteenth-century New Granada,' in Robert Brent Toplin (ed.), *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (Westport, Conn., 1974), 176–203.

Other items of interest for colonial Colombia are: Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu, *Esclavos negros en Cartagena y sus aportes léxicos* (Bogotá, 1982); David L. Chandler, 'Family bonds and the bondsman: The slave family in colonial Colombia,' *LARR*, 16/2 (1981), 107–31; Germán Colmenares, 'La economía de los jesuítas en el virreinato de Nueva Granada,' in Arnold J. Bauer (comp.), *La iglesia en la economía de América Latina, siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), 389–405, *Haciendas de los jesuítas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1969), and 'El trabajo en las haciendas jesuítas en el siglo XVIII,' *UN: Revista de la Dirección de Divulgación Cultural*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1 (1968), 175–90; Aquiles Escalante, *El negro en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1964); James F. King, 'Negro Slavery in New Granada,' in *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley, 1945); Adolfo Meisel R., 'Esclavitud, mestizaje y haciendas en la provincia de Cartagena, 1533–1851,' *Desarrollo y Sociedad*, 4 (1980), 227–77; David Pavy, 'The provenience of Colombian Negroes,' *Journal of Negro History*, 47 (1967), 36–58; and Robert C. West, *Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia* (Baton Rouge, La., 1952).

For colonial Venezuela, the standard account remains Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1967), but it should be supplemented by several more recent general works: Robert J. Ferry, *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis, 1567–1767* (Berkeley, 1989) and 'Encomienda, African slavery and agriculture in seventeenth-century Caracas,' *HAHR*, 61/4 (1981), 609–36; and P. Michael McKinley, *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy and Society, 1777–1811* (New York, 1986). Of continuing interest are: Eduardo Arcila Farías et al. (eds.), *La obra pía de Chuao, 1568–1825* (Caracas, 1968); Federico Brito Figueroa, *El problema de tierra y esclavos en la historia de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1973); John V. Lombardi, *People and Places in Colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976); and Edda O. Samudio A., *Las haciendas del Colegio San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús en Mérida, 1628–1767* (Mérida, Ven., 1985).

Though still incomplete, the record of African slavery in colonial Argentina has been greatly strengthened by three recent works: George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wis., 1980); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767* (Albany, N.Y., 1983); and Juan Carlos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Garavaglia, *Economía, sociedad y regiones* (Buenos Aires, 1987), a socio-economic history of Argentina during the eighteenth century. Also of interest are: Samuel Amaral, 'Rural production and labour in late colonial Buenos Aires,' *JLAS*, 19/2 (1987), 235–78; Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba, 1588–1610* (Córdoba, Arg., 1965) and *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba de Angola a Potosí, siglos XVI–XVII* (Córdoba, Arg., 1966); Jorge Comadrán Ruiz, *Evolución demográfica argentina durante el período hispano, 1535–1810* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Ceferino Garzón Maceda and José Walter Dorflinger, 'Esclavos y mulatos en un dominio rural del siglo XVIII en Córdoba: Contribución a la demografía histórica,' *Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*, 2 (1961), 627–40; Lyman L. Johnson and Susan Migden Socolow, 'Population and space in eighteenth-century Buenos Aires,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), 339–68; José Luis Masini, *La esclavitud negra en Mendoza: Epoca independiente* (Mendoza, 1962) and *Régimen jurídico de la esclavitud negra en Hispanoamérica hasta 1810* (Mendoza, 1958); Carlos A. Mayo, 'Iglesia y esclavitud en el Río de la Plata: El caso de la Orden Betlemita (1748–1822),' *RHA*, 102 (1986), 91–102; Ricardo Rodríguez Molas, 'Esclavitud africana, religión y orígen étnico,' *I-AA*, 14 (1988), 125–47; Ricardo Salvatore and Jonathan C. Brown, 'Trade and proletarianization in late colonial Banda Oriental: Evidence from the Estancia de las Vicas, 1791–1805', *HAHR*, 67/3 (1987), 431–60; and Pedro Santos Martínez, *Historia económica de Mendoza durante el virreinato, 1776–1810* (Madrid, 1961).

African slavery in Chile awaits its historian, but there is a useful overview in William F. Sater, 'The Black experience in Chile,' in Toplin, *Slavery and Race Relations*, 13–50, to supplement the older works of Rolando Mellafe, *La introducción de la esclavitud negra en Chile: Tráfico y rutas* (Santiago, Chile, 1959) and Gonzalo Vial Correa, *El africano en el reino de Chile: Ensayo histórico-jurídico* (Santiago, Chile, 1957). Interesting evidential fragments are to be found in: Horacio Aranguiz Donoso, 'Notas para el estudio de la hacienda de Calera de Tango, 1685–1783,' *Historia*, 6 (1967), 221–62; Gustavo Valdés Bunster, *El poder económico de los jesuítas en Chile (1593–1767)* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), who devotes no more than a few lines to the slave labor force; and Della M. Flusche and Eugene H. Korth, *Forgotten Females: Women of African and Indian Descent in Colonial Chile, 1535–1800* (Detroit, Mich., 1983).

Slavery in colonial Santo Domingo has received considerable attention in recent years. Of particular note are: Carlos Esteban Deive, *La esclavitud*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

del negro en Santo Domingo, 2 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1980) and Rubén Silie, *Economía, esclavitud y población . . . en el siglo XVIII* (Santo Domingo, 1976). See also: Franklyn J. Franco Pichardo, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (Santa Domingo, 1969); Carlos Larrazábal Blanco, *Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1967); and María Rosario Sevilla Soler, *Santo Domingo: Tierra de frontera (1750–1800)* (Seville, 1980).

For Central America and (to some extent) Panama, slavery is deftly placed in a broader socio-economic context by Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley, 1972) and Miles L. Wortman, *Government and Society in Central America, 1680–1840* (New York, 1982). Alfredo Castillero C. focuses on Panama in *La sociedad panameña: Historia de su formación e integración* (Panama, 1970), while M. A. L. Gudmundson Kristjanson (Lowell Gudmundson) provides most interesting information in *Estratificación socio-racial y económica de Costa Rica, 1700–1850* (San Jose, C.R., 1978). See also Oscar R. Aguilar, 'La esclavitud en Costa Rica durante el período colonial (hipótesis del trabajo),' *ESC*, 5 (1973), 187–99; Luis A. Diez Castillo, *Los cimarrones y la esclavitud en Panamá* (Panama, 1968); Quince Duncan and Carlos Meléndez, *El negro en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1972); Rafael Leiva Vivas, *Tráfico de esclavos negros a Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1982); and Pedro Tobar Cruz, *La esclavitud del negro en Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1953).

The following items are of significance for other regions of Spanish America: on Bolivia, Alberto Crespo, *Esclavos negros en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1977); Inge Wolff, 'Negersklaverei und Negerhandel in Hochperu 1545–1640,' *JGSWGL*, 1 (1964), 157–86 and *Esclavitud negra en el Alto Perú* (Hamburg, n.d.); on Ecuador, Michael L. Conniff, 'Guayaquil through Independence: Urban development in a colonial system,' *TA*, 33 (1977), 385–410; Nicholas P. Cushner, *Farm and Factory: The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito, 1600–1767* (Albany, N.Y., 1982); Julio Estupiñan Tello, *El negro en Esmeraldas: Apuntes para su estudio* (Quito, 1967); Michael T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973); and Norman E. Whitten, Jr., *Black Frontiersmen: A South American Case* (New York, 1974); on Paraguay, Josefina Plá, *Hermano negro: La esclavitud en Paraguay* (Madrid, 1972); on Uruguay, Emo Isola, *La esclavitud en el Uruguay . . . (1743–1852)* (Montevideo, 1975), is the best account but see also: Paulo de Carvalho Neto, *El negro uruguayo hasta la abolición* (Quito, 1965); Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, *El negro en el Uruguay pasado y presente* (Montevideo, 1965);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and John Hoyt Williams, 'Observations on blacks and bondage in Uruguay, 1800–1836,' *TA*, 43 (1987), 411–27. Beyond categorisation but worth reading is Paulo de Carvalho Neto, *Estudios afros: Brasil-Paraguay-Uruguay-Ecuador* (Caracas, 1971).

SLAVE REBELLION

The problems of slave discontent, flight, and rebellion have called forth a substantial literature. Two works impressively put these questions in hemispheric perspective: Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979) and Richard Price (ed.), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Garden City, N.Y., 1973); the latter reprints (33–103) various essays on Spanish America. The best single account for Spanish America is Carlos Federico Guillot, *Negros rebeldes y negros cimarrones . . . durante el siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1961), while an interesting sketch on the subject is provided by Germán Carrera Damas, 'Flight and confrontation,' in Moreno Fraginals, *Africa in Latin America*, 23–37.

The problem of *cimarronaje* and rebellion is dealt with in many of the regional accounts listed above. In addition, specialized titles include: Carlos Aguirre, 'Cimarronaje, bandolerismo y desintegración esclavista: Lima, 1821–1854', in Carlos Aguirre and Charles Walker (eds.), *Bandoleros, abigeos y montoneros: Criminalidad y violencia en el Perú, siglos XVIII–XX* (Lima, 1990), 137–82; Roberto Arrazola, *Palenque: Primer pueblo libre de América* (Cartagena, 1970); Miguel Barnet (ed.) *Esteban Montejo: The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, trans. Jocasta Innes (New York, 1968); Guillermo A. Baralt, *Esclavos rebeldes: Conspiraciones y sublevaciones de esclavos en Puerto Rico, 1795–1873* (Río Piedras, 1982); María del Carmen Borrego Plá, *Palenques de negros en Cartagena de Indias a fines del siglo XVIII* (Seville, 1973); Federico Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en la sociedad colonial venezolano* (Caracas, 1961); Patrick Carroll and Aurelio de los Reyes, 'Amapa, Oaxaca: Pueblo de cimarrones,' *Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de México*, 2/4 (1973), 43–50; Patrick Carroll, 'Mandinga: The evolution of a Mexican runaway community, 1735–1827,' *CSSH*, 19 (1977), 488–505; Adriana Naveda Chávez-Hita, 'La lucha de los negros esclavos en las haciendas azucareras de Córdoba en el siglo XVIII,' *Anuario del Centro de Estudios Históricos* (Jalapa), 2 (1980); D. M. Davidson, 'Negro slave control and resistance in colonial Mexico, 1519–1650,' *HAHR*, 46/2 (1966), 235–53; Carlos Esteban Deive, *Los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cimarrones del Maniel de Neiba: Historia y etnografía (Santo Domingo, 1985); Aquiles Escalante, 'Notas sobre el palenque de San Basilio: Una comunidad negra en Colombia,' *Divulgaciones Etnológicas* (Barranquilla), 3 (1954); Carlos Felice Cardot, *Rebeliones, motines y movimientos de masas en el siglo XVIII venezolano, 1730–1781,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1977); Alberto Flores Galindo, 'Bandidos de la Costa', in Aguirre and Walker (eds.), *Bandoleros,* 57–68; Gabino La Rosa Corzo, *Los cimarrones de Cuba* (Havana, 1988); Manuel Lucena Salmoral, 'Levantamiento de esclavos en Remedios,' *Boletín Cultural Bibliográfico* (Bogotá), 5/9 (1962), 1127–9; Anthony McFarlane, *'Cimarrones* and *palenques:* Runaways and resistance in colonial Colombia,' *Slavery and Abolition,* 6 (1985), 131–51; Benjamín Nistal-Moret (ed.), *Esclavos prófugos y cimarrones: Puerto Rico, 1770–1870* (Río Piedras, 1984); Jorge Pinto Rodríguez, 'Una rebelión de negros en las costas del Pacífico Sur: El caso de la fragata *Trial* en 1804,' *Histórica,* 10 (1986), 139–55; Frederick M. Rodríguez, 'Cimarron revolts and pacification in New Spain, the Isthmus of Panama, and colonial Colombia, 1503–1800' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1979); William B. Taylor, 'The foundation of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Morenos de Amapa,' *TA,* 26 (1970), 439–46; Ralph H. Vigil, 'Negro slaves and rebels in the Spanish possessions, 1503–1558,' *The Historian,* 33 (1971), 637–55; and Alain Yacou, 'La conspiración de Aponte (1812)', *Historia y Sociedad,* 1 (1988), 39–58. For runaways from British colonies who found refuge in Spanish territory, see Jane Landers, 'Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A free Black town in Spanish colonial Florida,' *AHR,* 95 (1990), 9–30.

FREE BLACKS

The status of free persons of African descent under slavery has received more and more scholarly attention over the years. General accounts for colonial Spanish America and nineteenth-century Cuba by Frederick P. Bowser and Franklin W. Knight, respectively, are found in David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene (eds.), *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore, 1972), 19–58, 278–308. Extensive regional treatment is also provided by: Bowser, 'The free person of color in Mexico City and Lima: Manumission and opportunity, 1580–1650,' in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J. 1975), 331–68; Lowell Gudmundson, *Mechanisms of*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Social Mobility for the Population of African Descent in Colonial Costa Rica: Manumission and Miscegenation (Heredia, C.R., 1976); and Lyman L. Johnson, 'Manumission in Colonial Buenos Aires, 1776–1810,' *HAHR*, 59/2 (1979), 258–79. John K. Chance places the subject in a larger social context in his interesting works: *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); 'The ecology of race and class in late colonial Oaxaca,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American Population History* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), 93–117; and (with William B. Taylor) 'Estate and class in a colonial city: Oaxaca in 1792,' *CSSH*, 19 (1977), 454–87. See also the subsequent exchange with other scholars in *CSSH*, 21 (1979), 421–42, and 25 (1983), 703–24. The gap between official prejudice and social reality in racial classification and socio-economic mobility is studied in: Rodney D. Anderson, 'Race and social stratification: A comparison of working-class Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821,' *HAHR*, 68/2 (1988), 209–43; Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif. 1985); Patricia Seed, 'Social dimensions of race: Mexico City, 1753,' *HAHR*, 62/4 (1982), 569–606; Michael M. Swann, 'The spatial dimension of a social process: Marriage and mobility in late colonial Mexico,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), 117–80; and Verena Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (New York, 1975). Many free persons of color used military service as an avenue of advancement, and this subject is studied by: George Reid Andrews, 'The Afro-Argentine officers of Buenos Aires Province, 1800–1860,' *Journal of Negro History*, 64/2 (1979), 85–100; Christon I. Archer, 'Pardos, Indians and the army of New Spain: Inter-relationships and conflicts, 1780–1810,' *JLAS*, 6/2 (1974), 231–55; Leon G. Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru, 1750–1810* (Philadelphia, 1978); Allan J. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753–1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986) and 'The status of the free pardo in the disciplined militia of New Granada,' *Journal of Negro History*, 56 (1971), 105–17.

In addition to the extended mention often given in works on slavery, free blacks are also discussed in: Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, 'The integration of the Negro into the national society of Mexico,' in Magnus Mörner (ed.), *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1970), 11–27; Rafael Duharte Jiménez, 'Apuntes para la manumisión de esclavos en Santiago de Cuba,' *Secuencia*, 13 (1989), 106–16; Lowell Gudmundson, "Black into white in nineteenth-century Spanish America: Afro-American As-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

similation in Argentina and Costa Rica,' *Slavery and Abolition,* 5/1 (1984), 34–49; Lyman L. Johnson, 'The impact of racial discrimination on Black artisans in colonial Buenos Aires,' *Social History,* 6/3 (1981), 301–16, and 'The racial limits of guild solidarity: An example from colonial Buenos Aires,' *RHA,* 99 (1985), 7–26; Jay Kinsbruner, 'Caste and Capitalism in the Caribbean: Residential patterns and house ownership among the free people of color of San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1823–46,' *HAHR,* 70/3 (1990), 433–61, and Brigida von Mentz, *Pueblos de indios, mulatos y mestizos, 1770–1870: Los campesinos y las transformaciones proto-industriales en el poniente de Morelos* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Finally, for a fascinating study of those slaves or their descendants who voluntarily or involuntarily returned to Africa, see Rodolfo Saracino, *Los que volvieron a Africa* (Havana, 1988).

15. WOMEN IN SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIAL SOCIETY

As social history becomes more comprehensive in its understanding of the Spanish American colonial world, the presence of women as subjects of their own destinies and as members of the family and the community at large becomes more obvious and more relevant.

No general study of women in all Spanish America throughout the colonial period has been attempted. Most works focus on a given geographical area. Judith Prieto de Zegarra, *Mujer, poder y desarrollo en el Perú,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1980) is a full-length study of women in Peru from Inca times to the end of the nineteenth century. An important narrative survey of women in colonial Peru is Luis Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadors: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983). For Mexico, Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Las mujeres en la Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) presents an overview of women's history, with emphasis on the educational factors molding their lives. On Chile, less polished but still useful is Sor María Imelda Cano, *La mujer en el reyno de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1980). For Venezuela, Armila Troconis de Veracoceha, *Indias, esclavas, mantuanas y primeras damas* (Caracas, 1990) offers a general descriptive view of women in the colonial period and in the first half of the nineteenth century. A general treatment of some features of the history of women in New Spain is found in Asunción Lavrin, 'In search of the colonial woman in Mexico: The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

A. Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 23–59.

CONQUEST AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

While the variety of research possibilities continue to expand, certain topics have received more attention than others, and the bibliographical resources continue to show a lopsided configuration. An early study by Nancy O'Sullivan Beare, *Las mujeres de los conquistadores: La mujer española en los comienzos de la colonización americana: Aportaciones para el estudio de la transculturación* (Madrid, 1956), offered a general survey of women's presence in the conquest and first settlement period. It also established the cultural dimension of the female contribution, to which current historiography seems to be turning. The migration of Spanish women to the New World, significant mostly in the sixteenth century, remains a challenge to the historian. Peter Boyd-Bowman's 'Patterns of Spanish emigration to the Indies until 1699', *HAHR*, 56/4 (1976), 580–604 was a landmark study, establishing a firm foundation for further qualitative works. Antonio García-Abasolo, 'Mujeres andaluzas en la América colonial: 1550–1650', *Revista de Indias*, 49/185 (1989), 91–109, reconstructs the story of Andalusian migrant women.

The complex set of social values carried by men and women that, to the extent possible in the New World, they tried to duplicate is a relevant theme in the history of colonial Spanish America. Few comparative studies between Spain and Spanish-American women have been carried out. On the other hand, the growing number of studies of Spanish women promises to become an important resource for such comparisons, and for the analysis of cultural transfers. Older historical surveys may still be helpful. See, for example, Angel Valbuena Prat, *La vida española en la edad de oro* (Barcelona, 1943); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1963); and José Deleito Piñuela, *La mujer, la casa y la moda en la Española del rey poeta* (Madrid, 1946). More recent studies are more concise and raise new questions. The medieval background is covered by Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984), and Cristina Segura (ed.), *Las mujeres en las ciudades medievales* (Madrid, 1984). The critical sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Spanish society set many models for the New World, can be studied in works by Mary Elizabeth Perry: *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, N.H.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and London, 1980), *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 'Beatas and the Inquisition in early modern Seville,' in Stephen Haliczer (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1987), and 'With brave vigilance and a hundred eyes: The making of women's prisons in counter-Reformation Spain', *Women and Criminal Justice*, 2/1 (1990), 3–17. María Dolores Pérez Baltasar, *Mujeres marginadas: La Casa de Recogidas en Madrid* (Madrid, 1984) is helpful for the study of similar institutions in the colonies. See also Mariló Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid, 1986); María Angeles Durán (ed.), *La mujer en la historia de España (siglos XVI al XX)* (Madrid, 1984); and Vicente Graullera, 'Mujer, amor y moralidad en la Valencia de los siglos XVI y XVII,' in Agustin Redondo (ed.), *Amours légitimes, amours illégitimes en Espagne (XVI–XVII siècles* (Paris, 1985) 109–19. The analysis of the writing of female religious is beginning to attract the attention of literary analysts, and should encourage future historical monographs. See Darcy Donahue, 'Writing lives: Nuns and confessors as auto-biographers in early modern Spain', *The Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 13 (1989), 231–9, and Sonia Herpoel, *Autobiografías por mandato: Una escritura femenina en la España del siglo de oro* (Antwerp, 1987).

James Lockhart explored the topic of the transfer of culture and the role of the first generation of Spanish women in the Indies in his *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison, Wis., 1968). See also Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1989). Still useful for the early settlement period is Analola Borges, 'La mujer pobladora en los orígenes americanos', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 29 (1972), 389–444.

The legal rights of all women in Spanish America were defined by Spanish legislation, especially the *Siete Partidas*, many premises of which continued to be used as a departing interpretive source for later legislation. The *Partidas* have been beautifully translated into English by Samuel Parson Scott (Chicago and New York, 1931). A useful compilation of law is found in Marcelo Martínez Alcubilla, *Códigos antiguos de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1885). See also José María Ots Capdequí, 'Bosquejo histórico de los derechos de la mujer en la legislación de Indias', *Revista General de Legislación y Jurisprudencia*, 132 (1918), 161–82, and *El estado español en la Indias* (Mexico, D.F., 1946), 83–156. For the implementation of the general premises set up by Spanish legislation by the *ad hoc* legislation issued by the crown throughout the colonial period, see Richard Konetzke (ed.), *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953–62). The best source for Spanish legislation on marriage is Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz, *El matrimonio en Indias: Realidad social y regulación jurídica* (Buenos Aires, 1977).

The life and deeds of several exceptional women form a body of anecdotal popular history which, although mostly descriptive, is useful. See Alejandro Vicuña, *Inés de Suárez* (Santiago, Chile, 1941); Nicolás León, *Aventuras de la monja alférez* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); Ventura García, *La Pericholi* (Paris, 1940); Mirta Aguirre, *Influencia de la mujer en Iberoamérica* (Havana, 1947). Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, *Los Lispersguer y la Quintrala (Doña Catalina de los Ríos)* (Valparaíso, 1908) provides information on a truculent female figure and the complicated genealogical history of a Chilean family. The fascinating figure of Micaela Bastidas, wife of Tupac Amaru II, is well treated by Lilian E. Fisher, *The Last Inca Revolt, 1780–1783* (Norman, Okla., 1966) and Francisco A. Loayza (ed.), *Mártires y heroínas* (Lima, 1945). A more recent work reassesses the figure of Micaela and brings into relief the importance of women and family connections in the revolt. See, Leon Campbell, 'Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780–1783,' *TA,* 32/2 (1985), 163–96. Vignettes of the lives of lesser-known women can be found in Edith Couturier, 'Micaela Angela Carrillo: Widow and Pulque dealer,' in David Sweet and Gary Nash (eds.), *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkeley, 1981) 362–75, and also by Couturier, 'Una viuda aristocrática en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: La condesa de Miravalle,' *HM,* 41/3 (1992), 327–63; Solange Alberro, 'Juana de Morga and Gertrudis de Escobar: Rebellious slaves,' and 'Beatriz de Padilla: Mistress and mother,' in David Sweet and Gary Nash (eds.), *Struggle and Survival,* 165–89, 247–57; Donald Chipman, 'Isabel Montezuma: Pioneer of mestizaje,' in Sweet and Nash (eds.), *Struggle and Survival,* 214–27; Georges Baudot, 'Malitzin, L'irreguliere,' in Claire Pailler (ed.), *Femmes des Amériques* (Toulouse, 1986), 19–30. See also Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier 'Las mujeres tienen la palabra: Otras voces en la historia colonial de Mexico.' *HM,* 31/2 (1981), 278–313. Although letters by women are difficult to find, the letters of Chilean women assembled by Sergio Vergara Quiroz, *Cartas de mujeres en Chile, 1630–1885* (Santiago, Chile, 1987), offer engaging details of daily life and emotions. An early attempt to define and describe the role of women in an elite family was Edith Couturier 'Women in a noble family: The Mexican Counts of Regla, 1750–1830', in Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women,* 129–49. John Tutino argued the issue of power between male and female

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

within the elite family in 'Power, class, and family: Men and women in the Mexican elite, 1750–1810,' *TA*, 39/3 (1983), 353–81.

The lion's share of bibliography and historical attention, however, belongs to the poet, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Although the majority of studies bear on her literary production, her life continues to spur interest and controversy. Among the better earlier studies of Sor Juana are, Ezequiel Chávez, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Ensayo de psicología,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1970); Julio Jiménez Rueda, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz en su época* (Mexico, D.F., 1951); Anita Arroyo, *Razón y pasión de Sor Juana* (Mexico, D.F., 1971). Arroyo offers an eleven-page bibliography of works written up to the late 1960s. The publication of Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o Las trampas de la fé* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), translated as *Sor Juana or The Traps of Faith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988) coincided with a rising interest in Sor Juana in North America and Europe. This well-written analysis of Sor Juana's life and literary work attempts to understand the subject comprehensively within its period, although it is not devoid of subjective judgements. A solidly researched and academically oriented study by Marie-Cécile Bénassy-Berling, *Humanisme et religion chez Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: La femme et la culture au XVIIé siècle* (Paris, 1982) is a tempered treatment of the poet that many will prefer for accuracy and objectivity. Excellent translations of Sor Juana's poetry and her famous *Respuesta* letter make her more easily available to English-speaking students. See Margaret Sayers Peden, *A Woman of Genius: The Intellectual Autobiography of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Salisbury, Conn., 1982), and *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Poems* (New York, 1985); and Allan Trueblood, *A Sor Juana Anthology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988). The most recent analyses of Sor Juana's writing in English are, Stephanie Merrim (ed.), *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Detroit, Mich., 1991), and George H. Tavard, *Juana Inés de la Cruz and the Theology of Beauty: The First Mexican Theology* (South Bend, Ind., 1991). See also the analysis of Sor Juana and religious writers, in Jean Franco, *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico* (New York, 1989).

INDIGENOUS WOMEN

The status and social role of indigenous women prior to 1492, essential for understanding continuities and transformations during the colonial period, may be elicited from several of the available surveys of the major cultures. On the societies of the Aztecs and Incas, see essays I:1 and I:3.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

More specifically, see Pedro Carrasco, 'The joint family in ancient Mexico: The case of Molotla', in Hugo Nutini et al. (eds.), *Essays on Mexican Kinship* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976), and Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, 'La poliginia señorial en el reino de Cajamarca: Siglos XV y XVI,' *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Peru), 43 (1979), 399–466. A comparison between the pre-Columbian and the twentieth-century Indian woman in Mexico is available in Anna-Brita Hellbom, *La participación cultural de las mujeres: Indias y mestizas en el México precortesiano y postrevolucionario* (Stockholm, 1967).

Ethnohistorians and historians of the early colonial period are delineating the connections between the pre-Colombian and the colonial periods. We have several important works that highlight kinship roles, household contours, and gender relations within the indigenous cosmos. These works help to understand the value system of indigenous communities and interpret their reactions to colonial cultural and legal institutions. Two key studies of indigenous sexual mores are Alfredo López Austin, 'La sexualidad entre los antiguos nahuas,' in *Familia y sexualidad en Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), 177–206, and Serge Gruzinski, 'Matrimonio y sexualidad en México y Texcoco en los albores de la conquista o la pluralidad de los discursos,' in Solange Alberro (ed.), *La actividad del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Nueva España, 1571–1590* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), 19–74.

The predicament of indigenous women immediately after the conquest has been well documented and discussed by Elinor C. Burkett, 'Indian women and white society: The case of sixteenth-century Peru', in Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women*, 101–28, and William L. Sherman, *Forced Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1979). More recently, Irene Silverblatt has provided a thorough coverage of Incaic gender relations and ventures some interpretations on the colonial period in *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For a different view of the role of indigenous women in the economy and society, see Brooke Larson, 'Producción doméstica y trabajo femenino indígena en la formación de una economía mercantil colonial,' *Historia Boliviana*, 3/2 (1983), 173–88, and Gustavo Valcárcel, 'La condición de la mujer en el estado incaico,' *Social Participation*, 29 (1985), 63–70. See also Ann Zulawski, 'Social differentiation, gender, and ethnicity: Urban Indian women in Colonial Bolivia, 1640–1725,' *LARR*, 25/2 (1990), 93–113. A suggestive typology of indigenous women based on the use of testaments is offered by Frank Salomon, 'Indian women of early colonial Quito as seen through their testaments',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

TA, 44/3 (1988), 325–42. A novel enquiry into Indian urban domestic service is Luis Miguel Glave Testino, 'Mujer indígena, trabajo doméstico y cambio social en la ciudad de La Paz y el sur andino en 1684,' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines*, 16/3–4 (1987), 39–69. For the role of women in Andean brotherhoods, see Diane Elizabeth Hopkins, 'Ritual, sodality and cargo among indigenous Andean women: A diachronic perspective,' in Alfred Meyers and Diane E. Hopkins, *Manipulating the Saints: Religious Brotherhoods and Social Integration in Postconquest Latin America* (Hamburg, 1988), 175–95. On a different type of activity, see Louisa Stark, 'The role of women in peasant uprisings in the Ecuadorian highlands,' in Jeffrey Ehrenreich (ed.), *Political Anthropology of Ecuador: Perspectives from Indigenous Cultures* (Albany, N.Y., 1985), 3–23.

For New Spain, Inga Clendinnen, 'Yucatec Maya women: Role and ritual in historical reconstruction,' in *Journal of Social History* (1982), 427–42 is a thoughtful discussion of the impact of the conquest on Maya women. The interactions of indigenous women and the Spanish legal system in Mexico City are aptly described by Susan Kellogg in several works: 'Aztec women in early colonial courts: Structure and strategy in legal context,' in Ronald Spores and Ross Hassig (eds.), *Five Centuries of Law and Politics in Mexico* (Nashville, Tenn., 1984), 25–38; 'Households in late prehispanic and early colonial Mexico: Their structure and its implications for the study of historical demography,' *TA*, 44/4 (1988), 483–94, and 'Aztec inheritance in sixteenth-century Mexico City: colonial patterns, prehispanic influences,' *Ethnohistory*, 23/3 (1986), 313–30. Another household study in central New Spain is Herbert R. Harvey, 'Household and family structure in early colonial Tepletaoztic: An analysis of the Codice Santa María Asunción,' *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 18 (1986), 275–94. Aztec women are integrated in the study of wills in Susan Cline, *Colonial Culhuacán, 1580–1600* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986). Malitzin, Cortés's mistress, is sensitively discussed by Georges Baudot in 'Malitzin, l'Irrégulière,' in Claire Pailler et al., *Femmes des Amériques* (Toulouse, 1986), 19–29. For an interesting documentary source on *cacica* holdings, see Ana Luisa Izquierdo, 'Tasación de la Cacica Gueytlalpa,' *Estudios de Cultura Maya*, 14 (1982), 289–98.

BLACK WOMEN

Studies on black women and black families before the nineteenth century are few, but see Elinor Burkett, 'Early colonial Peru: The urban female

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

experience' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1975), chap. 5, 'Black women and white society', 252–95, and Della M. Flusche and Eugene H. Korth, *Forgotten Females: Women of African and Indian Descent in Colonial Chile, 1535–1800* (Detroit, Mich., 1983). Since Cuba remained a colony in the nineteenth century, we may include in this section Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Cambridge, Eng., 1974). For general works on slavery, see essay II:14.

EDUCATION

Although the concept of formal education for women did not begin to develop until the late colonial period, informal education and, later, the institutional approach to formal education have received some attention. The works of Spanish educators and philosophers of the sixteenth century are important insofar as the models they set for female behaviour held their relevance for several centuries. Among the most important are, Fr Luis de León, *La perfecta casada* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), Luis Vives, *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (Buenos Aires, 1940) and Fr Alonso de Herrera, *Espejo de la perfecta casada* (Granada, 1636). To those references may be added a Mexican educational novel, published in the early nineteenth century but representing the ideas of the last decades of the empire: José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, *La Quijotita y su prima* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), and a recent study of Luis Vives by G. Kaufman, 'Juan Luis Vives in the education of women', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3/4 (1978), 891–6. For the development of educational institutions, see Elisa Luque Alcaide, *La educación en Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1970), 163–204; Pablo Cabrera, *Cultura y beneficencia durante la colonia*, 2nd ed. (Córdoba, Spain, 1928); Gloria Carreño Alvarado, *El colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María de Valladolid, 1743–1810* (Morelia, Mex., 1979). Carmen Castañeda provides information on the education of women in Guadalajara in her *La educación en Guadalajara durante la colonia, 1552–1821* (Guadalajara, 1984).

CONVENTS

With few exceptions female conventual life and related activities have been neglected by historians of the church. Thus, for information on that subject one must turn to older general histories of the church or monographs on the foundation and development of convents. A comprehensive

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

work such as Antonio de Egaña, S.J., *Historia de la iglesia en la América española: Desde el descubrimiento hasta el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1966) offers a good start. Local histories are best reflected in less broad works. Mariano Cuevas, S.J., *Historia de la iglesia en México,* 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1921–8), informative but biased, offers an overview of the female convents. Less complete but still useful is José Manuel Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1869). Histories of the regular orders written during the colonial period also give information on the female convents. See, for example, Antonio de la Calancha and Bernardo Torres, *Crónicas Agustinianas del Perú,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1972); Fr Diego de Córdova Salinas, *Crónicas franciscanas de las provincias del Perú* (Washington, D.C., 1957); Fr Alonso de Zamora, *Historia de la provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Caracas, 1930); Agustín Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de México de la orden de predicadores,* 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1955). Colonial histories of nunneries are less numerous than the histories of religious orders. Two good examples are Ventura Travada, *El suelo de Arequipa convertido en cielo en el estreno del religioso monasterio de Santa Rosa de Santa María,* in Manuel Odriozola (ed.), *Documentos literarios del Perú,* 10 (Lima, 1877), 5–326; and Carlos Siguenza y Góngora, *Paraíso occidental* (Mexico, D.F. 1648), which deals with the convent of Jesús María in Mexico City. Despite the fact that all these sources have an overtly pious character, they are rich in detail and reflect the spirit of the period in which they were written.

Most of the modern works on nunneries focus on New Spain. Josefina Muriel has written extensively on colonial nuns and women in other religious-based institutions. Her better-known works are *Conventos de monjas en la Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1946) and *Los recogimientos de mujeres: Respuesta a una problemática novohispana* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), both of which are very informative. Indian nuns flourished in eighteenth-century New Spain, and two works deal specifically with them: Josefina Muriel, *Las indias caciques de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1963), and Sister Ann Miriam Gallagher, 'The Indian nuns of Mexico City's *monasterio* of Corpus Christi, 1724–1822', in Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women,* 150–72. Sister Gallagher's doctoral dissertation, 'The family background of the nuns of two monasterios in colonial Mexico: Santa Clara, Querétaro, and Corpus Christi, Mexico City (1724–1822)' (Catholic University of America, 1972) has valuable archival material from the nunneries themselves. In addition to a doctoral dissertation focusing on eighteenth-century nunneries in general, 'Religious life of Mexican women in the 18th century'

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Harvard University, 1963), Asunción Lavrin has written several shorter works mostly on the socio-economic aspects of nunneries. Among them are 'The role of the nunneries in the economy of New Spain in the eighteenth century', *HAHR*, 46/3 (1966), 371–93; 'El convento de Santa Clara de Querétaro: La administración de sus propiedades en el siglo XVII', *HM*, 25/1 (1975), 76–117; 'Women in convents: Their economic and social role in colonial Mexico', in Berenice Carroll (ed.), *Liberating Women's History* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 250–77; 'Female religious,' in Louisa Hoberman and Susan Socolow (eds.), *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: N.Mex., 1986), 165–95; 'Women and religion in Spanish America,' in Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, *Women and Religion in America: The Colonial and Revolutionary Period*, vol. 2 (San Francisco, 1983), 42–78; 'Unlike Sor Juana? The model nun in the religious literature of Colonial Mexico,' in Stephanie Merrim (ed.), *Feminist Perspectives*, 61–85. On Cuzco nunneries, see Kathryn Burns, 'Apuntes sobre la economía conventual: El monasterio de Santa Clara del Cusco,' *Allpanchis*, 23/38 (1991), 67–96. See also Nancy Van Deusen, 'Los primeros recomientos para doncellas mestizas en Lima y Cusco, 1550–1580,' *Allpanchis*, 22/35–36 (1990), 249–91.

One of the few samplers of feminine conventual writing is an unusually well edited and annotated autobiography of a Chilean nun of the mid-colonial years: Ursula Suárez, *Relación autobiográfica* (Santiago, Chile, 1984). A general survey of the convents of Cuzco in the late seventeenth century includes information on the nunneries of that city. See Donald Gibbs, 'The economic activities of nuns, friars, and their Conventos in mid-colonial Cuzco,' *TA*, 45/4 (1989), 343–62; Manuel Ramos Medina, *Imagen de santidad en un mundo profano* (Mexico, D.F., 1990) is the story of the foundation of the Carmelite convent of St. Joseph in Mexico City. The writings of female religious in Spain and Spanish America are studied and interpreted by Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau in *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989). On the founder of the teaching Order of Mary in New Spain, Sister María de Azlor, see Pilar Foz y Foz, *La revolución pedagógica en Nueva España: 1754–1820*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1981).

WITCHES

Inquisitorial records are rich sources for unconventional forms of behavior that typed women as 'witches.' These works permit us to study counter-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cultures in dissonance with the official forms of religious expressions, and also forms of female empowerment used by otherwise 'marginal' women. See María Emma Mannarelli, 'Inquisición y mujeres: Las hechiceras en el Perú durante el siglo XVII,' *Revista Andina*, 3/1 (1985), 141–56; and three articles by Ruth Behar: 'Sex and sin, witchcraft and the Devil in late-colonial Mexico,' *American Ethnologist*, 14/1 (1987), 34–54; 'Sexual witchcraft, colonialism, and women's powers: Views from the Mexican Inquisition,' in Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1989), 178–208; and 'The visions of a Guachichil witch in 1599: A window on the subjugation of Mexican hinterland gatherers,' *Ethnology*, 34/2 (1987): 115–38. The disjunctions in the practice of religious life by women are portrayed in María Agueda Meza, 'Ilusas y alumbradas: Discurso místico o erótico?' *Caravelle*, 52 (1989), 5–15, Edelmira Ramírez Leyva, *María Rita Vargas, María Lucía Celis: Beatas embaucadoras de la colonia* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), and Dolores Bravo, *Ana Rodríguez de Castro, procesada por ilusa, y afectadora de Santos* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). See also Solange Alberro, 'Herejes, brujas y beatas: Mujeres ante el Tribunal de la Inquisición,' in Carmen Ramos Escandón (ed.), *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

SEXUALITY

Ecclesiastical and civil authorities were deeply preoccupied by transgressions against marriage, which were relatively common in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. See Alexandra Parma Cook and David Noble Cook, *Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy* (Durham, N.C., 1990) on a sixteenth century case of bigamy; Dolores Enciso Rojas, 'Un caso de perversión de las normas matrimoniales: El Bígamo José de la Peña,' in Sergio Ortega (ed)., *De la santidad a la perversión* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), 179–96. In the last decade, the theme of sexuality has become an important analytical tool for understanding gender relations within or outside marriage, the effectiveness of ecclesiastical and civil legislation on male–female relationships, and the social mores of the conquest and the colonial period. An exploration into the sexual mores of the conquest is Pierre Ragon, *Les Amours indiennes ou l'imaginaire du conquistador* (Paris, 1992). See also by the same author, *Les Indiens de la découverte: Evangelisation, mariage et sexualité* (Paris, 1992). For case studies on Mexico, see Solange Alberro et al. *Seis ensayos sobre el discurso colonial relativo a la comunidad doméstica* (Mexico, D.F., 1980) and *Sexualidad y*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

familia (Mexico, D.F., 1981), two pioneering works. More recently, the volume edited by Sergio Ortega, *De la santidad a la perversión,* has added new materials and nuances to the enquiry of gender and sexuality issues in New Spain. For essays on marriage and sexuality throughout Spanish America, see Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America,* cited above. For Brazil, see Ligia Bellini, *A coisa obscura: Mulher, sodomia e inquisição no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1987). Other contributions include Pablo Rodríguez, *Seducción, amancebamiento y abandono en la Colonia* (Bogotá, 1991) and Eduardo Cavieres F. and René Salinas M., *Amor y matrimonio en Chile tradicional* (Valparaiso, 1991)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Marriage and the family are topics critical to the study of women. They have only been approached by a small number of social historians and demographers. A general brief overview of the meaning of the family in colonial Spanish America is provided by Elda R. González and Rolando Mellafe, 'La función de la familia en la historia social hispanoamericana colonial', *Anuario,* 8 (1965), 55–71. For the purpose of comparison with Brazil, see one of the earliest investigations of marriage in colonial Brazil, Donald Ramos, 'Marriage and the family in colonial Vila Rica,' *HAHR,* 55/2 (1975), 200–25.

Some studies explore the evolution of a family as a whole, highlighting but not focusing on its women. See, for example, Ida Altman, 'A family and region in the northern fringe lands: The Marqueses de Aguayo of Nuevo León and Coahuila', in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of Early Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976); José Toribio Medina, *Los Errázuris: Notas biográficas y documentos para la historia de esta familia en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1964); Cathy Duke, 'The family in eighteenth-century plantation society in Mexico,' *Annals of the New York Academy of Science,* 292 (1977), 226–41; Paul Ganster, 'La familia López de Cervantes: Linaje y sociedad en el México colonial,' *HM,* 31/2 (1981), 197–232; John Frederick Schwaller, 'Tres familias mexicanas del siglo XVI,' *HM,* 31/2 (1981), 171–96; Joaquín A. Ramírez F., *Las primeras familias de Caracas* (Caracas, 1986), a genealogical study of families from 1559 to 1616; Della Flusche, *Two families in colonial Chile* (Lampeter, Wales, 1989). Family legislation, in theory and practice, is discussed by Edith Couturier in 'Women and the family in eighteenth-century Mexico: Law and practice,' *Journal of Family History,* 10/3 (1985), 294–304. Dow-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ries and wills have been used as sources by Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier to delve into women's socio-economic power in colonial Mexico in 'Dowries and wills: A view of women's socioeconomic role in colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640–1790', *HAHR*, 59/2 (1979), 281–304. See also, Della M. Flusche and Eugene H. Korth, 'A dowry office in seventeenth-century Chile,' *Historian*, 49/2 (1987), 204–22; Richard E. Ahlborn, 'The will of a New Mexico woman in 1762,' *New Mexico Historical Review* (July 1990), 319–55; María Josefa Vergara Hernández, *Testamento* (Querétaro, 1987). For comparative purposes, see Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the dowry: Women, families, and social change in São Paulo, Brazil, 1600–1900* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), and 'Parents and daughters: Change in the practice of dowry in São Paulo (1600–1770),' *HAHR*, 70/4 (1990), 639–65.

The importance of marriage, family ties and kinship among the social elite is stressed by Doris Ladd in *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780–1826* (Austin, Tex., 1976); Susan M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978); and Stephanie Blank, 'Patrons, clients and kin in seventeenth-century Caracas: A methodological essay in colonial Spanish American social history', *HAHR*, 54/2 (1974), 260–83. The patronage of women in the establishment of pious foundations such as dowry funds and convents is examined by Edith Couturier in ' "For the greater service of God": Opulent foundations and women's philanthropy in colonial Mexico,' in Kathleen D. McCarthy (ed.), *Lady Bountiful Revisited* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 119–41.

The Seminar on the History of the Family at the Colegio de México is publishing its collected conference papers, promising to develop a reliable body of information on this topic. See, for example, Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (coord.), *Familias novohispanas: Siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1991). For their part, historical demographers are beginning to make inroads into topics such as marriage patterns and fertility. Illustrative works are Susan M. Socolow, 'Marriage, birth, and inheritance: The merchants of eighteenth-century Buenos Aires', *HAHR*, 60/3 (1980), 387–406; Michael M. Swann, 'The spatial dimensions of a social process: Marriage and mobility in late colonial northern Mexico', in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979); Silvia M. Arrom, 'Marriage patterns in Mexico City, 1811,' *Journal of Family History*, 3/4 (1978), 376–91; John K. Chance, *Race and class in colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif., 1978) which has useful information on marriage patterns and their influence on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

race relations; Linda L. Greenow, 'Marriage patterns and regional interaction in late colonial Nueva Galicia,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American Population History* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), 119–47; Herbert S. Klein, 'Familia y fertilidad en Amatenago, Chiapas, 1785–1816.' *HM*, 36/2 (1986), 273–86. Robert McCaa has written several important monographs on the dynamics of marriage in colonial Parral (New Spain). See '*Calidad, clase,* and marriage in colonial Mexico: The case of Parral, 1788–90,' *HAHR*, 64/3 (1984), 477–502; 'Marriage, migration, and settling down: Parral (Nueva Vizcaya), 1770–1778,' in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Migration in Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), 212–37; 'Gustos de los padres, inclinaciones de los novios y reglas de una feria nupcial colonial: Parral, 1770–1814,' *HM*, 40/4 (1991), 579–614; and 'La viuda viva del México borbónico: Sus voces, variedades y vejaciones,' in Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (coord.), *Familias novohispanas: Siglos XVI al XIX*, 299–324.

The theological definition of marriage, sin, and the dilemmas caused by Roman Catholic models of behaviour are studied by Sergio Ortega, 'Teología novohispana sobre el matrimonio y comportamientos sexuales, 1519–1570,' in Sergio Ortega (ed.), *De la santidad a la perversión*, 19–46. The concepts of sin and fornication are ably discussed by Ana María Atondo in 'De la perversión de la práctica a la perversión del discurso: La fornicación,' in Ortega (ed.), *De la santidad a la perversión*, 129–63. Asunción Lavrin, 'Sexuality in colonial Mexico: A Church dilemma,' in Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, 47–92, explores the concept of sin as defined by the church, and a variety of personal behaviour that contradicted the ecclesiastical dicta in New Spain. Similar contradictions were confirmed for colonial Venezuela by Kathy Waldron, 'The sinners and the Bishop in colonial Venezuela: The *Visita* of Bishop Mariano Martí, 1771–1784,' in Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage*, 156–77. For New Mexico, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, 'From honor to love: Transformations of the meaning of sexuality in colonial Mexico,' in Raymond T. Smith (ed.), *Kinship, Ideology and Practice in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), 237–63, and 'Honor, ideology, marriage negotiation, and class-gender domination in New Mexico, 1690–1846,' *LAP*, 12 (1985), 81–104. Gutiérrez analyzes gender relations in the indigenous and Spanish societies in *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991). Some manifestations of sexuality have received initial attention in colonial Argentina by Carlos A. Mayo, ' "Amistades ilícitas": Las

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

relaciones extramatrimoniales en la campaña bonaerense, 1750–1810,' *Cuadernos de Historia Regional,* 1/2 (1985), 3–9. Unwed motherhood among the Spanish-American elite illuminates social mores, as Ann Twinam has shown in 'Honor, sexuality and illegitimacy in colonial Spanish America,' in Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage,* 118–55. The issue of parental dissent to marriage of their offspring and the changing attitudes of civil and ecclesiastical authorities is studied by Patricia Seed in *To Love, Honor and Obey: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), and Susan Socolow, 'Acceptable partners: Marriage choice in colonial Argentina, 1778–1810,' in Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage,* 209–46. See also, Patricia Seed, 'The Church and the patriarchal family: Marriage conflicts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century New Spain,' *Journal of Family History,* 10/3 (1985), 284–93, and 'Marriage promises and the value of a woman's testimony in colonial Mexico,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* 13/2 (1988), 253–76.

Several authors explore the meaning of marriage itself, a difficult and challenging theme that is partially studied through the negative prism of divorce and bigamy. Although few, these studies expand our knowledge of daily life within the home. See Richard Boyer, 'Women, *la Mala Vida,* and the politics of marriage', in Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage,* 252–86, and Thomas Calvo, 'The warmth of the hearth: Seventeenth-century Guadalajara families,' in Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage,* 287–312. For an inner view of discord and break-down within the family, see Alberto Flores Galindo and Magdalena Chocano, 'Las cargas del sacramento', *Revista Andina,* 2/2 (1984), 403–34; Bernard Lavallé, *Divorcio y nulidad de matrimonio en Lima (1651–1700): La desavenencia conyugal como revelador social* (Talence, 1986); Ricardo Cicerchia, 'Vida familiar y prácticas conyugales: Clases populares en una ciudad colonial, Buenos Aires, 1800–1810', *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana, 'Dr. E. Ravignani,'* 3rd. Series, No. 2, 1st Semester (1990), 91–109. Mothering, as the main occupation of women during the colonial period, and children as members of the family, have received scant attention as topics of research. Child abandonment has been interpreted as a mechanism to control the size of the family by Elsa Malvido in 'El abandono de los hijos: Una forma de control del tamaño de la familia y del trabajo indígena: Tula, 1683–1830,' *HM,* 34/4 (1980), 521–61. See also Cristina Ruiz Martínez, 'La memoria sobre la niñez y el estereotipo del niño santo,' in Sergio Ortega (ed.), *De la santidad a la perversión,* 49–66, and Asunción Lavrin, 'Mexico, a historiographical study of childhood,' in Ray Hiner and Joseph Hawes (eds.),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide (Westport, Conn., 1991), 421–45. Rape and violence against women are also included in the new social history. This subject has been explored by François Giraud, 'Viol et société coloniale: Le cas de la nouvelle-Espagne au XVIII Siècle,' *AESC*, 41/3 (1986), 625–37; Carmen Castañeda, *Violación, estupro y sexualidad: Nueva Galicia 1790–1921* (Guadalajara, 1989).

The role of women as members of the property network of the family and in the intergenerational transmission of property has raised some interest, although not as much as the topic deserves. See, for comparison with Brazil, Alida C. Metcalf, 'Women and means: Women and family property in colonial Brazil,' *Journal of Social History*, 24/2 (1990), 277–98, and 'Fathers and sons: The politics of inheritance in a colonial Brazilian township,' *HAHR*, 66/3 (1986), 455–84; John Tutino, 'Power, class and family: Men and women in the Mexican elite: 1750–1810,' *TA*, 39/3 (1983), 359–82. The economic activities of women as small business owners is described by John E. Kicza, 'La mujer y la vida comercial en la ciudad de México a fines de la colonia', *Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 2/4 (1981), 39–59.

Although not strictly historical, Julie Greer Johnson, *Women in Colonial Spanish American Literature: Literary Images* (Westport, Conn., 1983) introduces the subject of women in literary sources to the general reader. See also the extensive survey of women's cultural activities by Josefina Muriel, *Cultura feminina novohispana* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). The historiography of colonial women in Spanish America is expanding and reasserting its validity by exploring how women behaved throughout time, within the context of the home and the local or regional community, following a multiplicity of interests, dictated by class, ethnicity, and the evolution of social mores, and socio-economic conditions throughout three centuries. The network of family interests surrounding women and the character of gender relations are the centres of current research, but the addition of regional and ethnic nuances, especially the confluence of Spanish and indigenous worlds, seen through the prism of the female experience, holds the promise of opening rich views of daily life in the colonial period.

16. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The historiography of the church in colonial Spanish America is in a far more primitive state than the historiography of colonial Spanish America

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in general. Only in recent years has it emerged from some of its accumulated backwardness, giving promise of a better future.

A number of general histories of the church world-wide include chapters, more or less generous in scope, devoted to Latin America: vols. 16 to 19 of the *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1948–60), edited by Augustin Fliche and others; vols. 5 to 8 of Hubert Jedin's *Manual de historia de la Iglesia* (Barcelona, 1974–8); vol. 3 of *The Christian Centuries: A New History of the Catholic Church,* edited by Louis-Jacques Rogier, R. Aubert and M. D. Knowles (London, 1964–); and vols. 3 and 4 of the *Historia de la Iglesia católica* (Madrid, 1954–63) by Bernardino Llorca, Ricardo García Villoslada and Francisco Javier Montalbán. See also vols. 2, 3 and 4 of Simon Delacroix's *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques* (Paris, 1956–9). From the Protestant point of view there is K. S. Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York and London, 1938–53).

There are also a number of works specifically Latin American in scope: Leandro Tormo Sanz, *Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina,* vols. 1 and 3 (Madrid, 1962–3), A. Ybot León, *La Iglesia y los eclesiásticos en la empresa de Indias,* 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1954–63), and León Lopétegui, Félix Zubillaga and Antonio de Egaña, *Historia de la Iglesia en la América española desde el descubrimiento hasta comienzos del siglo XIX,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1965–6) confine themselves to the colonial period, though in some cases stretching it to cover the period of the Wars of Independence. For its part, Richard Pattee, *El Catolicismo contemporáneo hispanoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1951) offers us the most extensive chronological range. Enrique D. Dussel's *Hipótesis para una historia de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Barcelona, 1967), which was transformed – and expanded – into *Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Barcelona, 1972), shows a marked preference for the twentieth century. C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440–1770* (Baltimore, 1978) deals selectively with a number of historical problems and includes Asia and Africa as well as Latin America. Hans-Jürgen Prien's *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Göttingen, 1978) is the only work that can be considered fully comprehensive. However, the ambitious project that the Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina has been advancing since 1973 – the publication simultaneously in Spanish (Salamanca), in Portuguese (Petrópolis) and in English (New York), of 11 volumes of *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina* under the general editorship of E. D. Dussel – deserves mention. There are some excellent essays on evangelisation and the ecclesi-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

astical influence on life in the colonial period in *Iglesia, religión y sociedad en la historia latinoamericana (1492–1945)*, 2 vols. (Szeged, 1989). Still valuable as an examination of the relations between state and church is William Eugene Shiels, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real* (Chicago, 1961). A compact recent synthesis is Ismael Sánchez Bella, *Iglesia y estado en la América española* (Pamplona, 1990). Arnold J. Bauer (comp.), *La Iglesia en la economía de América Latina, siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) is a wide-ranging collection of previously published articles, along with a substantial introduction by the compiler and some new essays. Latin American ecclesiastical history lacks a basic bibliographical work of reference and historical journal. Anyone wishing to venture among the islands of this archipelago has to consult the general learned journals, such as the *Revue d'Histoire Écclésiastique* (Louvain), the *Indice histórico español* (Barcelona), the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (Durham, N.C.), *The Americas* (Washington, D.C.) and the *Revista de Histórica de America* (Mexico, D.F.).

There are a number of studies devoted to the history of the church in particular countries, but they are unfortunately variable in their range and sources of information. Outstanding among them are Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México,* 5 vols. (El Paso, Tex., 1921–8); Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú,* 5 vols. (Lima and Burgos, 1953–62); Emilio Lisson Chaves (ed.), *La Iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú,* 5 vols. (Seville, 1943); Cayetano Bruno, *Historia de la Iglesia en la Argentina,* 8 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1966–71); C. Jilva Cotapos, *Historia eclesiástica de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1925); and José María Vargas, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Ecuador durante el Patronato español* (Quito, 1962); and the appropriate volumes on *Historia eclesiástica* in *Historia extensa de Colombia,* edited by Juan Manuel Pacheco C.

There are also histories of the religious orders that worked in Spain's American colonies. Here, too, the historiographical quality is most unequal, ranging from irreproachable critical works such as the Mexican, Peruvian and Brazilian series of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* on the one hand, to the literature of edification and apologias on the other. Outstanding are M. I. Pérez Alonso, *La Compañía de Jesús en México: Cuatro siglos de labor cultural, 1572–1972* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); Serafim Leite, *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,* 10 vols. (Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, 1938–50); Juan Manuel Pacheco, *Los Jesuítas en Colombia,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1959–62); Alberto E. Arizas, *Los Dominicos en Venezuela* (Bogotá,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1971); Avencio Villarejo, *Los Agustinos en el Perú, 1548–1965* (Lima, 1965); Andrés Millé, *La Orden de la Merced en la conquista del Perú, Chile y Tucumán, 1218–1804* (Buenos Aires, 1958); E. de Palacio and J. Brunet, *Los Mercedarios en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1976).

For easily comprehensible reasons, evangelization has proved powerfully attractive as a subject. Robert Ricard, *La conquête spirituelle du Mexique: Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionaires des Ordres Mendiants en Nouvelle Espagne, de 1523 à 1572* (Paris, 1933), published in English as *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders of New Spain: 1523–1572* (Berkeley, 1966), opened up a wide field of research in relation to the transfer of Christianity from Europe to America. One aspect of the phenomenon was pursued by John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, 1956). Many of Ricard's conclusions, however, have been contested or elaborated. See, for example, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, 'Spiritual conflict and accommodation in New Spain: Toward a typology of Aztec responses to Christianity', in *The Inca and Aztec States 1400–1800: Anthropology and History,* edited by G. A. Collier, R. I. Rosaldo and J. D. Wirth (New York, 1982), 345–66. Also of interest on this early missionary era in New Spain are Miguel León-Portilla's brief but important *Los franciscanos vistos por el hombre náhuatl: Testimonios indígenas del siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); José Catalá and Jaime Vilchis Reyes, 'Apocalíptica española y empresa misional en los primeros franciscanos en México', *Revista de Indias,* 45/176 (1985), 421–47, an excellent refinement of earlier work by Marcel Bataillon and John Leddy Phelan; a collection of 33 papers from a 1985 conference at La Rábida, Spain entitled *Congreso internacional sobre franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, 1987); a welcome new edition of Motolinia's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* by Georges Baudot (Madrid, 1985) and a facsimile edition of Motolinia's correspondence, *Epistolario, 1526–1555,* edited by Javier O. Aragón (Mexico, D.F., 1986); Mauricio J. Mixco's fine English translation and revision of Luis Nicolau d'Olwer's classic 1952 study, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499–1590* (Salt Lake City, 1987) and, on the same subject, a set of stimulating essays in J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones (eds.), *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1988). Important, too, are a new facsimile of a major Nahuatl–Spanish confession manual, with a valuable introductory essay by Roberto Moreno, Alonso de Molina's *Confesionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984) and, more

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

generally, Juan Guillermo Durán's extensive edition of catechism texts and studies, *Monumenta catechetica hispanoamericana (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Buenos Aires, 1984).

On religious history in the Andes, see Fernando de Armas Medina, *La Cristianización del Peru, 1532–1600* (Seville, 1953), in which there is much important information on ecclesiastical organization and practice. Johann Specker, *Die Missionsmethode in Spanish–Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Konzilien und Synoden* (Schöneck-Beckenried, 1953), sets out to systematize the earliest Latin American conciliar enactments. See also Pedro Borges, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América* (Madrid, 1960), Constantino Bayle, *El clero secular y la evangelización de América* (Madrid, 1950) and E. D. Dussel, *El episcopado hispano americano, defensor y evangelizador del indio, 1504–1620*, 9 vols. (Cuernavaca, 1964–71), and in a single volume *Les Évêques hispano-americains, defenseurs et évangelisateurs de l'indien 1503–1620* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

On Bartolomé de Las Casas and the cultural, theological and religious significance of the controversies surrounding his life, see the works cited in essay II:3.

The bibliography available on the Jesuit reductions is formidable, reflecting an age-old polemic. See, for example, Magnus Mörner's pioneering study, *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region: The Habsburg Era* (Stockholm, 1953), Bartomeu Melía's *La création d'un langage chrétien dans les reductions des Guaraní au Paraguay* (Strasbourg, 1969) and, among Melía's articles, 'La reducciones jesuíticas del Paraguay: Un espacio para una utopia colonial', *Estudios Paraguayos*, 6 (1978), 157–68. Louis Necker, *Indiens Guaranis et chamanes franciscaines: Les premières réductions du Paraguay, 1580–1800* (Paris, 1979) has assessed the continuity between Franciscan missionary efforts and the general application of their method by the Jesuits. Important work on the Jesuit-dominated Mojos region (modern Beni in eastern Bolivia) includes a second edition of José Chávez Suárez's 1944 study, *Historia de Moxos* (La Paz, 1986), Josep M. Barnadas, 'Las reducciones jesuíticas de Mojos', *Historia Boliviano*, 4/2 (1984), 135–66, and David Block's synthesis, 'La visión jesuítica de los pueblos autóctonos de Mojos, 1667–1700', *Historia Boliviana*, 6/1–2 (1986), 73–88. For a summary of the vast research on the Guaraní missions, Branislava Susnik, 'La cultura indígena y su organización social dentro de las misiones jesuíticas', *Suplemento antropológico*, 19/2 (1984), 7–17.

For the growing literature on nunneries, see essay II:15.

The recent interest in ethno-historical exploration has had some effect

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

upon the image we can perceive of the religious acculturation of the Indian population. Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: L'extirpation de l'idolatrie entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima and Paris, 1971), translated into Spanish as *La destrucción de las religiones andinas* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), remains an essential departure point for the study of the Limeño church's efforts to extirpate idolatry in the course of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. Nathan Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus: Les indiens du Pérou devant la conquéte espagnole* (Paris, 1971), Eng. trans., *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru Through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977), and Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl et Guadalupe* (Paris, 1974), Eng. trans., *Quetzalcóatl and Guadelupe* (Chicago, 1976) have similarly been influential in opening up the study of the complicated effects of the uneven evangelisation and the survival of Indian belief systems.

Out of an enormous and ever-growing bibliography for Mexico, special attention should be afforded Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987). Louise M. Burkhart's challenging study of the early doctrinal sources in Mexico, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua–Christian Moral Dialogue* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989) also deserves mention. For a new English edition of an important primary source on a slightly later period, see J. R. Andrews and R. Hassig (trans. and eds.), *The Treatise of Ruiz de Alarcón (1629)* (Austin, Tex., 1984), a work meant as a manual for confessors of Indians and extirpators of idolatry. Serge Gruzinski, *La Colonisation de l'imaginaire: Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988), is available in English as *The Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993). The first four chapters of the same author's *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800* (Stanford, Calif., 1989) explore four extraordinary case studies of colonial Indians. On Mesoamerica, Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), has provided an influential portrayal of the colonial Indian world. Also, a translation of Fr Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola's *Relation of Two Trips to Petén: Made for the Conversion of the Heathen Ytzaex and Cehaches* (Culver City, Calif., 1987), has been prepared by Charles P. Bowditch and Guillermo Rivera.

For South America, most of the best newer work has focused on the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes. There are a number of scholarly editions of one of the most important sources on colonial Andean religion: in Spanish, see Gérald Taylor (ed. and trans.), *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII (Lima, 1987), including an important biographical study of the most famous extirpator of idolatry, Francisco de Avila, by Antonio Acosta; an English version has been prepared by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste (eds. and trans.), *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991). Salomon prefaces the latter with an informative introductory essay. Luis Millones has collected a number of important documents and studies on the still fascinating Taki Onqoy movement of the 1560s, *El retorno de las huacas: Estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, siglo XVI* (Lima, 1990). Two thought-provoking, and very different, discussions of sixteenth-century Peruvian religious themes are Sabine MacCormack's ' "The Heart Has Its Reasons": Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru', *HAHR*, 65/3 (1985), 443–66, and Carlos Sempat Assadourian, 'Las rentas reales, el buen gobierno y la hacienda de Dios: El parecer de 1568 de Fray Francisco de Morales sobre la reformación de las Indias temporal y espiritual', *Histórica*, 9/1 (1985), 75–130. See also Sabine MacCormack's latest study, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). For the fascinating questions that it provokes, see Valerie Fraser's work on early church-building and towns, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990). Norman Meiklejohn's study, *La iglesia y los Lupaqas durante la colonia* (Cuzco, 1988) concentrates on the effects of early colonial evangelisation among the Aymara-speakers on the north shore of Lake Titicaca. Another important collection for students of Peruvian religious history is an extraordinary group of seventeenth-century idolatry trials compiled by Pierre Duviols (ed.) in *Cultura andina y represión: Procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (Cuzco, 1986). For a critical review essay challenging Duviols's interpretative introduction, see Antonio Acosta, 'La extirpación de las idolatrías en el Perú: Origen y desarrollo de las compañas; a propósito de *Cultura andina y represión*', *Revista Andina*, 5/1 (1987), 171–95.

On the Inquisition, Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1985), is a more recent general study, although much can still be learned from Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, 4 vols. (New York, 1906–7) and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908). Another work is Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley, 1991).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Richard E. Greenleaf examines the Mexican Inquisition in *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition 1536–1543* (Washington, D.C., 1961), and *The Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1969). For the period to follow, see Solange Alberro, *Inquisition et Société au Mexique, 1571–1700* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). For Peru, the classic study is José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima (1569–1820)* (Santiago, Chile, 1887).

On the *Patronato Real* and its source, the papal bulls of donation, we must consider as classics the works of Manuel Giménez Fernández, for instance his *Nuevas consideraciones sobre la historia, sentido y valor de las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias* (Seville, 1943), and those of Alfonso García Gallo, for example his study 'Las bulas de Alejandro VI y el ordenamiento jurídico de la expansión portuguesa y castellana en Africa e Indias', in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español,* vols. 27 and 28 (1957–8). See also the important studies of Pedro de Leturia, collected in vol. 1 of his *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede y Hispanoamerica,* 3 vols. (Rome and Caracas, 1959), and the work of his disciple, Antonio de Egaña, *La teoría del Regio Vicariato español de Indias* (Rome, 1958), for the seventeenth century, and also, so far as the regalist and gallican developments in the eighteenth century are concerned, Alberto de La Hera, *El regalismo borbónico* (Madrid, 1963).

A thorough later study of the structure of the early church and clerical career patterns in early colonial Mexico is John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987), while on church wealth see the same author's *Origins of Church Wealth in Mexico: Ecclesiastical Revenues and Church Finances, 1523–1600* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985) and, from a different angle, Victoria Hennessey Cummins, 'Imperial policy and Church income: The sixteenth-century Mexican Church', *TA,* 63/1 (1986), 87–103. A major contribution is Stafford Poole's masterly biography, *Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571–1591* (Berkeley, 1987). An important monograph on the church in late colonial Mexico, and especially the attack by the crown on the *fuero eclesiástico,* is Nancy M. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759–1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London, 1968). Important newer work on Central American regions, in addition to Clendinnen's study and others noted above, includes Adriaan C. van Oss's well-documented book on parish foundation and composition, *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524–1821* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986); Antonio G. Aguirre's focus on the first three decades of missionary

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

activities in Guatemala, *Francisco Marroquín y Bartolomé de Las Casas: Heraldos de Cristo en Guatemala, 3 junio 1530 a 18 abril 1563* (Guatemala City, 1983); and José Zaporta Pallarés, *Vida eclesial en Guatemala, a fines del siglo XVII, 1683–1701* (Guatemala City, 1983), an account of seventeenth-century religious life from the point of view of a Mercedarian bishop of Guatemala, Andrés de las Navas y Quevedo (1683–1701).

Finally, some interesting investigations of the church and its influence on society are a collection of nine essays by Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1989); Patricia Seed's original *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 1988); and, for the light it throws on marriage and family ties in the pre-Tridentine Hispanic world, Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, *Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

17. LITERATURE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

There are not many general works on the cultural history of colonial Spanish America. However, J. H. Elliott's edited collection, *The Hispanic World* (London, 1991), published in the United States as *The Spanish World* (New York, 1991), offers a useful introduction to Spanish history and civilisation. Focusing on the early modern period, see an excellent selection of the same author's essays: J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1989). There are two older works which remain useful: *De la conquista a la independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), by the Venezuelan Mariano Picón Salas, translated into English as *A Cultural History of Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1962), is a work about culture in the traditional sense of 'high culture', that is, books and fine arts; George Foster's *Culture and Conquest* (Chicago, 1960) concerns culture in the anthropological sense of the word and stresses the cultural contribution of Spain to the daily life of Spanish America in the colonial era. There are important chapters devoted to cultural life in America by Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo (for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (for the eighteenth) in the monumental *Historia de España y América,* edited by J. Vicens Vives (Barcelona, 1957; 2nd ed., 1977). A recent general survey is Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, *Historia y literatura en Hispano-América 1492–1820: La versión intelectual de una experiencia* (Valencia, Spain, 1978). Mario Góngora, *Studies*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in the Colonial History of Spanish America (Cambridge, Eng., 1975) discusses many aspects of intellectual and cultural life. On Hispano–creole urban civilization, see José Luis Romero, *Latinoamérica: Las ciudades y las ideas* (Buenos Aires, 1976).

A number of bibliographical reference works are indispensable, especially the researches of the Chilean scholar José Toribio Medina, which appeared at the beginning of this century and are therefore somewhat inaccessible, except in specialized libraries: his *Historia de la imprenta en América y Oceanía,* followed by *Imprenta en Mexico, Imprenta in Puebla, Imprenta en Guadalajara* and others, all of which appeared in the first fifteen years of the century, give an impression of the quantity of books – and authors – from the different towns of colonial Spanish America. Medina's works on the Inquisition in Chile, Mexico and Peru are no less important. Two in particular may be mentioned: *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de México* (Santiago, Chile, 1905) which has been expanded by Julio Jiménez Rueda (Mexico, D.F., 1952); and the *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima,* republished in 1954 in Santiago, Chile with a preface by Marcel Bataillon.

The bibliographical and biographical work of the Mexican Joaquín García Icazbalceta, a contemporary of Medina, has needed little updating; it was published in ten volumes of *Obras* (Mexico, 1896–9). See also Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía indiana* (Madrid, 1964), a guide to the major writings of the colonial period. The best guide to works translated into English remains R. A. Humphreys, *Latin American History: A Guide to the Literature in English* (London, 1958).

Among more recent monographs the following deserve mention: J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970); F. Chiapelli (ed.), *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old,* 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976); Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World,* translated from the original Italian edition of 1955 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1973), and *Nature in the New World,* translated from the 1975 Italian edition (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985); Alain Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid, 1983); Luis Weckman, *La herencia medieval de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Lee E. Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians, European Concepts, 1492–1929* (Austin, Tex., 1967); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians (Dekalb, Ill., 1974); Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen (eds.), *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History: Towards an Understanding of the Man and His Work* (Dekalb, Ill., 1971); for a visual depiction of the 'black legend', see the engravings by Theodore deBry, recently collected in a splendid volume, *America deBry, 1590–1634* (Berlin, 1990) and in the Spanish edition (Madrid, 1992); J. Lockhart and E. Otte, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976) and Otte's recent edition of an even larger collection, *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616* (Seville, 1988); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta, 1525–1604* (Los Angeles, 1956; revised ed., 1970); Shirley B. Heath, *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation* (New York, 1972); Demetrio Ramos Pérez, *El mito del Dorado: Su génesis y proceso* (Caracas, 1973); Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971); Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of the National Consciousness in Mexico* (Chicago, 1976), translated from the original French edition by B. Keen. James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards* (Stanford, Calif., 1991) and *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, Calif., 1992) are important new works on Mesoamerican cultural and intellectual history.

For the Andes, new insight into the Andean intellectual world is offered by new scholarly editions of the late sixteenth-century Huarochirí manuscript: Gérald Taylor (ed. and trans.), *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: Manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1987), including an important biographical study of the most famous extirpator of idolatry, Francisco de Avila, by Antonio Acosta; and an English version prepared by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste (eds. and trans.), *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991), with a substantial introductory essay by Salomon. Also deserving mention are Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (Havana, 1986; Lima, 1987) and Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: Muerte y resurrección de los incas* (Lima, 1988). See also the important essays in Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (eds.), *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1991) and Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

Older but still useful are Irving Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sixteenth-Century New World (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) and *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places and Practices,* 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1959); the dated but still useful overview, Felipe Barreda Laos, *Vida intelectual del Virreinato del Perú,* 3rd ed. (Lima, 1964); Lewis Hanke, *The Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949); Arthur P. Whitaker (ed.), *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1942). On the universities: John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (New York, 1940), *The University of the Kingdom of Guatemala* (1955), and *The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (1957).

On the development of creole consciousness two new works lead the way: the path-breaking essays in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987) and David A. Brading's monumental *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). Important older works include Gloria Grajales, *Nacionalismo incipiente en los historiadores coloniales* (Mexico, D.F., 1961); André Saint-Lu, *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatémala* (Paris, 1970); Ruth Wold, *El diario de México* (Madrid, 1970).

Since the cultural colonization of the Philippines was in many ways comparable to that of the Indies and the Philippines (administratively and religiously dependent on New Spain) were linked to Spain through the Indies, John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison, Wis., 1959) is an important beginning.

18. ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Among the pioneers in writing the history of the art and architecture of colonial Spanish America, the prominent figures in Mexico were Manuel Romero de Terreros, with his *Historia sintética del arte colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1922), and Manuel Toussaint, author of the classic *Arte colonial en México,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1962); Eng. trans. *Colonial Art in Mexico,* (Austin, Tex., 1967). A comparable role was played in Peru by the architect Emilio Harth-terré, whose numerous articles have been collected into one volume: *Perú: Monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). See also Héctor Velarde, *Arquitectura peruana* (Mexico, D.F., 1946) for a number of interesting points of view. In Argentina there were three early specialists: Angel Guido, Martín S. Noel and Miguel Solá. Guido

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

was a theorist who made his name with *Eurindia en el arte hispanoamericano* (Santa Fe, Arg., 1930). Noel, architect, theorist – see his *Teoría histórica de la arquitectura virreinal* (Buenos Aires, 1932) – and connoisseur, was most importantly the editor of a series of studies entitled *Documentos de arte colonial sudamericano,* published in Buenos Aires between 1943 and 1957 by the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes. The most comprehensive and coherent work was Miguel Solá, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1935). The major work, however, was to be that undertaken by a Spanish historian, Diego Angulo Iñíguez, the chief author of a monumental *Historia del arte hispanoamericano,* 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–56), in which he was assisted by another Spaniard, Enrique Marco Dorta, and by the Argentine architect Mario José Buschiazzo. See also Martín Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1952).

Little by little, a new generation of art historians began to emerge in each of the major countries, especially in Mexico, where Francisco de la Maza, a brilliant essayist, left several fundamental studies: *La Ciudad de Cholula y sus iglesias* (Mexico, D.F., 1959); *El Churrigueresco en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), and *Arquitectura de los coros de monjas* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). The historian Justino Fernández produced a most useful little book, *Arte mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1958), plus (among others) *Arte mexicano del siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). Victor Manuel Villegas, *El gran signo formal del barroco* (Mexico, D.F., 1956) remains the classic study of the *estípite* or square inverted pyramidal pillar. Later the same author collaborated with a Spaniard, A. Bonet Correa, in *El barroco en España y en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), a curious and controversial work. Also worthy of mention is Sergio G. Zaldívar, *Arquitectura del barroco popular* (Guadalajara, 1960), an analysis of eleven churches in the state of Jalisco.

Pre-eminent amongst the foreigners who have interested themselves in this field are North Americans, especially George Kubler, with his classic *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century,* 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1948). Later, he was the author, jointly with Martín Soria, of a major volume, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500–1800* (Baltimore, 1959). New directions, also, were marked out by the work of Harold E. Wethey, particularly in his *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) and his later 'Hispanic American colonial architecture in Bolivia', published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 39 (1952); Spanish trans. *Arquitectura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1961). About the same time Alfred Neumeyer's article

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'The Indian contribution to architectural decoration in Spanish colonial America', *The Art Bulletin,* 30 (1948), attracted a great deal of attention. Robert C. Smith and Elizabeth Wilder, *A Guide to the Art of Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1948) constituted a major step forward. Also in English was the important (but hotly debated) work of Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York, 1951). Later, Kelemen brought out a brief textbook, *Art of the Americas, Ancient and Hispanic* (New York, 1969) and *Vanishing Art of the Americas* (New York, 1977). All of Kelemen's books are exceptionally well illustrated.

Important monographs to appear in the United States since 1960 include: Joseph Armstrong Baird, *The Churches of Mexico, 1530–1810* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), John MacAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), Sidney D. Markman, *Architecture of Antigua Guatemala* (Philadelphia, 1966) and *Architecture and Urbanisation in Colonial Chiapas, Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1984), and Robert James Mullen, *Dominican Architecture in Sixteenth Century Oaxaca* (Tempe, Ariz., 1975). A valuable survey article is Elizabeth Wilder, 'The history of art in Latin America, 1500–1800: Some trends and challenges', *LARR,* 10/1 (1975), 7–50. Another influential thinker in this field, equal in influence to George Kubler, has been the German scholar Erwin Walter Palm. See, in particular, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española,* 2 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), his major work, and *Arquitectura y arte colonial en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1974). Other foreign scholars who have written valuable monographs include Adriaan C. van Oss, *Inventory of 861 Monuments of Mexican Colonial Architecture* (Amsterdam, 1979), Ilmar Luks, *Tipología de la escultura decorativa hispánica en la arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVIII* (Caracas, 1980) and Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990).

Turning to the present generation of Latin American art historians, in Mexico, the most important is Elisa Vargas Lugo: see *Las portadas religiosas de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1969) and *La iglesia de Santa Prisca en Taxco* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). She is a member of the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, founded in 1939. From there since 1985 she and some of her former students have been publishing *Juan Correa: Su vida y su obra,* a monumental work in several volumes. See also Xavier Moyssén Echeverría, *La escultura de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1965); Manuel González Galván, *De Guatemala a Nicaragua: Diario del viaje de un estudiante de arte* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Jorge Alberto Manrique, *Los domínicos y Azcapotz-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

alco (Xalapa, 1963) and Marco Díaz, *Arquitectura religiosa en Atlixco* (Mexico, D.F., 1974) and *Arquitectura en el desierto: Misiones jesuitas en Baja California* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). The Institute publishes an important journal, *Anales*. Outside the Institute, see, for example, Carlos Flores Marini, *Casas virreinales en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1970); Pedro Rojas Rodríguez, *Tonantzintla* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) and the colonial sections of the multi-volume *Historia general del arte mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); María del Consuelo Maquívar, *El paisaje religioso en México,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975) and *Los retablos de Tepoztlán* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Pintura y escultura del Renacimiento en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); Clara Bargellini, *La Catedral de Chihuahua* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and José Guadalupe Victoria, *Pintura y sociedad en Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), originally a French doctoral dissertation which offers a more sociological approach to the problems of colonial Mexican art. Of all the Latin American countries, Mexico publishes the largest number of books and journals in this field.

The countries of Central America and the Caribbean are rather poorly served, although the publication of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History are useful: there are, for instance, volumes on Guatemala (1953), Panama (1950) and Haiti (1952). Guatemala alone has been studied to any significant degree, and there are several important works such as Markman's *Architecture of Antigua Guatemala;* Verle Lincoln Annis, *La arquitectura de la Antigua Guatemala, 1543–1773* (Guatemala City, 1968) and, in recent years, the publications of the two Guatemalans Luis and Jorge Luján Muñoz. Heinrich Berlin, *Historia de la imaginería colonial en Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1952) is indispensable. For Cuba, it is necessary to resort to Joaquín E. Weiss Sánchez, *Arquitectura cubana colonial* (Havana, 1936). See also the works that have been published by Cuba's Dirección del Patrimonio Colonial and, particularly, those by the Argentine architect Roberto Segre. On the Dominican Republic, see the works of Erwin Palm cited above and Eugenio Pérez Montás, *República Dominicana: Monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

In the case of Colombia, on the other hand, both surveys and detailed studies abound. Still useful, if uneven, is the work of the late Carlos Arbeláez Camacho, in collaboration with the Spaniard Francisco Gil Tovar, *El arte colonial en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1968); with another Spanish scholar, Santiago Sebastián, Arbeláez Camacho contributed *La arquitectura colonial* (Bogotá, 1967), vol. 4 of the *Historia extensa de Colombia*. Santiago

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sebastián's shorter publications may also be read with profit: for example, *Arquitectura colonial en Popayán y Valle del Cauca* (Cali, 1965) and *La ornamentación arquitectónica en Nueva Granada* (Tunja, 1966). An author interesting for his qualities as a polemicist is Germán Téllez, a noted architect and photographer: see his contribution (as well as those of Gil Tovar, Sebastián and others) to the most recent collective work on the subject, the well-illustrated *Historia del arte colombiano* (Barcelona, 1977) and his *Arquitectura doméstica: Cartagena de Indias* (Bogotá, 1988). In addition to vol. 4 of the *Historia del arte colombiano,* Gil Tovar has contributed *La obra de Gregorio Vázquez* (Bogotá, 1980). On Colombia, see also Luis Alberto Acuña, *Siete ensayos sobre el arte colonial en la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1973).

In Venezuela Carlos Manuel Möller has been writing articles on aspects of the history of colonial art since 1951. However, the whole subject was transformed by an Italian architect, Graziano Gasparini. His many publications include *Templos coloniales de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1959) and the more general, polemical, *América, barroco y arquitectura* (Caracas, 1972). He also founded the *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas de la Universidad Central,* which has been published in Caracas without interruption since 1964. On the other arts, one may consult Alfredo Boulton, *Historia de la pintura en Venezuela,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1964–8), and Carlos F. Duarte, *Historia de la orfebrería en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1970). See also Duarte and Gasparini, *Los retablos del período colonial en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1971).

In Ecuador, the earliest scholar to win a reputation for the study of its art was José Gabriel Navarro, above all for *El arte en la provincia de Quito* (Mexico, D.F., 1960). Following in his footsteps, and drawing on an abundance of archival material, has been the Ecuadorean Dominican Father José María Vargas. His *Historia del arte ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1964) and *Patrimonio artístico ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1967) are both somewhat ill-arranged, but are books to which it is essential to refer. The architect H. Crespo Toral is the author of a number of monographs. Both Father Vargas and Crespo Toral have contributed (anonymously) to the multi-volume *Arte colonial en Ecuador* (Barcelona, 1977–), which is profusely illustrated in full colour. See also Dario Donoso Samaniego, *Diccionario arquitectónico de Quito* (Quito, 1983). For painting and sculpture, see the works of Navarro, Vargas and Crespo cited above. A valuable work is Gabrielle G. Palma, *Sculpture in the Kingdom of Quito* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987).

Peru and Bolivia are the countries apart from Mexico with the most

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

abundant bibliography. Besides the works by Wethey and Harth-terré already cited, the many articles and several books of the late Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., especially his *Diccionario de artistas coloniales de la América meridional* (Buenos Aires, 1947), are essential. Since then the leading figures in the field have been Francisco Stastny, Humberto L. Rodríguez Camilloni, J. García Bryce and Jorge Bernales Ballesteros. Stastny is the author of *Pérez de Alesio y la pintura del siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1947). Rodríguez Camilloni has produced several valuable monographs, and García Bryce has brought out an interesting study of Matías Maestro. Bernales Ballesteros, a Peruvian who lived in Seville, has produced the best documented of all studies of Lima, *Lima: La ciudad y sus monumentos* (Seville, 1972). He is also the author of vol. 2, *Siglos XVI al XVIII* of *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* (Madrid, 1987). An important study by a Chilean historian is Alfredo Benavides Rodríguez, *La arquitectura en el Virreinato del Perú y en la Capitanía-General de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1941). Other studies by Peruvians include Pablo Macera, *El arte mural cuzqueño* (Lima, 1975); Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva, *Techumbres y artesonados peruanos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima, 1975); Rogger Ravines, *Cajamarca: Arquitectura religiosa y civil* (Lima, 1983); Luis Rodríguez Cobos, *Arquitectura limeña* (Lima, 1983); José Chichizola Debernardi, *El manierismo en Lima* (Lima, 1983); and Antonio San Cristóbal Sebastián, *Arquitectura virreinal religiosa* (Lima, 1988).

For Bolivia, it is essential to consult the work of José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert. They not only translated Wethey on Bolivia but also have to their credit a myriad of articles and monographs, notably *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Buenos Aires, 1962), *Bolivia: Monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (La Paz, 1970), and *La escultura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1972). Furthermore, since 1972 they have been publishing the journal *Arte y Arquitectura* under the auspices of San Andrés University. By Teresa Gisbert alone are two fascinating works: *Iconografía y mitos indígenas* (La Paz, 1980) and *Arquitectura andina, 1530–1830* (La Paz, 1985). Not to be overlooked is the work of Mario Chacón Torres, *Documentos sobre arte colonial en Potosí* (Potosí, 1959). Among the scholars who have contributed to the study of Peruvian and Bolivian colonial art the Argentine architect-historian Ramón Gutiérrez deserves mention: see his *Notas sobre las haciendas del Cusco* (Buenos Aires, 1984) and *Arquitectura virreinal en Cusco y su región* (Cuzco, 1987). Also by Gutiérrez, in collaboration with Cristina Esteras y Alejandro Málaga, is *El valle de Colca, Arequipa: Cinco siglos de arquitectura y urbanismo* (Buenos Aires, 1986).

In Chile, besides Benavides Rodríguez, already cited, there is the histo-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

rian Eugenio Pereira Salas, author of the monumental *Historia del arte en el Reino de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1965). Amongst younger historians, the Benedictine Father Gabriel Guarda stands out, as does M. Rojas-Mix, author of a somewhat tendentious book, *La Plaza Mayor* (Barcelona, 1978), on town planning. Nowadays there are other scholars active in the field, such as Myriam Weissberg, an architect of Valparaíso, and Trebbi del Trevigiano.

Argentina is better served. This is, in the first place, due to Mario José Buschiazzo's founding of the Instituto de Arte Americano y de Investigaciones Estéticas: between 1948 and 1971 it published 24 issues of its journal *Anales,* as well as several important books, not all of them by Argentines. From among the multiplicity of Buschiazzo's own works worthy of special mention is *Bibliografía de arte colonial argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1947) and a brief but excellent handbook, *Historia de la arquitectura colonial en Iberoamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1961). Other researchers in Argentina include Héctor Schenone, author of a number of valuable articles and a book written in collaboration with Adolfo Luis Ribera, *El arte de la imaginería en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1948). Schenone and Ribera wrote several important chapters in the multi-volume *Historia general del arte en la Argentina,* published during the 1980s by the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. An independent Argentine researcher was Father Guillermo Furlong, S.J., who contributed a valuable series of studies on colonial architects and artisans: see, for example, *Arquitectos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica* (Buenos Aires, 1946) and *Artesanos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica* (Buenos Aires, 1946). As an example of the work of a later generation of architects with a historical aptitude, see, for example, Marina Waisman (ed.), *Arquitectura colonial argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

Paraguay was the object of the attention of the Uruguayan historian Juan G. Giuría: see *La arquitectura en el Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1950), a classical work of reference. More recently Ramón Gutiérrez and collaborators have published *Evolución urbanística y arquitectónica del Paraguay* (Resistencia, Arg., n.d.). Guillermo Furlong contributed to the subject with *Misiones y sus pueblos guaraníes* (Buenos Aires, 1962). R. Montefilpo, *Yaguarón* (Asunción, 1964) analysed the church of that name. P. Frings and J. Ubelmesser, *Paracuaria: Art Treasures of the Jesuit Republic of Paraguay* (Mainz, 1982) is a practical guide for the foreign visitor. More important are Josefina Plá, *El barroco hispano-guaraní* (Asunción, 1975); and C. J. McNaspy and J. M. Blanch, *Lost Cities of Paraguay: Art and Architecture of the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Jesuit Reductions, 1607–1767 (Chicago, 1982). Still today the most important architectural history of Uruguay is Juan G. Giuría, *La arquitectura en el Uruguay,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1955).

Some more recent general works deserve mention. Enrique Marco Dorta, *Estudios y documentos de arte hispanoamericano* (Madrid, 1981); Santiago Sebastián, in collaboration with José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Arte iberoamericano desde la colonización a la independencia,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1986), part of *Summa Artis,* a classic general history of art; Leopoldo Castedo, *Historia del arte iberoamericano,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1988), an expansion of his earlier *Historia del arte y la arquitectura latinoamericana* (Barcelona, 1969). Finally, Damián Bayón, author of a polemical work on the art and architecture of colonial Spanish America, *Sociedad y arquitectura colonial sudamericana* (Barcelona, 1974), has produced, in collaboration with four Brazilian scholars (Murillo Marx, Myriam Ribeiro de Oliveira, Aurea Pereira da Silva and Hugo Segawa) a well-illustrated *Historia del arte colonial sudamericano* (Barcelona, 1989); French trans., *L'art colonial sud-américain* (Paris, 1990); Eng. trans., *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil* (New York, 1992).

19. MUSIC

The first histories of music written by Spanish Americans which include sections on the colonial period are José Sáenz Poggio, *Historia de la música guatemalteca* (Guatemala, 1878), republished in *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala,* 22/1–2 (1947), 6–54, and Ramón de la Plaza, *Ensayos sobre el arte en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1883; facsimile reprint, 1977). Serafín Ramírez, *La Habana artística* (Havana, 1891) and Laureano Fuentes Matons, *Las artes en Santiago de Cuba* (Santiago, Cuba, 1893), although riddled with errors, contain some still useful information on the early nineteenth century. The historian Gabriel Saldívar y Silva published aged 25 his authoritative *Historia de la música en México (épocas precortesiana y colonial)* (Mexico, D.F., 1934); it still remains uniquely valuable. In contrast with earlier Latin American music researchers, Saldívar was a palaeographer who exploited numerous documents in the ecclesiastical and secular archives of Mexico City. To him and his collaborator, his wife Elisa Osorio de Saldívar, belongs the honour of having preceded all other Latin Americans in treating their continent's musical past dispassionately, and of hav-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ing placed its study on a sound footing. The next scholar to write a history of his nation's music was Eugenio Pereira Salas. His *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1941) still remains a model of method even though superseded in some factual aspects by Samuel Claro Valdés, *Oyendo a Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1979). Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (Mexico, D.F., 1946) is still quoted, partly because of the author's fame in other fields. To him belongs the credit of having been the first to unveil Cuba's leading colonial composer, Esteban Salas y Castro (1725–1803). Lauro Ayestarán provided an exhaustive account of his nation's past in *La música en el Uruguay,* vol. 1 (Montevideo, 1953). José Antonio Calcaño corrected many mistakes in Ramón de la Plaza when he published his masterful *La ciudad y su música, crónica musical de Caracas* (Caracas, 1958; facsimile reprint 1980). Vicente Gesualdo, *Historia de la música en la Argentina, 1536–1851* (Buenos Aires, 1961; 2nd ed., 1977) covers colonial music in the Río de la Plata region. José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar included important colonial data in his *Historia de la música en Colombia* (3rd and 4th eds., Bogotá, 1963 and 1975). Andrés Pardo Tovar's lengthy *La cultura musical en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1966) was sponsored by the Academia Colombiana de Historia. On Peru an important more recent work is Juan C. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Música y sociedad coloniales: Lima 1680–1830* (Lima, 1989). On the music of Guatemala, see Dieter Lehnhoff, *Espada y pentagrama: La música polifónica en la Guatemala del siglo XVI* (Guatemala City, 1986) and Alfred E. Lemmon, *La música de Guatemala en el siglo XVIII* (Antigua Guatemala, 1986).

Among lexicons, Rodolfo Barbacci, 'Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano', *Fénix,* 6 (1949), 414–510, and Carlos Raygada, 'Guía musical del Perú', *Fénix,* 12–14 (1956–7) itemize useful colonial data. Otto Mayer-Serra's two-volume *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., 1947), brings together in a systematic way material extracted from previous publications. Much more up-to-date are the colonial articles in *Riemann Musiklexicon Ergänzungsband Personenteil: A–K* (Mainz, 1972) and *L–Z* (1975); in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 15 and 16 (Bogotá, Cuzco, Guatemala City, Lima and Mexico City in the supplements for 1973 and 1979); and in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980). Nicolas Slonimsky's classic *Music of Latin America* (New York, 1945; reprinted 1972) focuses on twentieth-century developments to the detriment of earlier music history, but Gerard Béhague's *Music in Latin America, An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979) is valuable for the colonial period. Léonie Rosentiel's chapter on 'The New

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

World' in the *Schirmer History of Music* (New York, 1982), 837–946, is especially useful for its colonial summary.

Among researchers whose monographs are basic for colonial music, Francisco Curt Lange stands pre-eminent, with 49 substantial publications in Spanish, Portuguese, German and English, itemized in *The New Grove,* vol. 10, 447. Robert Stevenson published numerous articles on colonial topics in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (beginning with volume 9 [1961]), in Italian-, French- and Spanish-language lexicons, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 5th ed. (1954) and in *The New Grove.* His books with colonial sections include *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1952, 1971), *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, D.C., 1960), *La música colonial en Colombia* (Cali, 1964), *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968, 1976), *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C., 1970), *Foundations of New World Opera* (Lima, 1973), *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), *A Guide to Caribbean Music History* (Lima, 1975), *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (Washington, D.C., 1975) and *Tomás de Torrejón y Velesco: La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima, 1976). In *Inter-American Music Review* (Los Angeles) he has since 1978 published fully documented essays on colonial music in Caracas, Cuzco, Guatemala City, Mexico City, Puebla, Quito, and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

In the 1980s the Pampero Foundation sponsored the publication of the most sumptuous volume of colonial music documentation yet issued in any Latin American country: Alberto Calzavara's *Historia de la música en Venezuela: Período hispánico, con referencias al teatro y la danza* (Caracas, 1987). However, the author's insistence that Lino Gallardo, not Juan José Landaeta, composed the music for the Venezuelan national anthem, *Gloria al bravo pueblo,* somewhat diminished enthusiasm for the author's other documentary findings. The 1980s also saw the publication by the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of the 10-volume *La música de México,* edited by Julio Estrada. Included in vol. 2 of *Historia* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) is Robert Stevenson, 'La música en el México de los siglos XVI a XVIII'. For an authoritative review by Esperanza Pulido and Juan José Escorza of the first six volumes of *La música de México,* see *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* (Austin, Texas), 8/2 (1987).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

III

COLONIAL BRAZIL

The best overall introduction to the sources for and the literature on the history of colonial Brazil is José Honório Rodrígues, *História da história do Brasil, I: historiografía colonial,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1979). See also José Honório Rodrígues, *Historiografía del Brasil, Siglo XVII* (Mexico, D.F., 1963). Also invaluable is Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliografia brasileira do período colonial* (São Paulo, 1969), a catalogue of works by Brazilians published before 1808. See also Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliographia Brasiliana: A Bibliographical Essay on Rare Books about Brazil Published from 1504 to 1900 and Works of Brazilian Authors Published Abroad before the Independence of Brazil in 1822,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1958; rev. and enlarged, Rio de Janeiro and Los Angeles, 1983). Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A historiografia portuguêsa,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1972–4) places the early historians of Brazil in their Portuguese context. Francis A. Dutra discusses the sources and literature on colonial Brazil in English in *A Guide to the History of Brazil, 1500–1822* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1980).

1. THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT OF BRAZIL, 1500–1580

For guidance to archival collections for sixteenth- (and seventeenth-) century Brazil the best point of departure is the bibliographical appendix in Frédéric Mauro, *Le Portugal, le Brésil, et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle (1570–1670): Etude Economique* (Paris, 1983), originally published in 1960 under a slightly different title. Important sources have been transcribed and published as appendices to the various chapters of Carlos Malheiro Dias (ed.), *História da colonização portuguêsa do Brasil,* 3 vols. (Porto, 1921–4). Additional source material can likewise be found scattered throughout the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1876–) and the volumes of the series *Documentos históricos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1928–) published by the same institution. Many relevant documents have also been transcribed in the volumes of *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo,* 12 vols. to date (Lisbon, 1960–).

Standard accounts of Brazilian history that include treatment of the sixteenth century are Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen's nineteenth century (1857) classic (enriched with notes by João Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia): *História geral do Brasil,* 5 vols., 9th ed. (São Paulo, 1975); Capistrano de Abreu's classic, *Capítulos de história colonial,* 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1954); *História da colonização portuguêsa do Brasil* edited by Carlos Malheiro Dias (cited above), a collaborative work on the period to 1580 that reflects the best Portuguese scholarship of its generation; Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1959); and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira, I: A época colonial,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960). Harold B. Johnson and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (eds.), *O império luso-brasileiro,* vol. 1: 1500–1620 (Lisbon, 1992; Volume 6 of the *Nova história da expansão portuguêsa,* edited by Joel Serrão and A. H. Oliveira Marques), provides new data on the growth of the economy during this period. An older account of the period to 1580, with emphasis on the economic relations between settlers and Indians, is Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery* (Baltimore, 1942). Eulália M. L. Lobo has written a dense but excellent overview of Brazilian colonial administration and enriched it by comparison with Spanish examples: *Processo administrativo ibero-americano* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962). Sérgio Buarque de Holanda gives an attractive account of one aspect of imperial ideology in his *Visão do Paraíso: Os motivos edénicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). Eduardo Hoornaert has edited a collection of studies of the colonial Brazilian church: *História da igreja no Brasil, primeira época* (Petrópolis, 1977).

Portugal's thrust into the Atlantic during the fifteenth century has generated a large literature, separate from that of colonial Brazil and too vast to cover in detail. For a general introduction to the field, see Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A economia dos descobrimentos henriquinos* (Lisbon, 1962), with a useful critical bibliography. It might be supplemented, bibliographically, by the more exhaustive list published in Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1977), 480–516. The essential facts of the expansion are given in Damião Peres's standard work, *História dos descobri-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

mentos portuguêses, 2nd ed. (Coimbra, 1960), and in Luís de Albuquerque, *Introdução à história dos descobrimentos* (Coimbra, 1962), with emphasis on technical matters. Contrasting poles of interpretation are offered by Duarte Leite's *História dos descobrimentos,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1958–61) – critical, skeptical, debunking – and by Jaime Cortesão's two-volume synthesis, *Os descobrimentos portuguêses* (Lisbon, 1958–61), which gives greater rein to the historical imagination, with sometimes dubious results. The tradition of D. Leite has been continued in the work of Luís de Albuquerque. See his book of essays, *Crónicas de história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1987) and *Portugal no mundo* (Lisbon, 1989). Manuel Nunes Dias, *O capitalismo monárquico português,* 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1963–64) has a wealth of data, not always fully digested. A stimulating essay that attempts to define some fundamental characteristics of colonial Brazilian life and discover their Iberian provenance is Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil,* 6th ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1971).

Metropolitan events during the sixteenth century can be approached via A. H. de Oliveira Marques's excellent, interpretive *História de Portugal,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1980) – to be preferred to the earlier edition in English – as well as through an older collaborative work edited by Damião Peres et. al., *História de Portugal,* 8 vols (Barcelos, 1928–38). Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Historia de Portugal,* III (1498–1580) (Lisbon, 1978), is of value primarily for its wealth of bibliographical references. Oliveira Marques has also written the best general account of late medieval Portugal: *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV* (Lisbon, 1986), with emphasis on social and economic matters. For general reference the *Dicionário de história de Portugal,* edited by Joel Serrão, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1961–71) remains the essential tool.

For the reign of King Manuel 'The Fortunate', a good secondary study is lacking, but earlier accounts are fundamental: Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssmo Rei Dom Manuel,* ed. David Lopes, 4 vols. (Coimbra, 1949–55) and Jerónimo Osório, *Da vida e feitos d'El Rey D. Manuel,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1804–6), a translation of his *De rebus Emmanuelis gestis* (Lisbon, 1571). For the reign of Manuel's successor we have Alfredo Pimenta's *D. João III* (Porto, 1936) as well as two seventeenth-century accounts: Fr Luís de Sousa, *Anais de D. João III,* ed. M. Rodrigues Lapa, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1938), and Francisco de Andrade, *Chrónica de . . . Dom João III . . . ,* 4 vols. (Coimbra, 1796). In addition, much of the correspondence about imperial affairs that passed between King João III and the count of Castanheira (António de Ataíde) has been edited and published (in the original

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Portuguese) by J. D. M. Ford and L. G. Moffatt, *Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521–1557* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). King Sebastião and his successor, Cardinal–King Henrique, have found their biographer in José Maria de Queiroz Velloso, whose *D. Sebastião, 1554–1578*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon, 1945) and *O reinado de Cardeal D. Henrique* (Lisbon, 1946) give the essential story.

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho has examined the structure and functioning of the empire, taken as a whole, in various articles printed in his collected *Ensaios II: Sobre a história de Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1978), and more comprehensively in his *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1983), a 'Braudelian' treatment of the subject. We now have a superior survey of the early economy of the Atlantic islands in Alberto Vieira, *O Comércio inter-insular nos séculos XV e XVI: Madeira, Açores e Canárias* (Funchal, 1987). Not to be overlooked is the short but superb volume by the dean of Portuguese geographers: Orlando Ribeiro, *Aspectos e problemas da expansão portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1962). José Sebastião da Silva Dias has dealt with sixteenth-century Portuguese culture and intellectual life in an excellent study, *A política cultural da época de D João III*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1969), while an older work by Hernani Cidade, *A literatura portuguêsa e a expansão ultramarina, I*, 2nd ed. (Coimbra, 1963), is still useful.

Cabral's 'discovery' of Brazil has generated much controversy cogently summarized by the late Samuel Eliot Morison in *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages 1492–1616* (New York, 1974), 210–35. The voyages that followed Cabral's have been carefully sorted out by Max Justo Guedes in *História naval brasileira*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1975–9), I/1, 179–245. Both Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery*, and *História da colonização portuguêsa do Brasil* provide good accounts of the voyage of the *Bretoa*, while another early voyage under the auspices of the Fuggers is recounted in *Tidings out of Brazil (Cópia der Newen Zeytung ausz Presillg Landt)*, trans. Mark Graubard (Minneapolis, Minn., 1957). Rolando Laguarda Trías clarifies the Spanish–Portuguese conflict over the La Plata region in the *Historia naval brasileira*, I/1, 249–348, while his account of the voyages of Christóvão Jaques revises the earlier account of António Baião and C. Malheiro Dias in *Historia da colonização portuguêsa*, 3, 59–94. He is also responsible for the best modern account of the expedition of Martim Afonso da Sousa, the primary source for which – a diary of the voyage by Martim's brother, Pero Lopes de Sousa – has been lavishly edited with supplementary documentation by Eugénio Castro, *Diário da*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa (1530–1532), 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1940). Little research has been done on the primary export of early Brazil – the dyewood for which the country was named – but Mauro gives a succinct survey of the subject in *Le Portugal, Le Brésil et l'Atlantique*, and this may be supplemented with Bernardino José de Souza, *O Pau-brasil na história nacional*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1978). Mircea Buescu has written a number of stimulating and insightful studies of the early Brazilian economy: *Exercícios de história econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968); *História econômica do Brasil: Pesquisas e análises* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970); *300 anos de inflação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). Outdated, but still useful in part, is the classic of Roberto C. Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil, 1500–1820*, 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1962). The influential work of Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959) is, as Mauro dryly remarks, a 'theoretical essay.' Also of interest, though insufficiently critical, is José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os Cristãos-novos e o comércio no Atlântico meridional, 1530–1680* (São Paulo, 1978).

The period of settlement is probably the least well studied of the various phases of Brazil's sixteenth-century history and good analyses are lacking. Some of the donatarial grants are printed in *História da colonização portuguêsa*, 3, 257–83, 309–423, and competently analyzed by Paulo Merêa in his accompanying chapter; the subsequent histories of the captaincies are touched upon in all the general accounts, but the topic still lacks an up-to-date synthesis. Worthy of consultation, however, are the works of João Fernando de Almeida Prado: *Primeiros povoadores do Brasil, 1500–1530* (São Paulo, 1935); *Pernambuco e as capitanias do nordeste do Brasil*, 4 vols. (São Paulo, 1941): *Bahia e as capitanias do centro do Brasil, 1530–1626*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1945–50); *São Vicente e as capitanias do sul do Brasil 1501–1531* (São Paulo, 1961); and *A conquista da Paraíba* (São Paulo, 1964). An uncritical but competent general account is Elaine Sanceu, *Captains of Brazil* (Barcelos, 1965). Of the earlier writers, Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil*, the first history of Brazil (1627), ed. Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo García, 3rd ed. (São Paulo, 1931), Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, first published in Rio de Janeiro in 1851, ed. Francisco A. de Varnhagen, 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1971), and Fernão Cardim, S.J., *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*, ed. Capistrano de Abreu (Rio de Janeiro, 1925; 3rd ed. São Paulo, 1978) give the most information on the post-settlement development of the various captaincies. José António Gonçalves de Mello has re-edited (in collaboration with Cleonir Xavier de Albuquerque) the letters of Duarte

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Coelho, donatary of Pernambuco: *Cartas de Duarte Coelho a el rei* (Recife, 1967), with a valuable introductory study, while many of the other letters about the early settlements that were sent back to Portugal have been published as appendixes to various chapters of *História da colonização portuguêsa*, 3, 257–83, 309–23. A. Teixeira da Mota summarizes almost all that is known about the most successful donatary before he went to Brazil in *Duarte Coelho, capitão-mor de armada no Atlántico, 1531–35* (Lisbon, 1972), and Francis Dutra analyzes the conflict between donatarial grantees and the Crown in 'Centralization vs. donatarial privilege,' in Dauril Alden, ed., *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Chicago, 1973).

Relations between Indians and Portuguese can be followed in the excellent and detailed survey (with full bibliography) of John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500–1760* (London, 1978), while the evolution of Portuguese policy toward the Brazilian natives is outlined by Georg Thomas, *Die portugiesische Indianerpolitik in Brasilien, 1500–1640* (Berlin, 1968); Port. trans. *Política indigenista dos portuguêses no Brasil, 1500–1640* (São Paulo, 1984). A standard treatment of the principal Indian group encountered by the Portuguese settlers is Florestan Fernandes, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (São Paulo, 1963). The Jesuits' role in the conversion and acculturation of the Tupi is related in detail by Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, 1938–50), while the principal sources – the Jesuit missionaries' letters – have been edited in four volumes by the same scholar: *Monumenta brasiliae* (Rome, 1956–60). This prolific historian has also given us (inter alia) Nóbrega's corpus in *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega* (Coimbra, 1955), as well as a study of the foundation and early history of São Paulo, so closely linked to Jesuit activity: *Nóbrega e a fundação de São Paulo* (Lisbon, 1953). More references to the Jesuits are found in essay III:9. Other works on the early history of São Paulo are Jaime Cortesão, *A fundação de São Paulo – capital geográfica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), and Vitorino Nemésio, *O campo de São Paulo, A Companhia de Jesus e o plano português do Brasil, 1528–1563* (Lisbon, 1954). Less attention has been paid to the northern area, later to be the Estado de Maranhão, but H. C. Palmatory, *The River of the Amazons, Its Discovery and Early Exploration, 1500–1743* (New York, 1965) will serve to introduce the subject.

A short introductory overview of the French challenge to the Portuguese possession of Brazil is Michel Mollat's 'As primeiras relações entre a França e o Brasil: Dos Verrazano a Villegaignon,' *Revista de Historia* 24,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(1967), 343–58, while the problem of piracy can be approached via the collection of papers *Course et Piraterie,* published by the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Maritime (Paris, 1975); also valuable are the relevant pages in Michel Mollat, *Le commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1952). More detail is given in Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire de Brésil français au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1878), and, more recently, in Charles-André Julien, *Les Voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XV–XVI siècles)* (Paris, 1948). For the rise and fall of Villegaignon's settlement at Rio de Janeiro, we now have a comprehensive, up-to-date study from Philipe Bonnichon and Gilberto Ferrez. 'A França antártica,' *História naval brasileira,* 2, 402–71. Two famous contemporary accounts of the colony (which also provide much first-hand information about the Indians) are the Calvinist Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* (La Rochelle, 1578) and *Les singularitéz de la France Antartique autrement nommée Amérique* (Paris and Antwerp, 1558) by the Franciscan André Thévét, who sailed out with Villegaignon in 1555. The governor who drove the French from Rio and solidified Portuguese control has found his biographer in Herbert Ewaldo Wetzel, *Mem de Sá, terceiro governador geral (1557–1572)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972).

For a view of Brazil's society and economy *c.* 1580, Frédéric Mauro, *Le Portugal, le Brésil et l'Atlantique* should be consulted. The original version in French is preferable to the recent Portuguese translation, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1988), which is marred by misprints and errors. Mauro's work may be supplemented by Stuart Schwartz's rich and definitive study of the sugar industry, part of which applies to the sixteenth century: *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). African slaves, whose importation into Brazil helped fuel the sugar boom, can be studied via a number of works, the most accessible of which is probably Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso's *Être esclave au Brésil: XVIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1979) with a bibliography that will lead the reader to further work on the subject. (There is an English translation: *To Be a Slave in Brazil,* New Brunswick, N.J., 1986). Although it treats primarily slave importation into Spanish America, the best description of the traffic and how it worked is to be found in Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispano-América y el comércio de esclavos: Los asientos portugueses* (Seville, 1977).

Finally, for a stimulating 'macro-view' of sixteenth-century Brazil in a world context there is the speculative essay of Pierre Chaunu, 'Place et rôle du Brésil dans les systèmes de communications et dans les mécanismes de

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

croissance de l'économie du XVIe siècle,' *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale,* 48 (1970), 460–82.

2. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL, 1580–1750

The following general histories of Portugal are indispensable: in English, H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (London, 1966); in Portuguese, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1980) (trans. into English and French), and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal,* 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1977–90); in French, A. A. Bourdon, *Histoire de Portugal* (Paris, 1970), short but very good, and Y. Bottineau, *Le Portugal et sa vocation maritime: Histoire et civilisation d'une nation* (Paris, 1977), written with style and subtlety, preserving the balance between underlying structures and events. Mention must also be made of the very useful *Dicionário de história de Portugal,* ed. Joel Serrão, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1961–71), Damião Peres's great *História de Portugal,* 8 vols. (Barcelos, 1928–38), and vols. 1 and 5 of Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra, 1922–31), which consists of a description of Portuguese institutions and their development. A. Silbert, *Le Portugal méditerranéen à la fin de l'Ancien Régime,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1966) is very useful for the study of agrarian and social structures. On the Portuguese empire, a start can be made with C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London, 1969), and *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg, 1965). V. Magalhães Godinho, *L'économie de l'empire portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1969), has been expanded from the Portuguese, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1963–5; 2nd ed., 4 vols., 1983). See also V. Magalhães Godinho's contributions to the *New Cambridge Modern History:* 'Portugal and her Empire,' vol. 5 (1961), 384–97, and 'Portugal and her Empire, 1680–1720,' vol. 6 (1970), 509–40. F. Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle 1570–1670: Etude économique* (Paris, 1960; 2nd ed., 1983, under the title *Le Portugal, le Brésil et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle;* Port. trans., 2 vols. Lisbon, 1989) is fundamental and has a convenient bibliography to which reference can be made. See also V. Magalhães Godinho, 'Le Portugal – les flottes du sucre et les flottes de l'or (1670–1770)', *AESC* (1950), 184–97, reprinted in *Ensaios* 2 (Lisbon, 1978), 293–315. For complementary material, see Bentley T. Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in the XVIIth Century, Commerce and*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Navigation (Chicago, 1972); *Os Açores e o Atlântico (Séculos XIV–XVII), Actas* do Colóquio Internacional, 1983 (Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira, Angra, 1984); *Os Açores e as dinâmicas do Atlântico, Actas* do II Colóquio, 1988 (Angra, 1989); *Actas* do I Colóquio Internacional de História de Madeira, 1986, 2 vols. (Funchal, 1989); *Actas* do II Colóquio, 1989 (Funchal, 1990). João Lucio de Azevedo, *Epocas de Portugal Económico,* 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1973) remains very useful. For Brazil, F. Mauro, *Le Brésil du XVe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1977), brings the subject up to date and gives bibliographical information. See also F. Mauro's brief *Histoire du Brésil,* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1978). Recent and interesting is Luis de Albuquerque, *Portugal no mundo* (Lisbon, 1989); and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar, séculos XIII–XVIII* (Lisbon, 1990), a new edition of old but important articles. See also F. Mauro, 'Recent works on the political economy of Brazil in the Portuguese empire,' *LARR,* 19/1 (1984), 87–105.

There are a number of monographs essential for an understanding of Portugal's role in America and its repercussions in the Old World. For Portugal's Atlantic policy, see C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sà and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602–1686,* 2nd ed. (Westport, Conn., 1975) and *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750* (Berkeley, 1962), and Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley, 1968), a major part of which is devoted to matters of diplomacy and war. For a study of Portuguese administration in America, see Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The Judges of the High Court of Bahia, 1586–1750* (Berkeley, 1974); also J. N. Joyce, 'Spanish influence on Portuguese administration: a study of the Conselho da Fazenda and Habsburg Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Southern California, 1974). On Portuguese political economy and the part played in it by Brazil, J. B. de Macedo, *Problemas de história da indústria portuguêsa no século XVIII* (Lisbon, 1963) is important. See also the new edition of V. Magalhães Godinho, *Ensaios II: Sobre história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1978). An important contribution is Carl Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668–1703* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1981). See also James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain 1626–1650* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983) and J. R. do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da India* (São Paulo, 1966). On Portuguese diplomacy in America, the following should be consulted: A. P. Canabrava, *O comercio português no Rio da Prata 1580–1640* (São Paulo, 1944), Luis Ferrand de Almeida, *A diplomacia portuguêsa e os limites meridionais do Brasil,* I, *1493–1700* (Coimbra, 1957), J. Cortesão, *Raposo*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Tavares e a formação territorial do Brasil (Rio de Janiero, 1958), and *Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid,* 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1950–63). For the north, see H. C. Palmatory, *The River of the Amazons: Its Discovery and Early Exploration, 1500–1743* (New York, 1965), and Mario Meireles, *História do Maranhão* (São Luis, 1960).

On nautical questions, see the sundry publications of the various Portugueses congresses, such as the Congresso da História da Expansão Portuguêsa no Mundo, Congresso do Mundo Português, Congresso dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos; also A. Marques Esparteiro, *Galeotas e bergantins reais* (Lisbon, 1965); N. Steensgaard, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies* (Copenhagen, 1973), a new edition of which has appeared under the title, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago, 1974); Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos náuticos dos portuguêses nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, 1900); H. Leitão and J. V. Lopes, *Dicionário da linguagem de marinha antiga e atual,* 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1974); A. Fontoura da Costa, *A marinharia dos descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1933); the work of Virginia Rau on foreign merchants in Lisbon, for example, 'Os mercadores e banqueiros estrangeiros em Portugal no tempo de D. João III (1521–1587)', in *Estudios de História Econômica* (Lisbon, 1961), 35–62; finally, all the studies which have appeared in the publications of the Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, particularly those of the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Secção de Coimbra and Secção de Lisboa.

On the exports from Brazil, especially sugar and gold, see essays III:5 and III:7; Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays on Atlantic History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985); Vera Ferlini, *Terra trabalho e poder: O mundo dos engenhos no Nordeste colonial* (São Paulo, 1986). John A. Hall, 'World system holism and colonial Brazilian agriculture: A critical case analysis,' *LARR,* 19/2 (1984), 43–69, argues against Wallerstein's theory that Brazilian agriculture was shaped by pre-existing 'patrimonial and trade capitalism' rather than by the emergent world capitalist economy.

On the slave trade to Brazil the following should be noted: M. Goulart, *Escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1950); G. Scelle, *Histoire politique de la traite négrière aux Indes de Castille,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1906); Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969); H. S. Klein, 'The Portuguese slave trade from Angola in the 18th century', *Journal of Economic History,* 32/4 (1972), 894–917, and *The Middle Passage: Compara-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tive Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade (Princeton, N.J., 1978); E. G. Peralta Rivera, 'Les Mécanismes du commerce esclavagiste, XVIIe siècle' (3rd cycle thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1977); P. Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite de nègres entre le golfe du Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1968), and 'Mouvements de navires entre Bahia et le Golfe de Bénin XVIIe–XIXe siècles', *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer,* 55 (1968), 5–36; E. Vila Vilar, *Hispano América y el comercio de esclavos: Los asientos portugueses* (Seville, 1977); finally, K. Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy* (Seattle, 1966). See also José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os magnatas do tráfico negreiro: Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo 1981). The excellent thesis of Felipe de Alencastro, 'Le commerce des vivants' (University of Paris x, 1986) remains unpublished. On money, see A.C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descripção geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis de Portugal,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1874–80), and N. C. da Costa, *História das moedas do Brasil* (Porto Alegre, 1973). On wars at sea, A. Botelho de Sousa, *Subsídios para a história das guerras da Restauração no Mar e no Alem Mar,* I (Lisbon, 1940), and W. J. van Hoboken, *Witte de With in Brazilie 1648–1649* (Amsterdam, 1955). For institutions, Marcelo Caetano, *Do Conselho Ultramarino ao Conselho do Imperio Colonial* (Lisbon, 1943); *Regimento das Casas das Indias e Minas,* ed. Damião Peres (Coimbra, 1947); Gustavo de Freitas, *A Companhia Geral do Comercio do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1951).

For foreign relations, the two classic works are E. Prestage, *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668* (Watford, Eng., 1925) and E. Brasão, *A restauração: Relações diplomáticas de Portugal de 1640 à 1668* (Lisbon, 1939). See also Charles Verlinden, *Les Origines de la civilisation atlantique* (Paris, 1966), and F. Mauro, *Etudes économiques sur l'expansion portugaise, 1500–1900* (Paris, 1970). For Spain and the Spanish empire, see the works of E. J. Hamilton, P. H. Chaunu and others, cited in essays II:1, II:3 and II:4. As regards France, there is no comprehensive work, only chapters or articles in various publications. See, in particular, the numerous articles by J. Soares de Azevedo on French trade in Lisbon. I. S. Revah, *Le Cardinal de Richelieu et la restauration de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1950) deserves mention. A good work is Jean-François Labourdette, *La Nation française à Lisbonne de 1669 à 1790. Entre colbertisme et liberalisme* (Paris, 1988).

On the relations of Portugal with England, see W. M. Shillington and A. B. Wallis Chapman, *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal* (London, 1908; reprinted in New York, 1970), the standard work; Sir

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Richard Lodge, 'The English Factory at Lisbon', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th ser., 16 (1933), 210–47); A. R. Walford, *The British Factory in Lisbon* (Lisbon, 1940); Alan K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil, Its Rise and Decline* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933); R. Davis, 'English foreign trade 1660–1700', *Economic History Review,* 7 (1954), 150–66, and 'English foreign trade, 1700–1774', *Economic History Review,* 15 (1962), 285–303; Elizabeth Brody Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics (1697–1808)* (Oxford, 1960); H. E. S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo–Portuguese Commerce, 1700–1770* (London, 1971); A. D. Francis, *The Methuens and Portugal, 1691–1708* (Cambridge, Eng., 1966); S. Sideri, *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo–Portuguese Relations* (Rotterdam, 1970); C. R. Boxer, 'Brazilian gold and British traders in the first half of the eighteenth century', *HAHR,* 49/3 (1969), 454–72; and Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro e o comércio anglo–português (uma contribuição aos estudos de economia atlântica no século XVIII)* (São Paulo, 1979). These should be complemented by Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux: Les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985).

For the diplomatic and political aspects of the Dutch presence in Brazil, see C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil,* 2nd ed. (Hamden, 1973); P. Agostino, 'A política Vieira e a entrega de Pernambuco', *Espiral* (January-March 1965), 122–34; C. R. Boxer, 'Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry', *Studia,* 2 (1958), 7–42; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A guerra do açúcar* (São Paulo, 1983); Rubro Veio, *O imaginário da Restauração Pernambucana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986); F. Mauro, *Origens da desigualidade entre os povos de América* (São Paulo, 1986); Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990); J. M. Campos, *A restauração em Portugal e no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1962); V. Rau, 'A embaixada de Tristão de Mendonça Furtado e os arquivos holandeses', *Anais da Academia Portuguêsa de História,* 2nd ser., 8 (1958), 93–160; G. D. Winius, 'India or Brazil: Priority for imperial survival during the wars of the Restoration', *Journal of the American–Portuguese Cultural Society,* 1/4–5 (1967), 34–42. Finally, A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1960) deserves mention.

3. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL, 1750–1808

For a general approach to the Portuguese empire during the period 1750–1808, there are two fundamental works by C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Seaborne Empire, 1415–1815 (London, 1969), chaps. 6 and 7, and *The Golden Age of Brazil 1695–1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley, 1962), final chapter. Useful textbooks include A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal desde os tempos mais remotos até o governo do Sr. Marcelo Caetano,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1980), I, chaps. 8 and 9; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal,* vol. 6, *O Despotismo iluminado (1750–1807)* (Lisbon, 1982); Joel Serrão and A. H. Oliveira Marques (eds.), *A nova história da expansão portuguêsa,* vol. 8, *O Império luso-brasileiro, 1750–1822* (ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva) (Lisbon, 1986); Jean-François Labourdette, *Le Portugal de 1780 a 1802* (Paris, 1985); and *História geral da civilização brasileira,* ed. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, I: *A época colonial,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960), and II: *O Brasil monárquico,* vol. 1, *O processo de emancipação* (São Paulo, 1962). There are also certain studies of individual reigns which, despite the limitations of their time and genre, deserve mention: Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História do reinado de El-Rei D. José e da administração do Marquês de Pombal,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1867); João Lúcio de Azevedo, *O Marquês de Pombal e sua época,* 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1922), an early critical study; Alfredo Duarte Rodrigues, *O Marquês de Pombal e os seus biógrafos* (Lisbon, 1947), which summarizes the early literature; Caetano Beirão, *Dona Maria I (1777–1792),* 4th ed. (Lisbon, 1944), still unfortunately the best work on the post-Pombal years; and Angelo Pereira, *D. João VI Príncipe e Rei,* 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1953–7), I: *A retirada da família real para o Brasil (1807).* More recently, there are several excellent works based on extremely important archival research. Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil, with Special Reference to the Administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769–1779* (Berkeley, 1968) is particularly concerned with the structure of royal power in Brazil in the Pombal era and the activities of an enlightened administrator, and, more generally, with the political military and economic history of the captaincies of the South. Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal 1750–1808* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973), makes a new contribution to the study of the tensions between the metropolis and the colony and of the first moves towards Brazilian independence, notably in 1789. Fernando A. Novais, *Portugal e Brasil na crise do antigo sistema colonial (1777–1808)* (São Paulo, 1979), gives us an important survey of mercantilist colonialism and of the economic policies of the Portuguese government at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Like Boxer's *Golden Age* for the preceding period, these last three penetrating analyses are a landmark in the historiography of colonial Brazil.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

More specifically, on the territorial redefinition of Brazil, J. Cortesão, *Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid (1750)*, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1950–63), gives an extremely full documentation for the Treaty of Madrid, its antecedents and some of its consequences, together with a commentary which is often polemical. Alden, *Royal Government*, already cited, 59–275, makes an extremely lucid and detached analysis of the same subject, especially concerned with all the negotiations and military operations from the Treaty of Madrid to the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1778) and after. On the occupation, defence and colonization of the Amazon region and the government's Indian policy, the fundamental documents were published in Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *A Amazônia na era pombalina (correspondência inédita do Governador e Capitão General do Estado do Grão Pará e Maranhão, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 1751–1759*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1963); see also João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Os Jesuítas no Grão Pará* (Lisbon, 1901), and 'Politica de Pombal relativa ao Brasil', in *Novas Epanáforas: Estudos de história e literatura* (Lisbon, 1932), 7–62; more recently, Manuel Nunes Dias, 'Política pombalina na colonização da Amazonia 1755–1777', *Studia*, 23 (1968), 7–32, together with his exhaustive study of one of the instruments of Pombal's policy, the commercial company of Grão Pará e Maranhão (see below). Among the works of Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, see especially *A política de Portugal no valle amazônico* (Belem, 1940).

On the reorganization of political institutions, a good general study is lacking. This is a major lacuna in Portuguese historiography and there is no alternative to recourse to the sources. The best general essay is the chapter on administration, justice and the army in Caio Prado Júnior, *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: Colônia*, 8th ed. (São Paulo, 1965), translated by Suzette Macedo as *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 1967). See also the works by Alden and Maxwell cited above, and *História administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 5: Hélio de Alcantara Avellar, *Administração Pombalina* (Brasília, 1983). Despite its many omissions so far as the description and analysis of administrative structures are concerned, the *Dicionário de história de Portugal* (ed. Joel Serrão), 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1961–71) has its uses. There are also the articles of Marcelo Caetano, 'As Reformas pombalinas e post-pombalinas respeitantes ao Ultramar: O novo espírito em que são concebidas', in *História da expansão portuguêsa no mundo*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1940), 3, 251–60, and José Gonçalo de Santa Ritta, 'Organização da administração ultramarina no século XVIII', *Congresso do mundo português* (Lisbon, 1940), 8, 123–53.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The fundamental importance of the texts of laws and decress, of which much use has been made in this chapter, should be underlined. In the absence of a complete edition, it is necessary to turn to compilations such as: *Collecção das Leys, Decretos e Alvarás que comprehende o feliz Reinado del Rey Fidelissimo D. José I Nosso Senhor, desde o anno de 1750 até o de 1777,* 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1777), and Antônio Delgado da Silva, *Collecção da Legislação Portugueza desde a ultima compilação das Ordenações: Legislação de 1756 a 1820,* 6 vols. (Lisbon, 1830–5). See also the work by Hélio de Alcantara Avellar cited above.

On the reorganization of the economy, besides consulting manuscript sources it is indispensable to go to contemporary accounts, among which see especially the following: *Memorias Economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa para o adiantamento da Agricultura, das Artes e da Industria em Portugal e suas Conquistas,* 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1789–1815; repr. 1989), analysed by Abílio Carlos d'Ascensão Diniz Silva in 'La formulation d'une politique de développement économique au Portugal à la fin du XVIIIe siècle' (Mémoire for the Diploma in Sciences Économiques, University of Paris I, 1969); *Obras Econômicas de J. J. da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho (1794–1804),* edited by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo, 1966); Jacome Ratton, *Recordaçoens de . . . sobre occurrencias do seu tempo em Portugal . . . de Maio 1744 a Setembro de 1810* (London, 1813); Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, speeches, memoranda, reports and letters, published by the Marquis of Funchal, *O Conde de Linhares, Dom Rodrigo Domingos Antonio de Souza Continho* (Lisbon, 1908), and by Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *O Intendente Câmara, Manoel Ferreira da Câmara Bethencourt e Sá, Intendente Geral das Minas e dos Diamantes, 1764–1835* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933); Adrien Balbi, *Essai statistique sur le Royaume de Portugal et d'Algarve,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1822); José Accursio das Neves, *Noções historicas, economicas e administrativas sobre a produção e manufactura das sedas em Portugal . . .* (Lisbon, 1827), and *Variedades sobre objetos relativos às artes, commercio e manufacturas,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1814–17).

Among the studies of economic history dating from the first half of the twentieth century, two classics should not be forgotten: João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Epocas de Portugal económico,* 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1973), and Roberto C. Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil 1500–1820,* 6th ed. (São Paulo, 1969).

Among recent works dealing with the whole period, two well-documented studies have made a fundamental contribution: the pioneering work of quantitative history, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

monnaies au Portugal 1750–1850 (Paris, 1955), and Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies* (cited above).

Apart from these, it is necessary to have recourse to books dealing with specific subjects and specific periods, of which the Pombal era is by far the most thoroughly studied, notably by Jorge Borges de Macedo, *A situação económica no tempo de Pombal* (1951; 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1982), a suggestive and well-documented work, and by the Viscount of Carnaxide, *O Brasil na administração pombalina (Economia e política externa)* (São Paulo, 1940), a controversial study. See also J. Borges de Macedo, 'Portugal e a economia "pombalina": Temas e hipoteses', *Revista de História,* 19 (1954), 81–99. On the fleet system, see V. Magalhães Godinho, 'Portugal, as frotas do açúcar e as frotas do ouro 1670–1770', *Ensaios,* 2 (Lisbon, 1968), 293–315 (original in French in *AESC* [1950], 184–97). See also Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, 'As frotas do Brasil', *JGSWGL,* 4 (1967), 465–88; Albert-Alain Bourdon, 'Le Marquis de Pombal et la réorganisation des flottes de commerce entre le Portugal et le Brésil (1753–1766)', Universidade de Lisboa, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras,* 3rd ser., 6 (1962), 182–97; and especially Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro e o comércio anglo-português (Uma contribuição aos estudos de economia atlântica no século XVIII)* (São Paulo, 1979). For the post-Pombal period, there is now Fernando A. Novais, *Portugal e Brasil* (cited above), as well as José Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no comércio colonial* (São Paulo, 1980), which is a detailed analysis of the trade balances of the last years of the period.

On commercial companies and monopolies, besides the exhaustive studies by Manuel Nunes Dias, *Fomento e mercantilismo: A Companhia Geral de Comércio do Grão e Maranhão (1755–1778)* (São Paulo, 1971), and José Ribeiro Júnior, *Colonização e monopólio no Nordeste brasileiro: A Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba (1759–1780)* (São Paulo, 1976), see the article by Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'Companhias comerciais', in *Dicionário de História de Portugal,* I, 637–44, which provides both a synthesis and a good bibliography, and two penetrating studies by Myriam Ellis: *O monopólio do sal nos estados do Brasil (1631–1801)* (São Paulo, 1955) and *A Baleia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1969). For the slave trade, see the works cited in essay III:2, and, more particularly for the late eighteenth century, António Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de Grão-Pará e Maranhão e Pernambuco e Paraíba,* 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1983).

On industrial policy, Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Problemas de história da indústria portuguêsa no século XVIII* (1963; 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1982), and the analysis of Fernando A. Novais, 'A Proibição das manufacturas no Brasil e

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

a política econômica portuguêsa do fim do século XVIII', *Revista de História,* 33/67 (1966), 145–66. On the policy of developing traditional and new colonial products, see essay III:8.

Portugal's international trade, notably with England, has been the object of several good analyses, such as H. E. S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo–Portuguese Commerce, 1700–1770* (London, 1971), whose statistics may be supplemented, for the years 1770–1808, with those in E. B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics (1697–1808)* (Oxford, 1960), 17–18; see also Sandro Sideri, *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations* (Rotterdam, 1970); the more recent study of Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro e o comércio anglo-português* (cited above); and François Crouzet, 'Angleterre–Brésil, 1697–1850: Un siècle et demi d'échanges commerciaux', in *Histoire, Economie, Société* (Paris), 9/2 (1990), 287–317. For reference, José de Almada, *A aliança inglesa: Subsídios para o seu estudo,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1946). The short- and long-term consequences of the famous Methuen Treaty have been the subject of violent controversy. See the solid study by A. D. Francis, *The Methuens and Portugal, 1691–1708* (Cambridge, Eng., 1966), and the survey by Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'Methuen', in *Dicionário de história de Portugal,* vol. 3, 49–55. On Franco-Portuguese trade, which has been studied less intensively, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et monnaies* (cited above), 321–71, and Frédéric Mauro, 'L'Empire portugais et le commerce franco-portugais au milieu du XVIIIe siècle', in his *Études économiques sur l'expansion portugaise* (Paris, 1970), 81–95. The most recent analysis on this subject is Jean-François Labourdette, *La Nation française à Lisbonne de 1669 à 1790: Entre colbertisme et libéralisme* (Paris, 1988). On the very end of the period, Jorge Borges de Macedo, *O bloqueio continental: Economia e guerra peninsular* (Lisbon, 1962).

As regards quantitative history, besides the work of Magalhães Godinho, Novais and Arruda, there are three conference papers published in Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, *L'Histoire quantitative du Brésil de 1800 à 1930* (Paris, 1973): Fernando A. Novais, 'Notas para o estudo do Brasil no comércio internacional do fim do século XVIII e início do século XIX (1796–1808)', 59–75, Harold B. Johnson, Jr., 'Money and prices in Rio de Janeiro (1760–1820)', 39–57, and Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, 'Os preços na Bahia de 1750 a 1930', 167–82. Queirós Mattoso has also written 'Conjoncture et société au Brésil à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', *Cahiers des Amériques Latines,* 5 (1970), 33–53, while Johnson is also the author of 'A preliminary enquiry into money, prices

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and wages 1763–1823', in *The Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil,* edited by Dauril Alden (Berkeley, 1972).

On Pombal the majority of the works already mentioned have something to say. See also Francisco José Calazans Falcón, *A época pombalina (Política econômica e monarquia ilustrada)* (São Paulo, 1982). A number of valuable publications appeared on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of Pombal's death in 1982, notably: *O Marquês de Pombal e o seu tempo,* Instituto de História e Teoria das Ideias of the Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra *(Revista de História das Ideias,* 4, 1982); *Como interpretar Pombal? No bicentenário da sua morte* (Lisbon, 1983); and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Marquês de Pombal: O homem, o diplomata e o estadista* (Lisbon, 1982).

4. POPULATION

General studies on the structure and growth of the Brazilian population in the colonial period are rare. Attempts to calculate the size of the population and assess its growth at various dates have been carried out by Roberto Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil (1500–1820),* 6th ed. (São Paulo, 1969), and also by Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil,* 11th ed. (São Paulo, 1971). Using information from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when the first census surveys were carried out in each captaincy, various authors have assembled and organized statistics still preserved in archives, in an attempt to arrive at a demographic aggregate for the country during the period. The following studies, in particular, are worthy of note: Dauril Alden, 'The population of Brazil in the late 18th century: A preliminary survey', *HAHR,* 43/1 (1963), 173–205; Maria Luiza Marcílio, 'Accroissement de la population: Évolution historique de la population brésilienne jusqu'en 1872', in Comité International de Coordination des Recherches Nationales en Demographie, *La population du Brésil* (Paris, 1974); also M. L. Marcílio, 'Evolução da população brasileira através dos censos até 1872', *Anais de História,* 6 (1974), 115–37. Some scholars have based their figures on different sources. For example, using the more reliable nineteenth-century census figures, they have made retrospective estimates in order to arrive at a probable total for the population of Brazil in the eighteenth century. Such is the case of Giórgio Mortara, 'Estudos sobre a utilização do movimento da população do Brasil', *Revista Brasileira de Estatística* (January-March 1941), 38–46, who calculated the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

total population of Brazil by year, from 1772. As far as the post-1800 period is concerned, the most recent figures are those provided by Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979).

Many items from colonial census surveys have also been published. A summary of the main items available in the archives of Rio de Janeiro is provided by Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva, 'Investigações sobre os recenseamentos da população geral do Império e de cada Província de per si, tentadas desde os tempos coloniaes até hoje', in *Relatório do Ministério dos Negócios do Império, 1870* (Rio de Janeiro, 1872), annex. This summary was utilized by F. J. de Oliveira Vianna, 'Resumo histórico dos inquéritos censitários realizados no Brasil', in Brazil, *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), vol. 1, Introduction. Colonial census surveys from several captaincies have been published in their entirety in many numbers of *RIHGB* and in the *Revistas* of the various state Historical Institutes, as well as in *ABNRJ*.

Catalogues of demographic sources are now being published. See, for example, M. L. Marcílio and L. Lisanti, 'Problèmes de l'histoire quantitative du Brésil: Métrologie et démographie', in Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, *L'histoire quantitative du Brésil de 1800 à 1930* (Paris, 1973); Marcílio, 'Catálogo de los datos bibliográficos documentales de naturaleza demográfico existentes en los archivos brasileños', in CELADE, *Fuentes para la demografía histórica de América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), 87–131; and finally, Marcílio, 'Levantamentos censitários da fase proto-estatística do Brasil', *Anais de História*, 9 (1977), 63–75.

The best study on the anthropological and racial formation of the Brazilian people is still Gilberto Freyre's classic work, *Casa grande e senzala*, 10th ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1961), vol. 2. Equally important is Darcy Ribeiro, *As Américas e a civilização* (Petrópolis, 1977).

The indigenous population has been the subject of research by demographers and historians. Ethnographic and anthropological studies give account of the size and decline of the indigenous population during the colonial period. The classic study by Angel Rosenblat, *La población indígena de América desde 1492 hasta la actualidad* (Buenos Aires, 1945), presents very low figures for the Brazilian Indian. At present, we have at our disposal far more reliable figures in William Denevan (ed.), *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison, Wis., 1976; 2nd ed., 1992), and particularly in John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500–1760* (London, 1978).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The African slave trade to Brazil has always received attention from scholars. For Bahia, the pioneer study is that of Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1968). See also, by the same author, 'Mouvements de navires entre Bahia et le Golfe de Bénin (XVII–XIXe siècles)', *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer,* 55 (1968), 5–36. The trade to the north-east has been studied by António Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de navegação, comércio e tráfico de escravos entre a costa africana e o Nordeste brasileiro* (Bissau, 1969). For Amazonia, see the work of Colin M. MacLachlan, 'African slave trade and economic development in Amazonia, 1700–1800', in Robert B. Toplin (ed.), *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (London, 1974).

For the history of the slave trade to Brazil as a whole, the most complete study is that by Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969). See also, by H. S. Klein, 'The Portuguese slave trade from Angola in the 18th century', *Journal of Economic History,* 32/4 (1972), 894–917, and *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

With regard to general studies on Brazilian slavery in the colonial period, one must begin by mentioning A. M. Perdigão Malheiro's classic work, *A escravidão no Brasil: Ensaio histórico, jurídico e social,* 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1866–7; new ed., 1944). Of more recent studies, the most noteworthy are Maurício Goulart, *A escravidão africana no Brasil,* 3rd ed. (São Paulo, 1975); Kátia M. Queirós Mattoso, *Être esclave au Brésil, XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1979; Eng. trans., *To Be a Slave in Brazil,* New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); and Stuart B. Schwartz's important article, 'The manumission of slaves in colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684–1745', *HAHR,* 54/4 (1974), 603–35.

Some regional studies on the demography of the colonial period have been published. The pioneer study is M. L. Marcílio, *La ville de São Paulo: Peuplement et population, 1750–1850 (d'après les régistres paroissiaux et les recensements anciens)* (Rouen, 1968). See also M. L. Marcílio, 'Croissance de la population pauliste de 1798 à 1828', *Annales de Démographie Historique, 1977* (1978), 249–69. Another important work is Iraci del Nero da Costa *Vila Rica: População (1719–1826)* (São Paulo, 1979). For the recent work of Iraci del Nero da Costa and Francisco Vidal Luna on the demography of eighteenth century Minas Gerais, see essay III:7.

The structure, composition and organization of the family and households in late colonial Brazil have begun to attract attention: See Donald

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ramos, 'City and country: The family in Minas Gerais, 1804–1838', *Journal of Family History*, 3/4 (1978), 161–75, and M. L. Marcílio, 'Tendances et structures des ménages dans la Capitainerie de São Paulo (1765–1828) selon les listes nominatives d'habitants', in Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, *L'histoire quantitative*, 157–65, and *Caiçara: Terra e população* (São Paulo, 1986), a cross-generational study of the families of small farmers of the northern coast of the province of São Paulo. Also M. L. Marcílio, 'Mariage et remariage dans le Brésil traditionnel: Lois, intensité, calendries', in J. Dupâquier et al. (eds.), *Marriage and Re-marriage in Past Populations* (London, 1980) and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Sistema do casamento no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1984). For later work on the family by Alida Metcalf, Muriel Nazzari and Elizabeth Kuznesof, see essay III:5. On the mechanisms of inheritance within the elite of colonial São Paulo, see Carlos A. P. Bacellar, 'Família, herança e poder em São Paulo: 1765–1855', *Estudos CEDHAL*, 7 (São Paulo, 1991). Sexuality within and outside marriage, illegitimacy and the abandonment of children has begun to be studied by Brazilian historians. CEDHAL (Centro de Estudos de Demografia Histórica da América Latina) of the University of São Paulo, founded in 1985, has supported a collective and interdisciplinary project, A Família e a Criança na História da População Brasileira. Among the publications to come out of this project, see, for example, F. T. Londoño, 'Público e escandaloso: Igreja e concubinato no antigo bispado do Rio de Janeiro' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1992); R. P. Venâncio, 'Ilegitimidade e concubinato no Brasil colonial: Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo', *Estudos CEDHAL*, 1 (1986); F. T. Londoño, 'El concubinato y la iglesia en el Brasil colonial', *Estudos CEDHAL*, 2 (1988); R. P. Venâncio, ' "Casa da Roda" – Institution d'assistance infantile au Brèsil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris, Sorbonne IV, 1993); M. L. Marcílio (ed.), *Mulher, sexualidade e igreja na história do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1993); Ana Silvia Scott, 'Dinâmica familiar – elite paulista (1765–1836)' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 1987).

5. PLANTATIONS AND PERIPHERIES, *c.* 1580–*c.* 1750

GENERAL HISTORIES

Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira, I:A época colonial*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960) provides a succinct survey of major

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

themes. Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1959) has the most detailed colonial sections of the many modern histories. The classic *História geral do Brasil,* 5 vols. 9th ed. (São Paulo, 1975), by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, originally published in 1857, is still valuable. Together, C. R. Boxer's *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* (London, 1952) and his *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964) provide the best available overview in English of Brazilian history for the period. Frédéric Mauro, *Le Brésil du XVe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1977) is a brief survey based on solid scholarship. Dauril Alden (ed.), *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973) presents an important collection of papers on colonial themes. A. J. R. Russell-Wood (ed.), *From Colony to Nation* (Baltimore, 1975), is primarily concerned with the post-1750 period but does have a number of articles pertinent to the earlier era. The *Anais do Congresso Comemorativo do Bicentenário da Transferência da Sede do Governo do Brasil,* 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), contains many items of interest, as do the various publications of the Luso-Brazilian Colloquium (first Proceedings or *Actas* published in Nashville, Tenn., 1953). In the past decade many classic chronicles and important documents have been reprinted or published for the first time. Of special importance to readers of English is *Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil,* a translation of *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* (1618), attributed to Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão, edited by Frederick Arthur Holden Hall, William F. Harrison, and Dorothy Winkers Welker (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987).

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMY

The structure of Portuguese government in Brazil is summarized in Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *Processo administrativo ibero-americano* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962). Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), contains much useful material. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), discusses the judicial structure of the colony. A useful collection of royal instructions is Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *Raízes da formação administrativa do Brasil,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1972). A provocative interpretative essay that touches on the early colonial era is Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder,* 1st ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1958). Other works on the organs of colonial government in Portugal itself are cited in essay III:2.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

General studies of the colonial economy are few. Frédéric Mauro's *Le Portugal, le Brésil, et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1983), originally published in 1960 under a slightly different title, is an essential quantitative study of Brazil within the Atlantic system. For other works on the Atlantic economy, again see essay III:2. Mauro has also published important collections of essays, such as *Nova história e nôvo mundo* (São Paulo, 1969). Roberto Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1937), is still valuable although many of the figures presented need revision. A number of volumes by Mircea Buescu, such as his *300 anos da inflação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), make good use of colonial economic data. The syntheses of Caio Prado Júnior, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967) and Celso Furtado, *The Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963) provide excellent overviews. Especially provocative is Fernando Novais, *Estrutura e dinâmica do sistema colonial* (Lisbon, 1975) which has also appeared in a Brazilian edition.

Various economic activities have received monographic attention, although the record here is spotty. A major difficulty is a lack of serial economic data for the period prior to 1750. There are no adequate studies of manioc- or tobacco-farming for this period. A good study of the ranching society in the north-east is provided by Luiz Mott, 'Fazendas de gado do Piauí (1697–1762)', *Anais do VII Simpósio Nacional de Professores Universitários de História* (São Paulo, 1976), 343–69. See also on this topic, Lycurgo Santos Filho, *Uma comunidade rural no Brasil antigo* (São Paulo, 1956). The history of sugar has received the most attention. Wanderley Pinho's *História dum engenho no Recôncavo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946) is a classic account of Bahia. Vera Lucia Amaral Ferlini, *Terra, trabalho e poder* (São Paulo, 1988) and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations and the Formation of Brazilian Society* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985) both also deal with Bahia. Unfortunately, similiar studies do not exist for the *engenhos* of Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. António Barros de Castro, 'Escravos e senhores nos engenhos do Brasil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Campinas, 1976) is an excellent overview based on printed primary sources. Still indispensable for any study of the colonial economy is André João Antonil (pseudonym of Antonio Giovanni Andreoni, S.J.), *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (Lisbon, 1711), a work whose value has been greatly increased by the notes and introduction provided by Andrée Mansuy in the Paris edition of 1968. Myriam Ellis has contributed such solid studies as *Aspectos da pesca da baleia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1958), and Alice P. Canabrava's analysis of Brazilian trade in the Río de la Plata, *O*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

comércio português no Rio da Prata, 1580–1640, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1984) remains essential reading. The study of the merchant community has been made feasible by the publication of an extensive merchant correspondence, in Luís Lisanti (ed.), *Negócios coloniais,* 5 vols. (Brasilia, 1973).

SLAVERY

A lively debate is being conducted in Brazil over the nature of the colonial economy and the role of slavery within it. Jacob Gorender, *O escravismo colonial* (São Paulo, 1978) is a major statement based on a wide reading of printed sources. It has produced considerable reaction, as is demonstrated in the group of essays in José Roberto do Amaral Lapa (ed.), *Modos do produção e realidade brasileira* (Petrópolis, 1980). An earlier essay by Ciro Flamarion S. Cardoso, 'El modo de producción esclavista colonial en América', in *Modos de producción en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1973), is still an important theoretical formulation of the problem.

The form of labour and its relation to the social and economic structures of the colony has been a major theme in Brazilian history. The most complete study of Portuguese Indian policy is Georg Thomas, *Die Portugiesische Indianerpolitik in Brasilien, 1500–1640* (Berlin, 1968; Port. trans. 1984), but it should be used in conjunction with Kieman's book on Indian policy in the Amazon (cited below) and with the works of Father Serafim Leite on the Jesuits. John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500–1760* (London, 1978) is a well-written narrative account. Stuart B. Schwartz, 'Indian labor and New World plantations: European demands and Indian responses in northeastern Brazil', *AHR,* 83/1 (1978), 43–79, deals with Bahia, but studies of other regions are sorely needed.

Despite the centrality of African slavery to colonial Brazil, the coverage of the topic is very uneven. To some extent this is a problem of sources available for the pre-1750 period. Some of the best books about slavery in Brazil often have little information on the early colonial period and are forced to infer the previous history. Such is the case with Gilberto Freyre's classic, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York, 1946), originally published in 1933 in Brazil. Present concerns have also oriented research. Thus, we have a large and growing literature on slave resistance and especially Palmares, as is represented by Edison Carneiro, *O quilombo dos Palmares,* 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), but little on the early slave trade. On that topic Maurício Goulart, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1949) is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

still a good starting point. Pierre Verger's *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia du dix-septième au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1968) has been translated into English (Ibadan, 1976) and Portuguese (São Paulo, 1987). It centers on the eighteenth century slave trade to Bahia. Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1988) concentrates on the African aspects of the trade.

Portuguese attitudes towards slavery have been studied by A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Iberian expansion and the issue of black slavery', *AHR*, 83/1 (1978), 16–42, and David Sweet, 'Black robes and black destiny: Jesuit views of African slavery in 17th-century Latin America', *RHA*, 86 (1978), 87–113; but many other issues need investigation. The fullest study of the ideology of slavery in colonial Brazil is Ronaldo Vainfas, *Ideologia e escravidão* (Petrópolis, 1986). Questions concerning the profitability, demography, family structure and internal organization of Brazilian slavery in this period all remain to be studied. An example of what can be done is provided by Francisco Vidal Luna, *Minas Gerais: Escravos e senhores* (São Paulo, 1981), an essentially quantitative study of slave ownership. On slave culture, Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil* (Baltimore, 1978) remains the essential introduction. A useful popular survey that incorporates the best recent scholarship is Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil* (Paris, 1979; New Brunswick, N.J., and London, 1986)

SOCIAL ASPECTS

In some ways the literature on free people of colour and race relations is better developed than that on slavery itself. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Colonial Brazil', in David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene (eds.), *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedom of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore, 1972), incorporates much of the author's own work and follows the approach of Charles R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire* (Oxford, 1963). Stuart B. Schwartz, 'The manumission of slaves in colonial Brazil: Bahia 1684–1745', *HAHR*, 54/4 (1974), 603–65, is a quantitative study. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Black and mulatto brotherhoods in colonial Brazil', *HAHR*, 54/4 (1974), 567–602, is a good general discussion, but it should be used together with Patricia Mulvey, 'The black lay brotherhoods of colonial Brazil: A history' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, City University of New York, 1976), and Manoel S. Car-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dozo, 'The lay brotherhoods of colonial Bahia', *The Catholic Historical Review,* 33/1 (1947), 12–30.

Social change and social groups before 1750 have received little attention. Francis Dutra has produced a number of studies of institutional response to social change, of which 'Membership in the Order of Christ in the seventeenth century', *TA,* 27/1 (1970), 3–25, is a good example. Women are beginning to find a place in Brazilian historical studies. The chapters by Susan Soeiro and A. J. R. Russell-Wood, in Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 60–100, 173–97, have now been joined by publications based on new research concentrating on southern Brazil. Representative of this trend are Alida C. Metcalf, 'Women and means: Women and family property in colonial Brazil', *Journal of Social History,* 24/2 (1990), 277–97 and *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822* (Berkeley, 1992); Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families and Social Change in São Paulo, 1600–1900* (Stanford, Calif., 1992) and Elizabeth Kuznesof, 'The Role of the female headed household in Brazilian modernization, 1765–1836', *Journal of Social History,* 13/4 (1980), 589–613. María Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Sistema do casamento no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1984) provides an overview. Various social groups have been best studied in Bahia (see below), but many important topics need to be examined. There are, for example, no studies of wage labourers or artisan organizations in the early period.

One social group, the New Christians, has received extensive treatment. Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1960), is a general study. Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos novos na Bahia* (São Paulo, 1972) brings a great deal of new material into the debate about the Judaism of the New Christians. Regional studies like José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os cristãos novos: Povoamento e conquista do solo brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1976) on the southern captaincies, and José António Gonçalves de Mello, *Gente da nasção: Cristãos novos e judeus em Pernambuco, 1542–1654* (Recife, 1989) on Pernambuco have deepened our understanding of this group. The series *Judaica Brasil* from the University of São Paulo has published monographs like Maria Liberman, *O levante do Maranhão: Judeu cabeça do levante* (1983) on specific themes. Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, *Preconceito racial no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1983) examines institutionalized attitudes toward New Christians. The history of the New Christians was intimately, if unfortunately, tied to that of the Inquisition. A good study of the structure and operation of that body in Brazil is Sónia A. Siqueira, *A inquisição*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

portuguêsa e a sociedade colonial (São Paulo, 1978). A revisionist view of the colonial church is presented by Eduardo Hoornaert, *Formação do catolicismo brasileiro, 1550–1800* (Petrópolis, 1978).

The Inquisition's records have provided much material for the history of popular attitudes and practices in colonial Brazil, especially as these relate to what the church considered deviant behavior. Laura de Mello e Souza, *O diabo na terra da Santa Cruz* (São Paulo, 1987) examines witchcraft, while Ronaldo Vainfas, *Trópico dos pecados* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989) analyses attitudes toward sexuality. Luis Mott, in a large number of studies such as *A inquisição em Sergipe* (Aracajú, Braz., 1985) and *Escravidão, homosexualidade e demonologia* (São Paulo, 1988), has examined many areas of popular life and culture.

On the Brazilian cities and towns, the fundamental work is Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Evolução urbana do Brasil (1500–1720)* (São Paulo, 1968). Also useful are Edmundo Zenha, *O município no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1948), and Nelson Omegna, *A cidade colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961). A more recent work with emphasis on the late colonial era is Roberta Marx Delson, 'Town planning in colonial Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1975). An excellent interpretative essay is Richard M. Morse, 'Brazil's urban development: Colony and empire', in Russell-Wood, *From Colony to Nation*, 155–81.

REGIONAL STUDIES

The historiography of the period before 1750 is regionally unbalanced. Bahia has received far more attention than other areas. Thus, many generalizations contained in the chapter are based on findings for Bahia which remain to be demonstrated for other areas.

For Bahia there are excellent social and institutional studies. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), studies the Misericórdia. Susan Soeiro, 'A baroque nunnery: The economic and social role of a colonial convent: Santa Clara de Desterro, Salvador, Bahia, 1677–1800' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1974), is good on women in society and the financial role of that institution. C. R. Boxer's chapter on the *câmara* of Salvador in *Portuguese Society in the Tropics* (Madison, Wis., 1965) is particularly valuable. David G. Smith, 'The mercantile class of Portugal and Brazil in the seventeenth century: A socio-economic study of the merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620–1690' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1975), is the most thorough study of merchants. Rae Flory, 'Bahian society in the mid-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

colonial period: The sugar planters, tobacco growers, merchants, and artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680–1725' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1978) is based on notarial records. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations,* is a comprehensive study of Bahia's social and economic history in the period. José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a carreira da India* (São Paulo, 1966), deals with Salvador as a port and shipyard. Thales de Azevedo, *Povoamento da cidade do Salvador,* 3rd ed. (Bahia, 1968), and Afonso Ruy, *História política e administrativa da cidade do Salvador* (Bahia, 1949), are still invaluable.

For Pernambuco and its adjacent areas the situation is in general much worse. José Antônio Gonçalves de Mello has done much in *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* to rectify the situation. Also valuable is Francis A. Dutra, *Matias de Albuquerque* (Recife, 1976). On the war of the Mascates, see Norma Marinovic Doro, 'Guerra dos Mascates – 1710' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 1979), Nelson Barbalho, *1710: Recife versus Olinda* (Recife, 1986), and J. A. Gonçalves de Mello's excellent 'Nobres e mascates na câmara de Recife', *RIAHGP,* 53 (1981), 114–262.

The best scholarship on the Dutch occupation of the north-east is represented by C. R. Boxer's *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–54* (Oxford, 1957), on military and political affairs; José Antônio Gonçalves de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos,* 2nd ed. (Recife, 1978), on social matters; and Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda restaurada* (São Paulo, 1975), on the economy. These works incorporate the earlier classic studies. In addition, the above authors have all edited important documents of the period. Representative of them and extremely valuable is J. A. Gonçalves de Mello (ed.), *Relatório sôbre as capitanias conquistadas* by Adriaen van der Dussen (Rio de Janeiro, 1947) and his series *Fontes para a história do Brasil holandês* (Recife, 1986–). In addition, classic works such as Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho, *Memórias diárias da guerra do Brasil* (Madrid, 1654) have been published by the municipal government of Recife (1981). E. van der Boogaart (ed.), *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679* (The Hague, 1979), presents recent Dutch and Brazilian scholarship on the period. Finally, Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Rubro veio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986) examines the impact of the Dutch wars on the self-perception of the Pernambucans. His *O nome e o sangue* (São Paulo, 1989) demonstrates the role of genealogy in that self-perception.

On the smaller north-eastern captaincies Luiz R. B. Mott, *Piauí colonial* (Teresina, 1985) and *Sergipe del rey* (Aracajú, 1986) present essays on social, demographic, and economic themes.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Modern social and economic history on Rio de Janeiro before 1750 is virtually nonexistent. Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Rio de Janeiro no século XVI,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1965), is valuable for the documents it reproduces. Vivaldo Coaracy, *O Rio de Janeiro no século XVII,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), contains useful information. The many works of Alberto Lamego on the sugar economy of Rio de Janeiro were extensively used by William Harrison, in 'A struggle for land in colonial Brazil: The private captaincy of Paraiba do Sul, 1533–1753' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1970), but much remains to be done.

There is an extensive historiography on São Paulo which is in the process of considerable change. Much of the work written before 1950 concentrated on the exploits of the *bandeiras* and reflected older historical concerns. A provocative essay on the early history of São Paulo is Florestan Fernandes, *Mudanças sociais no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1960), 179–233. There are a number of histories of the region, of which Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, *História seiscentista da vila de São Paulo,* 4 vols. (São Paulo, 1926–9), is the most thorough. Taunay is also the dean of *bandeira* studies, and his *História geral das bandeiras paulistas,* 11 vols. (São Paulo, 1924–50), is the basic study. Alfredo Ellis Júnior, *Meio século de bandeirismo* (São Paulo, 1948) and Jaime Cortesão, *Rapôso Tavares e a formação territorial do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958) are standard works by other specialists. John M. Monteiro is transforming the study of Indian–white relations in São Paulo in studies based on his unpublished thesis, 'São Paulo in the seventeenth century: Economy and society' (University of Chicago, 1985). Also interesting in this regard is John French, 'Riqueza, poder, e mão-de-obra numa economia de subsistência: São Paulo, 1596–1625', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal,* 195 (1982), 79–107. José de Alcântara Machado, *Vida e morte do bandeirante* (São Paulo, 1930), uses the series *Inventários e testamentos* (São Paulo, 1920–) to evoke everyday life. The works of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, such as *Caminhos e fronteiras* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957) and *Visão do paraíso* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959), are indispensable. Richard M. Morse (ed.), *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders* (New York, 1965) presents excerpts from many important works. Suggestive essays are contained in Jaime Cortesão's *Introdução à história das bandeiras,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1964). The Jesuit missions of southern Brazil and the Rio de la Plata are now receiving attention from modern social and economic historians. Arno Alvares Kern, *Missões: Uma utopia política* (Porto Alegre, 1982) is a perceptive overview. Examples of the more recent work appear in *Estudos Ibero-americanos,* 15/1 (1989), which is dedicated entirely to this subject.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

On the extreme south, José Honório Rodrigues, *O continente do Rio Grande* (Rio de Janeiro, 1954) provides a succinct essay. Guillermino César, *História do Rio Grande do Sul* (Pôrto Alegre, 1970) has interesting social information. Dauril Alden, *Royal Government,* provides the best summary in English.

For the Brazilian north prior to 1750 the bibliography is not large. J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Os Jesuítas no Grão-Pará: Suas missões e a colonização* (Coimbra, 1930) is still valuable. Mathias Kieman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614–1693* (Washington, D.C., 1954) remains indispensable. Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, *História do Amazonas* (Manaus, 1935) is representative of his many works on the region. João Francisco Lisboa's *Crônica do Brasil colonial: Apontamentos para a história do Maranhão* (Petrópolis, 1976), is a republication of an earlier and still useful work. Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550–1646* (London, 1989) presents an important collection of documents. Two articles by Colin MacLachlan, 'The Indian labor structure in the Portuguese Amazon', in Alden, *Colonial Roots,* 199–230, and 'African slave trade and economic development in Amazonia, 1700–1800', in Robert Toplin (ed.), *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (Westport, Conn., 1974), 112–45, are useful. On the economy, Sue Ellen Anderson Gross, 'The economic life of the Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará, 1686–1751' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Tulane University, 1969) provides a survey. Dauril Alden, 'The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region during the late colonial period: An essay in comparative economic history', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 120/2 (1976), 103–35, is the best study of that topic. On the society of the Amazon region, the most thorough study to date is David Sweet, 'A rich realm of nature destroyed: The middle Amazon valley, 1640–1750' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1974).

6. INDIANS AND THE FRONTIER

Literature on Brazilian Indians is far richer for the sixteenth than for subsequent centuries. On contemporary authors and secondary literature, see essay I:5.

On the west and the south in the seventeenth century, the fundamental study, although sometimes confusing, is Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, *História geral das bandeiras paulistas,* 11 vols. (São Paulo, 1924–50). The

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

majority of documents about bandeirante–Jesuit conflict are in the seven volumes edited by Jaime Cortesão and Hélio Vianna, *Manuscriptos da Coleção De Angelis* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951–70), and in Jaime Cortesão, *Rapôso Tavares a formação territorial do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958) and *Introdução à história da bandeiras,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1964). See also Alfredo Ellis Júnior, *Meio século de bandeirismo* (São Paulo, 1948), José de Alcântara Machado, *Vida e morte do bandeirante* (São Paulo, 1943), and the works of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Many key sources have been translated in Richard M. Morse (ed.), *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders* (New York, 1965). There is contemporary information on the bandeirantes in Pedro Tacques de Almeida Paes Leme, *Nobiliarchia Paulistana* and *Historia da Capitânia de S. Vicente* (1772) and in collections of documents such as: *Actas da Câmara Municipal de S. Paulo* (São Paulo, 1914–), *Inventários e testamentos* (São Paulo, 1920–) and the large but disorganized *Documentos interessantes para a história e costumes de São Paulo,* 86 vols. (São Paulo, 1894–1961). Aurélio Porto, *História das missões orientais do Uruguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943) is important, and the history of the Jesuits' Paraguayan missions is documented in Nicolau del Techo, S.J., *Historia de la provincia del Paraguay* (Liège, 1673), José Sánchez Labrador, S.J., *El Paraguay católico* (1770), 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1910–17), and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, S.J., *Conquista espiritual . . . en las provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tapi* (Madrid, 1639), and, among modern accounts, Pablo Pastells, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay,* 8 vols. (Madrid, 1912–59), Magnus Mörner, *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region* (Stockholm, 1953), and Guillermo Fúrlong, *Misiones y sus pueblos de guaraníes* (Buenos Aires, 1962).

For Bahia and the north-east in the seventeenth century, Diogo de Campos Moreno, *Livro que da razão do estado do Brasil* (1612) (Recife, 1955) is useful, as are André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil . . .* (Lisbon, 1711; modern eds., São Paulo, 1923 and Paris, 1968), and Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* (c. 1618) (Recife, 1962, Eng. trans., Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987). The Franciscan Martin of Nantes wrote an interesting chronicle of his mission with the Bahia Cariri: *Relation succinte et sincère . . .* (Quimper, France, *c.* 1707; Salvador, 1952). There is some good material in Barão de Studart (ed.), *Documentos para a história do Brasil e especialmente a do Ceará,* 4 vols. (Fortaleza, 1908–21), but by far the most material is in the vast and disorganized *Documentos históricos da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1928–). In English,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

see Charles Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* (London, 1952); and Stuart B. Schwartz, 'Indian labor and New World plantations: European demands and Indian responses in north-eastern Brazil', *AHR*, 83/1 (1978), 43–79.

The impact of the Dutch wars on the Indians of the north-east is reported in the contemporary works of Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum in Brasilia gestarum historia* (Cleef, 1660; Rio de Janeiro, 1940), Roulox Baro, *Relation du voyage . . . au pays des Tapuies* (1647), Adriaen van der Drussen, *Report on the Conquered Captaincies in Brazil* (1639) (Rio de Janeiro, 1947); various letters and reports by Gedeon Morris de Jonge in *RIHGB*, 58/1 (1895), and Joannes de Laet, *Novus Orbis* (Leyden, 1633; French trans. *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, Leyden, 1640) and *Histoire ofte laerlick Verhael van de Verrichtinghen der Geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (Leyden, 1644; trans. *ABNRJ*, 30–42 (1908–20)). From the Portuguese side: Diogo Lopes de Santiago, 'Historia da guerra de Pernambuco . . .' (1655), *RIHGB*, 38–9 (1875–6), Raphael de Jesus, *Castrioto Lusitano* (Lisbon, 1679), and papers in *Documentos holandeses* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945). For modern works on the Dutch in north-east Brazil, see essay III:5.

For Maranhão and the Amazon, the basic contemporary history is Bernardo Pereira de Berredo, *Annaes historias do estado do Maranhão* (Lisbon, 1749). The 'Livro grosso do Maranhão', in *ABNRJ*, 66–7 (1948) is full of good information. The *Anais* of the Biblioteca Nacional also published early reports by Jacomé Raimundo de Noronha, Simão Estácio da Sylveira and others. For the later seventeenth century, there are João de Sousa Ferreira, 'America abreviada, suas noticias e de seus naturaes, e em particular do Maranhão (1686)', *RIHGB*, 57/1 (1894), and Francisco Teixeira de Moraes, 'Relação histórica e política dos tumultos que sucederam na cidade de S. Luiz do Maranhão (1692)', *RIHGB*, 40/1 (1877).

As usual, missionaries produced the bulk of written material on the Amazon region. Venâncio Willeke has recorded the activities of the early Franciscans, *Missões franciscanos no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1974). But the Jesuits were the most active, and their mission was inspired by António Vieira, for whom the basic sources are: *Obras escolhidas*, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1951–4), of which vol. 5 deals with Indians; *Cartas*, 3 vols. (Coimbra, 1925–8); and *Sermões*, 14 vols. (Lisbon, 1679–1710), or 3 vols. (Porto, 1908); André de Barros, *Vida do apostólico Padre António Vieyra* (Lisbon, 1745). Two vivid and important memoirs by missionaries are: João Felipe Bettendorf, 'Chronica da missão dos padres de Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão (1699)', *RIHGB*, 72/1 (1901), and João Daniel, 'Thesouro

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

descoberto no maximo rio Amazonas', *RIHGB*, 2–3, 41 (1840–1, 1878). There is also a history of the Jesuits and a *Memorial sobre o Maranhão* by the eighteenth-century Jesuit José de Moraes, in Cândido Mendes de Almeida, *Memórias para a história do extincto estado do Maranhão*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1860) and in A. J. de Mello Moraes, *Corografia histórica . . . do império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1860), both of which contain other useful works on Maranhão despite rather jumbled presentation. The basic history on the Jesuits, apart from Serafim Leite's monumental work, is João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Os Jesuítas no Grão-Pará: Suas missões e a colonização* (Coimbra, 1930). See also his life of Vieira, *História do Padre António Vieira*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1920), and, in English, C. R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure, Padre António Vieiro, S.J., 1608–1697* (London, 1957), and Mathias C. Keiman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614–1693* (Washington, D.C., 1954). For the quarrels with Spanish Jesuits, Samuel Fritz, *Misión de los Omaguas . . .* (Eng. trans., Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 51; London, 1922) and José Chantre y Herrera, *Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañón español* (Madrid, 1901).

For eighteenth-century Amazonas, there are useful reports by Governor João da Maia da Gama and by the Jesuit Bartholomeu Rodrigues, all published in Mello Moraes, *Corografia histórica*. The papers of Pombal's half-brother Mendonça Furtado are in Marcos Carneiro Mendonça (ed.), *Amazônia na era Pombalina*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1963), and reports on travels related to the frontiers of the Treaty of Madrid are in José Gonçalves da Fonseca, *Primeira exploração dos rios Madeira e Guaporé em 1749* (in Mendes de Almeida, *Memorias*, 2), José Monteiro de Noronha, *Roteiro da viagem . . . até as últimas colonias do sertão . . .* (Barcelos, 1768, and Belém, 1862), and Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio's *Diario* of his voyage of 1774–5 (Lisbon, 1825) and report on Rio Branco in *RIHGB*, 13 (1850). Finally, scientific travellers start to appear on the Amazon: Charles Marie de La Condamine, *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale* (Paris, 1745) and Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, 'Diario da viagem philosophica pela capitania de São José do Rio Negro' (1786) (parts in *RIHGB*, 48–50 (1885–8); also São Paulo, 1970). David Sweet, 'A rich realm of nature destroyed: The middle Amazon valley, 1640–1750' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1974) is essential. A recent work on the indigenous peoples of the Rio Branco region in the eighteenth century is Nádia Farage, *As muralhas dos sertões* (São Paulo, 1991). Contact on this northernmost frontier is summarized in John Hemming, 'How Brazil acquired Roraima', *HAHR*, 70/2 (1990).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

There is little about Indians in literature on central and north-east Brazil during the eighteenth century. Apart from works already cited, there are reports on abuse of Indians in the north-east, in Virginia Rau and Maria Fernanda Gomes da Silva (eds.), *Os manuscritos do arquivo da Casa de Cadaval respeitantes ao Brasil,* 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1956–8) and in Sebastião da Rocha Pitta, *Historia da America Portugueza* (Lisbon, 1730). An interesting report on Indian policy at the end of the century is José Arouche de Toledo Rendon, 'Memoria sôbre as aldeas de índios da provincia de São Paulo (1798)', *RIHGB,* 4 (1842). On 'model villages' in late-eighteenth-century Goiás, see Marivone Matos Chaim, *Aldeamentos indígenas (Goiás 1749–1811)* (São Paulo, 1983).

Most interest in Indians was in southern Brazil. For the Guaicurú and Paiaguá, who harassed convoys to Cuiabá, see José Sánchez Labrador, *El Paraguay católico,* Manuel Felix de Azara, *Viajes por la América meridional (1809)* (Madrid, 1923), Francisco Rodrigues do Prado, 'História dos índios Cavalleiros ou da nação Guaycurú (1795)', *RIHGB,* 1 (1839), Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Geschichte der Abiponer . . . ,* 3 vols. (Vienna, 1783–4; Eng. trans., London, 1822), Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, 'Parecer sôbre o aldêamento dos índios uaicurús e guanás . . .' (1803), *RIHGB,* 7 and 13 (1845 and 1850) and 'Discripção geographica da provincia de Matto Grosso' (1797), *RIHGB,* 6 (1844). For Bororo and other tribes near Cuiabá, Antonio Pires de Campos, 'Breve noticia . . . do gentio barbaro que ha na derrota . . . do Cuyabá' (1727), *RIHGB,* 25 (1862). A general history of that region is Joseph Barbosa de Sá, 'Relação das povoaçõens do Cuyabá e Matto Grosso . . .' (1775), *ABNRJ,* 23 (1904).

For the War of the Sete Povos, the Treaty of Madrid and the expulsion of the Jesuits, Jacintho Rodrigues da Cunha, 'Diario da expedição de Gomes Freire de Andrade às missões do Uruguai' (1756), *RIHGB,* 16 (1853), Thomaz da Costa Corrêa Rebello e Silva, 'Memoria sobre a Provincia de Missões', *RIHGB,* 2 (1840), Jaime Cortesão, *Do Tratado de Madri à conquista dos Sete Povos (1750–1802)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969) and *Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid,* 8 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1950–9), and works on the Jesuits already cited. Among modern works, Guillermo Kratz, *El tratado hispano-portugués de límites de 1750 y sus consecuencias* (Rome, 1954), deserves mention. A comprehensive treatment of the Indians and the expansion of the frontiers up to the expulsion of the Jesuits is John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London, 1978). Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (ed.), *A história dos indios do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992) is an important recent work of collaborative scholarship: see especially chap-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ters by John Manuel Monteiro on the Guarani, Miguel Menéndez on tribes on the Madeira and Tapajós, and Marta Rosa Amoroso on the Mura.

7. THE GOLD CYCLE, *c.* 1690–1750

Studies on the 'golden age' of Brazil have focused on only one area, Minas Gerais, which was the major gold-producing region of the colonial period. There has been an erroneous assumption that what was true for Minas Gerais was equally applicable to auriferous zones of Bahia, São Paulo, Goiás, Mato Grosso, Pernambuco and Espírito Santo. Readers should be cautious of generalizations based on the Mineiro experience and recognize that differences in topography, chronology, demography, racial composition, political importance, degree of effective crown administration and relative importance within the overall economic context resulted in wide variations among the gold-bearing regions of Brazil. The diamond industry lies beyond the scope of this essay, but an excellent introduction is provided by Augusto de Lima Júnior, *História dos diamantes nas Minas Gerais* (Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, 1945) and Joaquim Felício dos Santos, *Memórias do distrito diamantino da comarca do Serra do Frio,* 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1956).

Many contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of gold strikes, exploitation, consolidation and decline are available. André João Antonil (pseudonym of Antonio Giovanni Andreoni, S.J.) is valuable for the early years in Minas Gerais, although it is doubtful he ever visited the region. Available in a modern edition (edited by Andrée Mansuy, Paris, 1968), his *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (Lisbon, 1711), especially part 3, contains information not available elsewhere. It remains unsurpassed for bringing to the reader the intensity and raw emotions of the initial gold rush. Dr. Caetano Costa Matoso's notes form the basis for the *Relatos sertanistas: Colectânea,* with introduction and notes by Afonso de Escragnolle Taunay (São Paulo, 1953). A commentary on the medical state of the captaincy is Luís Gomes Ferreira's *Erário mineral dividido em doze tratados* (Lisbon, 1735), based on his residence for two decades in Minas Gerais. Charles Boxer has made some of the few studies of the author and his medical treatise: see *The Indiana University Bookman,* 10 (1969), 49–70; 11 (1973), 89–92. The moral tract *Compendio narrativo do peregrino da América* (Lisbon, 1728) of Nuno Marques Pereira, whose literary Maecenas was none other than the *sertanista* Manuel Nunes Viana, contains many

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

insights. See also *Notícias das minas de São Paulo e dos sertões da mesma capitania, 1597–1772*, 3rd ed. (São Paulo, 1954) by the Paulista Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme (1714–77). The intensely spiritual life of the captaincy is revealed in the *Triunfo Eucharistico exemplar da Christandade Lusitana . . .* by Simão Ferreira Machado (Lisbon, 1734). There are numerous memoranda, of which the most penetrating was penned by José João Teixeira Coelho, an eleven-year resident as crown judge: 'Instrucção para o governo da capitania de Minas Gerais (1780)', first published in *RIHGB*, 15/3 (1852), 257–463, reprinted in *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, 8/1–2 (1903), 399–581, and translated in part by E. Bradford Burns (ed.), *A Documentary History of Brazil* (New York, 1966), 155–63. Other commentaries, many of them published in *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* (Ouro Prêto, 1896– ; Belo Horizonte, 1903–), focus on the decline of the economy of Minas Gerais. The best overview is undoubtedly the *Pluto Brasiliensis* of the German mining engineer Baron Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege (Berlin, 1833), portions of which have been published in *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* and in the *História e Memória da Academia Real das Ciencias de Lisboa*, 4/1 (1815), 219–29, as 'De uma memória sobre a decadencia das minas de ouro de Capitania de Minas Gerais e sobre outros objectos montanísticos'. Technical aspects of processing gold and silver were the subject of a monograph by António da Silva, *Directorio practico da prata e ouro, em que se mostram as condiçõens, com que se deveum lavrar estes dous nobilissimos metaes; para que se evitem nas obras, os enganos, e nos artifices os erros* (Lisbon, 1720). For Minas Gerais such accounts may be complemented by those of nineteenth-century travellers; e.g. John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts* (London, 1812), Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien in den Jahren 1817 bis 1820*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1823–31), of which a partial English translation by H. E. Lloyd is available, 2 vols. (London, 1824).

Other mining captaincies have been less favoured than was Minas Gerais by contemporary chroniclers and commentators, although a great deal can be found, for example, in the pages of *RIHGB* and *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Contemporary scholarship has been fascinated by the Brazilian pathfinders, the *bandeirantes*, and the frontier. Myriam Ellis, 'As bandeiras na expansão geográfica do Brasil', in *História geral da civilisação brasileira, I, A época colonial*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960), and her essay in *Revista de História*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de São Paulo, 36 (1958), 429–67, survey the field. For fuller discussion of the literature, see essays III:5 and 6. On the search for gold, more particularly in the period before the so-called golden age, see Myriam Ellis, 'Pesquisas sobre a existência do ouro e da prata no planalto paulista nos séculos XVI e XVII', *Revista de História de São Paulo,* 1 (1950), 51–72; Lucy de Abreu Maffei and Arlinda Rocha Nogueira, 'O ouro na capitania de São Vicente nos séculos XVI e XVII', *Anais do Museu Paulista* (1966); Joaquim José Gomes da Silva, 'História das mais importantes minas de ouro do estado do Espirito Santo', *RIHGB,* 55/2 (1893), 35–58; Madelena da Câmara Fialho, 'Muragem do ouro nas capitanias do norte do Brasil', *Congresso do Mundo português,* 10/2, 2nd section (Lisbon, 1940), 85–94.

Manoel da Silveira Cardozo describes the roller-coaster nature of the crown's hopes in 'Dom Rodrigo de Castel-Blanco and the Brazilian El Dorado, 1673–1682', *TA,* 7/2 (1944), 131–59. Well-publicized but abortive attempts to discover significant mineral deposits brought acute embarrassment to both the king and to Afonso Furtado de Castro do Rio de Mendonça during his governorship of Brazil (1671–5); a manuscript by a mysterious Spainard, Juan Lopes Sierra, acquired by the Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, has been translated into English by Ruth E. Jones and edited with notes by Stuart B. Schwartz under the title *A Governor and His Image in Baroque Brazil* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1979). Manuel Cardozo has surveyed the Minas Gerais phase of the initial gold rush in his classic article 'The Brazilian gold rush', *TA,* 3/2 (1946), 137–60. Routes from São Vicente and Rio de Janeiro are described by Richard P. Momsen, Jr., *Routes Over the Serra do Mar* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964). Several authors have discussed the relationship between Brazilian gold strikes and moves to the west in the first half of the eighteenth century. The most succinct account in English is David M. Davidson, 'How the Brazilian West was won: Freelance and state on the Mato Grosso frontier, 1737–1752', in D. Alden (ed.), *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), 61–106. In Portuguese there is Capistrano de Abreu, *Caminhos antigos e povoamento do Brasil,* 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Monções* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945) and *Caminhos e fronteiras* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957); Afonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *Relatos monçoeiros* (São Paulo, 1953), and his 'Demonstração dos diversos caminhos de que os moradores de S. Paulo se servem para os rios de Cuiabá e Província de Cochiponé', *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 1 (1922), 459–79. Francisco Tavares de Brito's account of travel from Rio de Janeiro to Minas Gerais (Seville, 1732) was republished in *RIHGB,* 230 (1956), 428–41.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Exploration, settlement and consolidation in Goiás occupied Taunay in *Os primeiros anos de Goyaz, 1722–1748* (São Paulo, 1950).

The changing and complex relationships between mining regions and ports have been examined in A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Frontiers in colonial Brazil: Reality, myth and metaphor', in Paula Covington (ed.), *Latin American Frontiers, Borders, and Hinterlands: Research Needs and Resources* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), 26–61, and 'Ports of colonial Brazil', in F. W. Knight and Peggy Liss (eds.), *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1991), 196–239.

Crown government and the fiscal administration of the mining areas has received remarkably little attention from scholars, and what few studies there are have focused on Minas Gerais. The first governor of Minas Gerais and São Paulo was chronicled by Aureliano Leite in his *Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, capitão-general de São Paulo e Minas do Ouro no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1944). Francisco de Assis Carvalho Franco's *História das minas de São Paulo: Administradores gerais e provedores, séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo, 1964) holds useful information: the most penetrating study of a local crown administrator is Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *O Intendente Câmara: Manuel Ferreira da Câmara Bethancourt e Sá, Intendente Geral das Minas e Diamantes, 1764–1835* (São Paulo, 1958). Early minutes of the town council of Vila Rica have been published in the *ABNRJ*, 49 (1927; published in 1936), 199–391, and in *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, 25/2 (1937), 3–166. The struggle between officialdom and *poderosos do sertão* is described by A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Manuel Nunes Viana: Paragon or parasite of empire?', *TA*, 37/4 (1981), 479–98. Augusto de Lima Júnior focused on the establishment of municipalities in Minas Gerais in several of his many works: *A Capitania das Minas Gerais (Origens e formação)*, 3rd ed. (Belo Horizonte, 1965); *As primeiras vilas do ouro* (Belo Horizonte, 1962); *Vila Rica do Ouro Prêto: Síntese histórica e descritiva* (Belo Horizonte, 1957). See also Yves Leloup, *Les villes de Minas Gerais* (Paris, 1970) and A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Local government in Portuguese America: A study in cultural divergence', *CSSH*, 16/2 (1974), 187–231. Francisco Iglesias has placed the events in Minas Gerais in broader context in 'Minas e a imposição do estado no Brasil', *Revista de História de São Paulo*, 50/100 (1974), 257–73.

If the administration of mining areas has not received the attention it deserves, the same cannot be said of the legal aspects of mining, especially the collection of the royal fifths: as to the former, indispensable are Francisco Ignácio Ferreira, *Repertorio juridico do Mineiro: Consolidação alphabetica*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

e chronologica de todas as disposições sobre Minas comprehendendo a legislação antiga e moderna de Portugal e do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1884) and João Pandiá Calógeras, *As minas do Brasil e sua legislação*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1904–5). Information on the fifths is contained in C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969); Kenneth Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750–1808* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973); and Virgílio Nova Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro e o comércio anglo-português* (São Paulo, 1979). Manoel da Silveira Cardozo's early studies are still the best available: 'Alguns subsídios para a história da cobrança do quinto na capitania de Minas Gerais até 1735' reprint from *I Congresso da história da expansão portuguesa no mundo* (Lisbon, 1937); 'The collection of the fifths in Brazil, 1695–1709', *HAHR*, 20/3 (1940), 359–79; 'Os quintos do ouro em Minas Gerais (1721–1732)', *I Congresso do mundo português*, 10/2, 2nd section, (Lisbon, 1940), 117–28. Robert White focused on the capitation tax of 1735 in 'Fiscal policy and royal sovereignty in Minas Gerais', *TA*, 34/2 (1977), 207–29. Cardozo returned to fiscal aspects in his later article, 'Tithes in colonial Minas Gerais', *Catholic Historical Review*, 38/2 (1952), 175–82.

There has been a surge in our knowledge of demography in Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century, especially for the late colonial period. This is attributable to the pioneering work of Iraci del Nero da Costa and colleagues at the Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas da Faculdade de Economia e Administração of the University of São Paulo (IPE–USP). Such studies are data driven, based on detailed archival research, and characterised by sophisticated methodology. For the 'gold cycle' era, relevant are: Iraci del Nero da Costa, *Vila Rica: População (1719–1826)* (São Paulo, 1979), *As populações das Minas Gerais no século XVIII: Um estudo de demografia histórica* (São Paulo, 1978), *Populações mineiras* (São Paulo, 1981), *Minas Gerais: Estruturas populacionais típicas* (São Paulo, 1982) and, with Francisco Vidal Luna, 'Demografia histórica de Minas Gerais no período colonial', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, 58 (1984), 15–62, which is not only a model of effective synthesis but has a useful bibliographical appendix. Vidal Luna blends the quantitative with the qualitative in his articles 'Estrutura da posse de escravos em Minas Gerais (1718)', *História Econômica: Ensaios* (São Paulo, 1983), 15–41, and 'Algumas características dos proprietarios de escravos de Vila Rica', *Estudos Econômicos*, 11 (1981), 151–7.

For the social history of the mining areas, the articles of Donald Ramos are of great interest: 'Marriage and the family in colonial Vila Rica',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

HAHR, 55/2 (1975), 200–25; 'Vila Rica: Profile of a colonial Brazilian urban center', *TA*, 35/4 (1979), 495–526; 'City and country: The family in Minas Gerais, 1804–1838', *Journal of Family History*, 3/4 (1975), 361–75. Concubinage and marriage, based on ecclesiastical and parish records, are discussed in Francisco Vidal Luna and Iraci del Nero da Costa, 'Devassas nas Minas Gerais: Observações sobre casos de concubinato', *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 31 (São Paulo, 1982) and 'Vila Rica: Casamentos de escravos (1727–1826)', *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 56/111 (1977), 195–208. The seamy side of the golden age is revealed by Laura de Mello e Souza, *Desclassificados do ouro: A pobreza mineira no século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982).

A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (London, 1982), 104–27, examines the impact of gold mining on the slave trade and the institution of slavery in the mining regions. Studies of persons of African descent have focussed on two very different areas, namely religious brotherhoods and runaways. The former have been studied by Fritz Teixeira de Salles, *Asociações religiosas no ciclo do ouro* (Belo Horizonte, 1963), Julita Scarano, *Devoção e escravidão: A irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Prêtos no distrito diamantino no século XVIII* (São Paulo, 1976) and 'Black brotherhoods: Integration or contradiction?', *L-BR*, 16/1 (1979), 1–17, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, 'Black and mulatto brotherhoods in colonial Brazil: A study in collective behavior', *HAHR*, 54/4 (1974), 567–602, and Cristina Avila, 'O negro no barroco mineiro – o caso da igreja do Rosário de Ouro Preto', *Revista do Departamento de História* (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte), 6 (1988), 69–76. There is a growing literature on runaways: Waldemar de Almeida Barbosa, *Negros e quilombos em Minas Gerais* (Belo Horizonte, 1972); Carlos Magno Guimarães, 'Os quilombos do século do ouro', *Revista do Departamento de História*, 6 (1988), 15–45 and 'Quilombos e brecha camponesa – Minas Gerais (século XVIII), *Revista do Departamento de História*, 8 (1989), 28–37; Julio Pinto Vallejos, 'Slave control and slave resistance in colonial Minas Gerais, 1700–1750', *JLAS*, 17/1 (1985), 1–34. An interesting dialogue between a sometime miner and a lawyer on the evils of slavery has been translated by C. R. Boxer under the title 'Negro slavery in Brazil: A Portuguese pamphlet (1764)', *Race*, 5/3 (1964), 38–47. A general survey is Aires da Mata Machado Filho, *O Negro e o garimpo em Minas Gerais*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1964).

There are no satisfactory general surveys in English of life in mining communities. Chapters in Boxer's *The Golden Age* on the gold rush to Minas Gerais, the struggle between Paulistas and Emboabas and life in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

eighteenth-century Vila Rica have yet to be bettered. General surveys include: João Camillo de Oliveira Tôrres, *História de Minas Gerais,* 5 vols. (Belo Horizonte, 1962); Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* 5 vols., 9th ed. (São Paulo, 1975), especially vol. 4; Miran de Barros Latif, *As Minas Gerais,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1960). Afonso de Escragnolle Taunay's monograph *Sôb el Rey Nosso Senhor: Aspectos da vida setecentista brasileira, sobretudo em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1923), an earlier version of which appeared in the *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 1 (1922), can still be read with profit. Mário Leite, *Paulistas e mineiros: Plantados de cidades* (São Paulo, 1961) is useful. Much can be gleaned on events in central Minas Gerais from an excellent account of the Diamond District: Aires da Mata Machado Filho, *Arraial do Tijuco. Cidade Diamantina,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1957).

Much ink has been expended on two incidents in the history of Minas Gerais in the first half of the eighteenth century: one so-called war and one revolt. The first was the War of the Emboabas, for which there is adequate material for thought in Manoel da Silveira Cardozo's 'The *Guerra dos Emboabas:* Civil war in Minas Gerais, 1708–1709', *HAHR,* 22/3 (1942), 470–92, and the scholarly chapter in Boxer's *The Golden Age,* together with the references there cited. The second was the 1720 revolt in Vila Rica, also treated by Boxer, and in more detail by P. Xavier da Veiga, *A revolta de 1720 em Vila Rica, discurso histórico-político* (Ouro Prêto, 1898).

If the social history of the mining areas has yet to receive its due from historians, no such neglect has been present in treating the spiritual, intellectual, musical, architectural and artistic vitality of Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century. The *Triunfo eucharístico* (Lisbon, 1734) and the *Aúreo trono episcopal* (Lisbon, 1749) have been reproduced, with introduction and notes by Affonso Avila, under the title *Resíduos seiscentistas em Minas: Textos do século do ouro e as projeções do mundo barroco,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Belo Horizonte, 1967). Diogo de Vasconcelos, *História do bispado de Mariana* (Belo Horizonte, 1935) and Cônego Raimundo Trindade's *Arquidiocese de Mariana: Subsídios para a sua história,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Belo Horizonte, 1953 and 1955) provide an introduction. Intellectual life is addressed in José Ferreira Carrato, *Igreja, iluminismo, e escolas mineiras coloniais (Notas sobre a cultura da decadência mineira setecentista)* (São Paulo, 1968) and his earlier *As Minas Gerais e os primórdios do Caraça* (São Paulo, 1963); Eduardo Frieiro, *O diabo na livraria do cônego* (Belo Horizonte, 1957), and E. Bradford Burns, 'The Enlightenment in two colonial Brazilian libraries', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 25/3 (1964), 430–8. The

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

history of *mentalités* is in its infancy in colonial Brazil. In her *O diabo e a terra de Santa Cruz* (São Paulo, 1987), Laura de Mello de Souza has drawn in part on records of the archdiocese of Mariana, described in her article 'As devassas eclesiásticas da arquidiocese de Mariana: Fonte primária para a história da mentalidades', *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 33 (1984), 65–73, to paint a fascinating picture of popular religion in the colony. Resurrection of a long-forgotten musical tradition in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais is attributable to the unflagging efforts of Francisco Curt Lange. The greatest scholarly interest has focused on baroque art and architecture in Minas Gerais: see essay III:10.

Turning from the social and cultural history of the mining areas to the economic aspect, the reader is better supplied. The mining process is well described by Antonil (*Cultura e opulência,* part 3, ch. 14 and elsewhere); Calógeras, *As Minas,* vol. I, III–32; and Eschwege. To these contemporary accounts can be added Mawe, *Travels,* and Paul Ferrand, *L'or à Minas Gerais (Brésil),* 2 vols. (Belo Horizonte, 1913), especially vol. 1, 21–67. Labour arrangements occupied Lucinda Coutinho de Mello Coelho, 'Mão-de-obra escrava na mineração e tráfico negreiro no Rio de Janeiro', *Anais do VI Simpósio Nacional dos Professores de História, I* (São Paulo, 1973), 449–89. Productivity of slaves in Goiás was studied by Luís Palacin, 'Trabalho escravo: Produção e produtividade nas minas de Goiás', *Anais do VI Simpósio,* I, 443–48. This may be read in conjunction with Francisco Vidal Luna and Iraci del Nero da Costa, 'Algumas características do contingente de cativos em Minas Gerais', *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 29 (1979), 79–97. The debate over slavery and progress is taken up by João Antônio de Paula, 'Os limites da industrialização colonial: A industrialização em Minas Gerais no século XVIII', *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos,* 58 (1984), 63–104. The interstices of economies and society are examined by Francisco Vidal Luna in *Minas Gerais: Escravos e senhores* (São Paulo, 1981), 'Economia e sociedade em Minas Gerais (período colonial)', in *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros,* 24 (1982), 33–40 and, with Iraci del Nero da Costa, *Minas colonial, Economia e sociedade* (São Paulo, 1982). Francisco Iglésias provides an overview in 'Minas Gerais, polo de desenvolvimento no século XVIII', in *Primeira semana de estudos históricos (O Brasil–século XVIII–o século mineiro)* (Ponte Nova, 1972). The importance of females of African descent in the marketing sector is emphasized by Luciano Raposo de Almeida Figueiredo and Ana Maria Bandeira de Mello, 'Quitandas e quitutes: Um estudo sobre rebeldia e transgressão femininas numa sociedade colonial', in *Cadernos de Pesquisa,* 54 (1985), 50–61, and Liana Maria

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Reis, 'Mulheres de ouro: As negras de tabuleiro nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII', *Revista do Departamento de História* (UFMG), 8 (1989), 72–85.

Estimates as to actual production vary enormously: see Eschwege; Calógeras; Roberto C. Simonsen, *História económica do Brasil, 1500–1820,* 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1962); Visconde de Carnaxide, *O Brasil na administração pombalina* (São Paulo, 1940); Adolph G. Soetbeer, *Edelmetall-Produktion and Werth-verhältnis zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerikas bis zur Gegenwart* (Gotha, 1819). Revenue yields for Minas Gerais are contained in appendices to Boxer, *The Golden Age* and Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies.* The most recent study of the subject is Noya Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro,* 39–117. Numismatists may wish to consult A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descripção geral e histórica da moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal,* 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1874–80); K. Prober, *Catálogo das moedas brasileiras* (São Paulo, 1966); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et monnaies au Portugal, 1750–1850* (Paris, 1955); Alvaro de Salles Oliveira, *Moedas do Brasil: I. Moedas e barras de ouro: Elementos para o seu estudo* (São Paulo, 1944); Severino Sombra, *História monetária do Brasil colonial: Repertório com introdução, notas e carta monetária,* enlarged ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1938); Alvaro da Veiga Coimbra, *Noções de numismática brasileira – Brasil colônia* and *Noções de numismática brasileira – Brasil independente,* reprints 18 and 21 in the series Coleção da Revista de História (São Paulo, 1959, 1960).

The economies and commerce of the mining areas have been the subjects of fewer studies. Problems of supply lines and the domestic economy were well described by Antonil and, more recently, by the well-documented studies of Myriam Ellis, *Contribuição ao estudo do abastecimento das áreas mineradoras do Brasil no século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961) and Mafalda P. Zemella, *O abastecimento da capitania das Minas Gerais no século XVIII* (São Paulo, 1951). The cattle industry is mentioned by Rollie E. Poppino, 'Cattle industry in colonial Brazil', *Mid-America,* 31/4 (1949), 219–47. The importance of muleteers is described by Basílio de Magalhães, 'The pack trains of Minas-Gerais', *Travel in Brazil,* 2/4 (1942), 1–7, 33. The most detailed study of any single commercial activity is by Miguel Costa Filho, *A cana-de-açúcar em Minas Gerais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963).

General studies of the Brazilian economy include sections on mining: the reader is referred to the still useful *Obras económicas* of J. J. da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho, available in a modern edition (São Paulo, 1966) edited by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda; Roberto Simonsen, *História económica;* Caio Prado Júnior, *História económica do Brasil,* 8th ed. (São Paulo, 1963); P.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Pereira dos Reis, *O colonialismo português e a conjuração mineira* (São Paulo, 1964). There is extensive literature on the Atlantic trade in gold and its impact on Portugal and on Anglo–Portuguese relations; see essays III:2 and III:3.

8. LATE COLONIAL BRAZIL, 1750–1808

Volume 6 of Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal,* 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1977–90) is a conservative view of the period and includes extensive bibliographical notes. Other general histories of the period, such as Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal, IV (1580–1816)* (Coimbra, 1926), and Damião Peres (ed.), *História de Portugal,* 8 vols. (Barcelos, 1928–38), are badly dated but can still be profitably consulted for some subjects. Although uneven in quality, there are many informative essays in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de história de Portugal,* 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1962–71). For more specialized studies of Portugal under Pombal and his successors, see essay III:3.

For nearly a century and a half the classic history of colonial Brazil has been Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil,* 9th ed., 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1975). While it remains worth consulting because of the sources utilized by the author and added to by subsequent editors, it is unsatisfactory as a synthesis for this period because of its defective organization. More readable is the fourth volume of Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil,* 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1959), but the treatment of the post-1750 years in Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira,* I, *A época colonial,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960), is woefully incomplete and disappointing. Far superior, though encyclopaedic, is Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva et al., *O império luso-brasileiro, 1750–1822,* vol. 8 of Joel Serrão and A. H. Oliveira Marques (eds.), *Nova história da expansão portuguêsa* (Lisbon, 1986). The major interpretive analysis remains Caio Prado Júnior, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil,* translated by Suzette Macedo (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), first published in Portuguese more than four decades ago.

On peninsular aspects of the Luso–Brazilian economic relationship during this period, the fleet system, and the Pombaline monopoly companies, again see essay III:3. On the emergence of Rio de Janeiro as Brazil's chief entrepôt during this period, see Corcino Madeiros dos Santos, *Relações comerciais do Rio de Janeiro com Lisboa (1763–1808)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Rudolph William Bauss's industriously prepared 'Rio de Janeiro: The rise of late-colonial Brazil's dominant emporium, 1777–1808' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Tulane University, 1977). Additional details may be found in the opening chapter of Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo's encyclopaedic *História do Rio de Janeiro (Do capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro)*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978), but we still await comparable studies of other Brazilian seaports. See, however, Rudy Bauss, 'Rio Grande do Sul in the Portuguese empire: The formative years, 1777–1808,' *TA*, 39/4 (1983), 519–35.

On the slave trade, see essay III:2 and, for the late eighteenth century, Jean Mettas, 'La traite portugaise en haute Guinée, 1758–1797: Problèmes et méthodes', *Journal of African History*, 16/3 (1975), 343–63; and J. C. Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic slave trade: Statistical evidence on causality', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11/3 (1981), 385–423, which demonstrate what the archives and modern methodologies are able to tell us. For the role of the slave trade in spurring recurring smallpox epidemics in colonial Brazil, see D. Alden and Joseph C. Miller, 'Unwanted cargoes: The origins and dissemination of smallpox via the slave trade from Africa to Brazil, c. 1560–1830,' in Kenneth F. Kiple (ed.), *The African Exchange: Toward a Biological History of Black People* (Durham, N.C., 1987), 35–109. Joseph C. Miller (compiler), *Slavery: A Comparative Teaching Bibliography* (Waltham, Mass., 1977), and continuing supplements, report on most of the known literature concerning this vast topic.

On the treatment of slaves in colonial Brazil and the socio-economic status of emancipated slaves, especially mulattoes, which warrants further investigation, see essay III:5.

Apart from Caio Prado Júnior's incisive essays in *Colonial Background*, no reliable history of Brazil's agricultural development during these years exists. Luiz Amaral, *História geral da agricultura brasileira*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1958), remains standard but is badly digested and does not reflect newer, archive-based findings. Though primarily concerned with the nineteenth century, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *História político-administrativa da agricultura brasileira, 1808–1889* (Brasília, 1980) is useful for its bibliography and for some of its details.

In spite of their vital importance to the Brazilian diet, few studies exist concerning the beginnings of wheat or manioc cultivation and trade. But see Corcino Medeiros dos Santos, *Economia e sociedade de Rio Grande do Sul, século xviii* (São Paulo, 1984) for one regional study of the origins of wheat production in Brazil. We are better served with respect to the tobacco

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

industry. Its origins have been deftly traced by Rae Jean Flory, 'Bahian society in the mid-colonial period: The sugar planters, tobacco growers, merchants, and artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680–1725' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1978), chap. 5, and its further development analyzed by Catherine Lugar, 'The Portuguese tobacco trade and tobacco growers of Bahia in the late colonial period', in D. Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977), 26–70; see also José Roberto do Amaral Lapa (ed.), 'O tabaco brasileiro no século xviii (anotações aos estudos sobre o tobaco de Joaquim de Amorim Castro)', *Studia*, 29 (1970), 57–144, reprinted in *Economia colonial* (São Paulo, 1973), 141–230. Geancarlo Belotte, 'Le tabac brésilien aux xviii[e] siécle' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Paris–Nanterre, 1973), organizes most of the known statistics but is otherwise unimpressive.

The standard history of the revival of the sugar industry, at least in Bahia, is Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). We await comparable regional studies for the industry's revitalization in Pernambuco and in Rio de Janeiro, but for the latter consult Alberto Lamego's chaotically organized but indispensable *A terra Goitacá a luz de documentos inéditos*, 8 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1913–47) for the spectacular rise of sugar in the Campos region. Maria Teresa Schorer Petrone, *A lavoura canavieira em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1968) is a model study.

The literature on other aspects of the agricultural renaissance of the late eighteenth century remains fragmentary. Studies of the cotton industry in Pernambuco and Maranhão are badly needed. Some features of the cattle industry in the interior of the north-east have been explored by Luiz R. B. Mott in several essays, including 'Fazendas de gado do Piauí (1697–1762 [1772])', *Anais do VIII Simpósio Nacional dos Professores Universitários de História* (São Paulo, 1976), but no comparable account of stock raising for Minas Gerais has been published. For Rio Grande do Sul, see Madeiros dos Santos, cited above, and Mário José Maestri Filho, *O escravo no Rio Grande do Sul: A charqueada e a genese do escravismo gaúcho* (Porto Alegre, 1984). The beginnings of rice cultivation have been examined by D. Alden, 'Manuel Luís Vieira: An entrepreneur in Rio de Janeiro during Brazil's agricultural renaissance', *HAHR*, 34/4 (1959), 521–37. The only study of the production of dyestuffs in this period is D. Alden, 'The growth and decline of indigo production in colonial Brazil: A study in comparative economic history', *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965), 35–60. Surpris-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ingly, no adequate history of the beginnings of Brazilian coffee has appeared, but see Afonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *História do café no Brasil,* II (Rio de Janeiro, 1939). For the development of cacao, see D. Alden, 'The significance of cacao production in the Amazon in the late colonial period', American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings,* 120/2 (April 1976). Myriam Ellis, *O monopólio do sal no estado do Brasil (1631–1801)* (São Paulo, 1955) remains unsurpassed.

The economic decline of the interior during this period has never been adequately assessed. A masterful account of efforts by royal and private enterprise to link the back-country with the seacoast is David M. Davidson, 'Rivers and empire: The Madeira route and the incorporation of the Brazilian far west, 1737–1808' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1970), of which the only published excerpt is 'How the Brazilian West was won: Freelance and state on the Mato Grosso frontier, 1737–1752,' in D. Alden (ed.), *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), 61–106. The transportation and marketing problems of the backlands at this time warrant systematic explication.

Another vital economic activity that scholars have ignored is colonial Brazil's coastal fishing industry. Only whaling has received attention: see Myriam Ellis, *Aspectos da pesca da baleia no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1958), and D. Alden, 'Yankee sperm whalers in Brazilian waters, and the decline of the Portuguese whale fishery (1773–1801)', *TA,* 20/1 (1964), 267–88.

We will have a far better understanding of how particular branches of the Brazilian economy fared during this period when we possess adequate price histories for major markets. Three pioneering studies are Harold B. Johnson, Jr., 'A preliminary inquiry into money, prices, and wages in Rio de Janeiro, 1763–1823,' in Alden, *Colonial Roots,* 231–83; Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, 'Conjuncture et société au Brésil à la veille de la révolution des alfaiates – Bahia 1798', *Cahiers des Amériques Latines,* 5 (1970), 33–53; and D. Alden, 'Price movements in Brazil before, during, and after the gold boom with special reference to the Salvador market, 1670–1769,' in Lyman Johnson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), *Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), 335–71.

Colonial adminstration during this period is discussed in detail in D. Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), and more briefly by Caio Prado Júnior in the final chapter of *Colonial Background.*

For a favourable appraisal of the religious policy of the Pombaline

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

regime, see Henrique Schaefer, *Historia de Portugal,* 5 (Porto, 1899), 208–13; see also Fortunato de Almeida, *História da igreja em Portugal,* new ed. by Damião Peres, vol. 3 (Porto, 1970), which is a mine of useful data, and Thales de Azevedo, *Igreja e estado em tensão e crise* (São Paulo, 1978). No one is likely to improve significantly upon the meticulously researched, carefully organized, forcefully presented works by Serafim Leite, S.J. His *História da Companhia de Jesús no Brasil,* 10 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1938–50) is one of the major works ever produced on Brazil's colonial experience and appears in a condensed version as *Suma histórica da Companhia de Jesús no Brasil . . . 1549–1760* (Lisbon, 1965). See also D. Alden, "Economic aspects of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil: A preliminary report', in Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (eds.), *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 25–65. A recent study of the role of parish priests is Eugenio de Andrade Veiga, *Os parocos no Brasil no período colonial, 1500–1822* (Salvador, Brazil, 1977). The cultural role of the church in the interior is analysed by José Ferreira Carrato, *Igreja, iluminismo e escolas mineiras coloniais* (São Paulo, 1968), while the ubiquitous black brotherhoods have been restudied by Patricia A. Mulvey, 'Black brothers and sisters: Membership in the black lay brotherhoods of colonial Brazil', *L-BR,* 17/2 (1980), 253–79. For additional bibliography, see essays III:7 and III:9.

Without question the best serial runs of demographic evidence for this period pertain to São Paulo. They have been analysed closely in Maria Luiza Marcílio, *La ville de São Paulo, 1750–1850: Peuplement et population* (Rouen, 1968), and Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, *Household Economy and Urban Development: São Paulo, 1765–1836* (Boulder, Colo., 1986). The latter particularly demonstrates what can be done with adequate resources, sound methodology and access to computer time. See also Kuznesof, 'The role of the female-headed household in Brazilian modernization: São Paulo 1765 to 1836', *Journal of Social History,* 13 (1980), 589–613, and 'The role of merchants in the economic development of São Paulo, 1765–*c.* 1850', *HAHR,* 60/4 (1980), 571–92. While demographic materials are less exensive for other parts of Brazil, much remains in Brazilian and Portuguese archives to challenge future scholars. See also essay III:4.

The opening chapter of Lobo's *História do Rio de Janeiro* helps to fill the gap that exists concerning the urban history of that city during this period. We have better coverage for Bahian society and the city of Salvador than we do for any other part of Brazil during the eighteenth

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and early nineteenth centuries. In addition to the outstanding dissertation by Flory, there is David Grant Smith and Rae Jean Flory, 'Bahian merchants and planters in the seventeeth and early eighteenth centuries', *HAHR,* 58/4 (1978), 571–94; John Norman Kennedy's 'Bahian elites, 1750–1822', *HAHR,* 53/3 (1973), 415–39; and two well-researched doctoral dissertations that span the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: F. W. O. Morton, 'The conservative revolution of independence, Bahia 1790–1840' (Oxford, 1974), the first half of which concerns the years before 1808, and Catherine Lugar, 'The merchant community of Salvador, Bahia 1780–1830' (State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1980). Still valuable is Thales de Azevedo, *Povoamento da cidade de Salvador,* 3rd ed. (Bahia, 1968). Would that there were studies for other major cities comparable to Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso's sophisticated, carefully researched and lucidly presented *Bahia: A cidade do Salvador e seu mercado no século XIX* (Salvador, 1978), portions of which concern the late colonial period. The curious emergence of Brazilian Levittowns, i.e., planned, model communities, in the Amazon, the far west and the south-east, mostly established between 1716 and 1775, is examined by Roberta Marx Delson, *New Towns for Colonial Brazil* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979). Still useful is Paulo F. Santos, 'Formação de cidades no Brasil colonial', V Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, *Actas,* 5 (Coimbra, 1968), 7–116.

For a detailed analysis that places the conspiracies of this period within a broad context, see Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal 1750–1808* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973), which is mainly concerned with the Mineiro plot. David Higgs, 'Unbelief and politics in Rio de Janeiro during the 1790s,' *L-BR,* 21/1 (1984), 13–34, focusses on the mindsets of key socio-economic components of Rio de Janeiro.

The Bahian 'tailor's revolt' has inspired several fascinating studies: Afonso Ruy, *A primeira revolução social brasileira,* 2nd ed. (Bahia, 1951); Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *Presença francesca no movimento democrático baiano de 1798* (Salvador, 1969); and Luis Henrique Dias Tavares, *História da sedição intentada na Bahia em 1798 ('A conspiração dos alfaiates')* (São Paulo, 1975) are the major Brazilian studies, but the outstanding chapter in Morton's thesis should not be missed. In addition to Buarque de Holanda's fine introduction to the *Obras econômicas* of J. J. da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho, see E. Bradford Burns, 'The role of Azeredo Coutinho in the enlightenment of Brazil', *HAHR,* 44/2 (1964), 145–60, and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Manoel Cardozo, 'Azeredo Coutinho and the intellectual ferment of his times', in Keith and Edwards, *Conflicts and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, 72–112.

9. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Two volumes of the *História da igreja no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1977 and 1980) have been published. The first contains two studies on the colonial period: E. Hoornaert, 'A evangelização e a cristiandade durante o primeiro período colonial', and R. Azzi, 'A instituição eclesiástica durante o primeiro período colonial'. Equally important are the relevant sections of the comprehensive and well-documented study by Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Göttingen, 1978).

Certain sources are of particular importance to an understanding of the basic themes of church history in Brazil between 1500 and 1800: Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des Pères Capucins de l'Ile de Maragnon et terres circonvoisines* (Paris, 1614; Rio de Janeiro, 1975); João Daniel, 'Tesouro descoberto do máximo rio Amazonas, 1757–1776', *ABNRJ*, 2 vols. (1976); Miguel Garcia, 'Carta ao Pe. Geral Aquiviva, da Bahia: Sobre graus e ressaibos da universidade do colégio da Bahia; sobre a liberdade dos índios, de que era defensor, tornando-se-lhe intoleráves as confissões dos moradores, 1583', excerpts in Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1938–50), vol. 1, 98; vol. 2, 227, 440; Gonçalo Leite, 'Carta ao Pe. Geral contra as homicidas e roubadores da liberdade dos índios do Brasil' (Lisboa, 1586), excerpts in *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 2, 229; Martin de Nantes, 'Relation succinte de la mission du père Martin de Nantes, predicateur capucin, missionaire apostolique dans le Brésil, parmi les indiens appellés Cariris' (Quimper, 1705) (Rio de Janeiro, 1979); Manuel da Nóbrega, 'Diálogo sobre a conversão do Gentio, 1556–1557', in Serafim Leite, *Monumentae Brasiliae*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1956–60), 2, 317–44; Dom Sebastião Monteiro da Vide, 'Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia, propostas e aceitas em o Sinodo diocesano que o dito Senhor celebrou em 12 de junho de 1707' (Lisboa, 1719; Coimbra, 1720; São Paulo, 1853); António Vieira, 'Informação que por ordem do Conselho Ultramarino deu sobre as coisas do Maranhão ao mesmo Conselho o Padre António Vieira' (Lisbon, 1678), in *RIHGB*, 72/1 (1910), 72; 'Regulamento das aldeias do Pará e Maranhão ou "visita" do P. António Vieira',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, vol. 4, 106–24. A useful guide is J. C. de Macedo Soares, 'Fontes da história da Igreja Católica no Brasil', *RIHGB,* 220 (1952), 7–338.

With regard to the process of evangelization, the Jesuit missionary movement has been recorded by Serafim Leite in the *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* and *Monumentae Brasiliae* already cited. For the missionary activities of other religious orders we have only partial studies. For the Franciscans, there is V. Willeke, *Missões franciscanas no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1974); for the Carmelites, A. Prat, *Notas históricas sobre as missões carmelitas* (Recife, 1940), and M. M. Wermers, 'O Estabelecimento das missões carmelitanas no Rio Negro e no Solimões, 1695–1711', in *V Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso–Brasileiros* (Coimbra, 1965); for the Capuchins, M. Nembro, *Storia dell'attività missionária dei Minori Cappuccini nel Brasile, 1538–1889* (Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Cappuccinorum, Rome, 1958) and P. V. Regni, *Os Capuchinhos na Bahia,* 3 vols. (Salvador, Brazil, 1988).; for the Benedictines, J. G. de Luna, *Os monges beneditinos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974); for the Oratorians, A. Rupert, 'A ação missionária do oratório no Brasil e a propaganda' in *S.C. de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 1622–1972* (Rome, 1972), vol. 2, 1121–30. An important general study is J. O. Beozzo, *Leis e regimentos das missões* (São Paulo, 1983). On the expulsion of the Jesuits, besides the work of Serafim Leite, see D. Alden, 'Economic aspects of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil: A preliminary report', in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society,* edited by Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 25–65.

The *Padroado* has been studied by Charles M. de Witte in 'Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* 48 (1953), 683–718. A good examination of the effect of the *Padroado* on church finances is O. de Oliveira, *Os dízimos eclesiásticos do Brasil nos períodos da colônia e do império* (Belo Horizonte, 1964). However, the best study is still the famous 'Introduction' to Cândido Mendes de Almeida's *Direito civil eclesiástico brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1860–73).

On the question of the New Christians, see, for Portugal, A. Saraiva, *Inquisição e cristãos-novos* (Oporto, 1969) and, for Brazil, A. Novinsky, *Cristãos-novos na Bahia* (São Paulo, 1972). A study written at the beginning of the century shows how the system of repression worked, even against the missionaries: Barão de Studart, 'O Padre Martin de Nantes e o Coronel Dias d'Avila', *Revista da Academia Cearense,* 7 (1902), 41–55.

The Indian policy of the church has been comprehensively studied by

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

John Hemming in *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London, 1978). See also the outstanding study by C. de A. Moreira Neto, *Indios da Amazônia: De maioria à minoria (1750–1850)* (Petrópolis, 1988). Church policy towards the blacks is mentioned at various points in Pierre Verger's voluminous study, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le golfe de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1968). See also A. J. Saraiva, 'Le Père Antoine Vieira SJ et la question de l'esclavage des noirs au XVIIe siècle', *AESC* (1967).

The life and thought of António Vieira, the most famous Jesuit of the period, has been the subject of two interesting studies: M. Haubert, *L'Église et la défense des 'sauvages'* (Brussels, 1964), and R. Cantel, *Prophétisme et messianisme dans l'oeuvre d'António Vieira* (Paris, 1960). José Honório Rodrigues's lucid article on 'Vieira, doutrinador do colonialismo português' is reprinted in his *História e historiografia* (Petrópolis, 1970), 34–55. See also essay III:6.

There are a number of good monographs on the religious brotherhoods. See, for example, F. Teixeira de Salles, *Associações religiosas no ciclo de ouro* (Belo Horizonte, 1963). Also, J. Scarano, *Devoção e escravidão: A Irmandade de N.S. do Rosário dos Pretos no distrito diamantino no século XVIII* (São Paulo, 1976). On the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, there is the study by C. B. Ott, *A Santa Casa de Misericórdia da cidade do Salvador* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960) and A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists* (London, 1968). On *beatos* and *beatas,* see D. Monteiro, *Os errantes do novo século* (São Paulo, 1974); H. Fragoso, 'As Beatas do Padre Ibiapina: Uma forma de vida religiosa para os sertões do Nordeste', in E. Hoornaert (ed.), *Padre Ibiapina e a igreja dos pobres* (São Paulo, 1984), 85–106; R. Azzi, 'Ermitães e Irmãos: Uma forma de vida religiosa no Brasil antigo', *Convergência,* 9 (1976), 370–83 and 430–41; E. Hoornaert, 'De Beatas a Freiras', in R. Azzi (ed.), *A vida religiosa no Brasil: Enfoques históricos* (São Paulo, 1983), 61–73; S. V. da Silva (ed.), *A Igreja e o contrôle social nos sertões nordestinos* (São Paulo, 1988), especially the first two chapters; C. da Costa e Silva, *Roteiro de vida e de morte* (São Paulo, 1982).

On popular Christianity, see J. Scarano, *Devoção e escravidão* (São Paulo, 1976); C. C. Boschi, *Os leigos e o poder* (São Paulo, 1986); Laura de Mello e Souza, *O diabo e a terra de Santz Cruz* (São Paulo, 1986); R. Azzi, *O catolicismo popular no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1978); C. Rodrigues Brandão, *Sacerdotes de Viola* (Petrópolis, 1981) and *Os deuses do povo* (São Paulo, 1980); E. Galvão, *Santos e visagens* (São Paulo, 1976); and I. Alves, *O carnaval devoto* (Petrópolis, 1980).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

On African religions and Christianity, see Associação Ecuménica de Teólogos do Terceiro Mundo, *Identidade negra e religião* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986); A. A. da Silva, 'A antiga e a nova evangelização vistas pelos afro-americanos', in P. Suess (ed.), *Queimadura e semeadura* (Petrópolis, 1988), 203–18; J. O. Beozzo, 'As Américas negras e a história da Igreja', in *Escravidão negra e a história da igreja na América Latina* (Petrópolis, 1987), 61 ff; J. M. Lima Mira, *A evangelização do negro no período colonial brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1983); E. Hoornaert, 'A Leitura da bíblia em relação à escravidão negra no Brasil colônia', in *Estudos Bíblicos,* 17 (1988), 11–29.

On indigenous cultures and Christianity, see in particular three collections of essays: *Inculturação e libertação* (São Paulo, 1986), Paulo Suess (ed.), *Queimadura e semeadura,* and *O rosto índio de Deus* (Petrópolis, 1989). See also E. Hoornaert (ed.), *Das reduções latino-americanas às lutas indígenas atuais* (São Paulo, 1982) and the various writings of Paulo Suess.

On religious sincretism, see two articles by J. Comblin: 'Situação histórica do catolicismo no Brasil', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* (1966), 574–601 and 'Tipologia do catolicismo no Brasil', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* (1968), 46–73. See also Comblin's essay 'Sujeitos e horizontes novos', in *Queimadura e semeadura,* cited above, and two contributions by E. Hoornaert: *Formação do catolicismo brasileiro, 1500–1800* (Petrópolis, 1974) and 'A evangelização segundo a tradição guadalupana', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* (1974), 524–5.

Finally, two collections of essays on the history of religious life in Brazil edited by R. Azzi deserve mention: *A vida religiosa no Brasil: Enfoques históricos* (São Paulo, 1983) and *Os religiosos no Brasil: Enfoques históricos* (São Paulo, 1986).

10. ARCHITECTURE AND ART

The extensive critical literature now available to scholars covering most aspects of Brazilian colonial architecture and art dates back to 1937, when the first numbers appeared of the *Revista* and *Publicaçãoes* of the Serviço do Património Histórico e Artístico Nacional, Ministério da Educação e Cultura (SPHAN). These two series have provided the solid basis of documentation and critical analysis which has opened up the subject for serious study. In the same year, 1937, there was published the first important general survey of Brazilian colonial architecture: Juan Giuria,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'La riqueza arquitectónica de algunas ciudades del Brasil', *Revista de la Sociedad Amigos de la Arqueología,* 8 (Montevideo, 1937).

General studies of the colonial period that are worthy of note include: Robert C. Smith, 'The arts in Brazil', in H. V. Livermore (ed.), *Portugal and Brazil* (Oxford, 1953); Germain Bazin, *L'architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1956–8); A. C. da Silva Telles, *Atlas dos monumentos históricos e artísticos do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); Benedito de L. Toledo, 'A arte no Brasil do século XVI ao início do século XIX', in *História geral da arte no Brasil, I* (São Paulo, 1983); and John Bury, *Arquitectura e arte no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1990). The latter reprints in Portuguese translation (edited by Myriam Andrade Ribeiro de Oliveira, with illustrations, including over eighty architectural drawings and engravings) nine essays on the art and architecture of Brazil, Portugal, Portuguese India and China during the period 1500–1800. On eighteenth-century religious sculpture and painting throughout Brazil, see Myriam A. Ribeiro, 'A arquitetura e as artes plásticas no século XVIII brasileiro', in *Gávea: Revista de Historia da Arte* 2 (1985). Several valuable articles have been published in the Belo Horizonte periodical *Revista Barroco,* notably Hugo M. Segawa, 'Os jardins públicos no período colonial e o passeio público do Rio de Janeiro', a pioneer study of early gardens, in vol. 12 (1983), and Myriam A. Ribeiro, 'Escultura colonial brasileira', in vol. 13 (1984–5). An important doctoral thesis is Cleide Santos Costa Biancardi, 'Formas e funções das sacristías no Brasil-colônia' (Escola de Comunicações e Artes, University of São Paulo, 1988).

Among surveys limited to particular areas the following are especially valuable: for Bahia, Edgard de Cerqueira Falcão, *Relíquias da Bahia* (São Paulo, 1940), with very good illustrations, and R. C. Smith, *Arquitectura colonial bahiana* (Bahia, 1951), containing some useful special studies; for Bahia, Pernambuco and Paraíba, Clarival do Prado Valladares, *Aspectos da arte religiosa no Brasil: Bahia, Pernambuco, Paraíba* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), with very good illustrations; for the northeast of Brazil from Maranhão to Bahia, Clarival do Prado Valladares, *Nordeste histórico e monumental,* 4 vols. (Bahia, 1982–4), a magnificently illustrated record of colonial architecture and art; for Minas Gerais (which has attracted most scholarly attention), see R. C. Smith, 'The colonial architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil', *Art Bulletin,* 21 (1939); E. de C. Falcão, *Relíquias da Terra do Ouro* (São Paulo, 1946; 2nd ed., 1958), with very good illustrations; Sylvio de Vasconcellos and Renée Lefevre, *Minas, cidades barrocas* (São Paulo, 1968; 2nd ed., 1977); Paulo F. Santos, *Subsídios para o estudo da arquitetura religiosa em Ouro Prêto* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), with measured ground plans,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

elevations and sections; Judith Martins, *Dicionário de artistas e artífices dos séculos XVIII e XIX em Minas Gerais'* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974); Myriam A. Ribeiro, 'A pintura da perspectiva em Minas colonial, ciclo rococo', *Revista Barroco,* 12 (1983); and Paulo K. Corrêa Mourão, *As igrejas setecentistas de Minas* (Belo Horizonte, 1986). Myriam A. Ribeiro, 'O rococo religioso em Minas Gerais' (Université Catholique de Louvain, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1990) is an important unpublished doctoral thesis. Another original contributor to Mineiro art historical studies is Lygia Martins Costa, whose notable examination in depth of the decoration of the chancel of the *matriz* of São João d'El Rei (1989) will, it is hoped, soon be published. Her analytical acumen was already well demonstrated in an article on o Aleijadinho's *retablos* in the *Revista do Patrimonio,* 18 (1978).

In addition to the well-documented monographs on particular churches published in the two SPHAN series, other important studies are: Pedro Sinzig, 'Maravilhas da religião e da arte na igreja e no convento de São Francisco da Bahia', *RIHGB,* 165 (1932; pub. separately 1933); R. C. Smith, 'Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia and the Joanine style in Brazil', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 14 (1956); R. C. Smith, 'Santo António do Recife', *Anuário do Museu Imperial,* 7 (1946); Augusto Carlos da Silva Telles, *Nossa Senhora da Glória do Outeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969); Mario Barata, *Igreja da Ordem Terceira da Penitência do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); and R. C. Smith, *Congonhas do Campo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973).

The art and architecture associated with particular religious orders has attracted some specialized studies. Among those on the Jesuits the following deserve notice: P. F. Santos, *O barroco e o jesuítico na arquitetura do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), and Serafim Leite, *Artes e ofícios dos Jesuítas no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1953). For the Benedictines there are the works of Clemente Maria de Silva Nigra, in particular *Frei Bernardo de São Bento* (Salvador, 1950) and *Os dois escultores Frei Agostino da Piedade, Frei Agostino de Jesus e o arquiteto Frei Macário de São João* (Salvador, 1971).

Among individual artists most attention has naturally been paid to o Aleijadinho. The first biography by Rodrigo José Ferreira Brêtas, *Traços biográficos relativos ao finado António Francisco Lisboa, o Aleijadinho* (1858), was republished by SPHAN in 1951. Germain Bazin's monograph *Aleijadinho et la sculpture baroque au Brésil* (Paris, 1963) has not been superseded, but Sylvio de Vasconcellos, *Vida e obra de António Francisco Lisboa, o Aleijadinho* (São Paulo, 1979) and Myriam A. Ribeiro, *O Aleijadinho, passos e profetas* (Belo Horizonte, 1984) are also valuable.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

On civil architecture the outstanding work remains José Wasth Rodrigues, *Documentário arquitectónico relativo à antiga construção civil no Brasil,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1975). There are a few studies of individual buildings in the SPHAN publications; and to these should be added R. C. Smith, 'A Brazilian merchants' exchange', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1951). On military architecture the most detailed examination of a representative group of fortresses is Gilberto Ferrez, *Rio de Janeiro e a defesa do seu porto, 1550–1800,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1972). Luís Silveira, *Ensaio de iconografia das cidades portuguêsas do ultramar,* vol. 4 (Lisbon, 1957) provides basic documentation on Portuguese colonial cities, while Sylvio de Vasconcellos, *Vila Rica: Formação e desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951; 3rd ed., São Paulo, 1977) examines one important colonial town in some depth.

The definitive work on *azulejos* is J. M. dos Santos Simões, *Azulejaria portuguêsa no Brasil (1500–1822)* (Lisbon, 1965). The famous *azulejos* in the Franciscan convent at Salvador are well illustrated in Silvanisio Pinheiro, *Azulejos do convento de São Francisco da Bahia* (Salvador, 1951).

Knowledge of developments in the mother country is indispensable as background for the appreciation of the art and architecture of colonial Brazil. Particularly useful for this purpose are the Portuguese studies of R. C. Smith, notably: 'João Federico Ludovice', *The Art Bulletin,* 18 (1936), *A talha em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1962), *Nicolau Nasoni* (Lisbon, 1967), *The Art of Portugal 1500–1800* (London, 1968), *Frei José de Santo António Vilaça,* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1972) and *André Soares* (Lisbon, 1973).

On the art of the seventeenth-century Dutch colony in northeast Brazil two studies that deserve mention are: Joaquim de Sousa Leão, *Frans Post 1612–1680* (Amsterdam, 1973), and José L. Mota Menezes, 'O século XVII e o Brasil holandês', in *História geral da arte no Brasil* I (São Paulo, 1983). The standard monograph on Post remains Erik Larsen, *Frans Post: Interprète du Brésil* (Amsterdam and Rio de Janeiro, 1962).

Finally, some valuable evidence on colonial art and architecture is contained in records, graphic and literary, made by early visitors to independent Brazil. The most important evidence can be found in Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil,* 2 vols. (London, 1869). Burton took a lively interest in colonial churches, some of which were still being completed when he visited them.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

IV

THE INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA

1. THE ORIGINS OF SPANISH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Most of the documentary compilations and narrative sources throw more light on the course of independence than on its origins, but some data on the latter will be found in *Biblioteca de Mayo,* 17 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960–3); *Archivo del General Miranda,* 24 vols. (Caracas, 1929–50); *Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia,* 82 vols. (Caracas, 1960–6); *Colección documental de la independencia del Perú,* 30 vols. (Lima, 1971). Mexico and northern South America attracted the attention of a distinguished contemporary observer, Alexander von Humboldt, whose *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España,* ed. Juan A. Ortega y Medina (Mexico, D.F., 1966), and *Viaje a las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente,* 5 vols. (Caracas, 1956) illuminate conditions in the late colonial period. For an example of liberal economic writings in Buenos Aires, see Manuel Belgrano, *Escritos económicos,* ed. Gregorio Weinberg (Buenos Aires, 1954).

The Spanish background has a large bibliography, of which the following is a small selection: Gonzalo Anes, *El antiguo régimen: Los Borbones,* 5th ed. (Madrid, 1981); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y estado en el siglo XVIII español* (Madrid, 1981); John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700–1808* (Oxford, 1989). The Enlightenment can be studied in Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1958), and its impact in America in R. J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763–1821)* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1958); see also M. L. Pérez Marchand, *Dos etapas ideológicas del siglo XVIII en México a través de los papeles de la Inquisición* (Mexico, D.F., 1945). José Carlos Chiaramonte (ed.), *Pensamiento de la*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ilustración: Economía y sociedad iberoamericanas en el siglo XVIII (Caracas, 1979), provides a survey of the state of the subject and a selection of primary texts. On the Jesuits, in particular Viscardo, see Miguel Batllori, *El abate Viscardo: Historia y mito de la intervención de los jesuitas en la independencia de Hispanoamérica* (Caracas, 1953), and Merle E. Simmons, *Los escritos de Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán* (Caracas, 1983).

Applied enlightenment, or imperial reform, and American responses to it can be approached through Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (New York, 1970), 86–119, and then studied in more detail in John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782–1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata* (London, 1958); J. R. Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System 1784–1814* (London, 1970); Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias 1687–1808* (Columbia, Mo., 1977), which measures creole office-holding; D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787–1810*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976); and Jacques A. Barbier, *Reform and Politics in Bourbon Chile, 1755–1796* (Ottawa, 1980). The attempt to reform *repartimientos* and control local economic interests is dealt with in Brian R. Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico 1750–1821* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), and in Stanley J. Stein, 'Bureaucracy and business in the Spanish empire, 1759–1804: Failure of a Bourbon reform in Mexico and Peru', *HAHR*, 61/1 (1981), 2–28. Juan Marchena Fernández, *Oficiales y soldados en el ejército de América* (Seville, 1983) shows the increasing 'Americanization' of the Spanish Army in America, while military reform is given precise definition in Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico 1760–1810* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1977), Leon G. Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru 1750–1810* (Philadelphia, 1978), and Allan J. Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773–1808* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978). The colonial bureaucracy is subject to close scrutiny in Susan Migden Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810: Amor al Real Servicio* (Durham, N.C., 1987). Clerical immunity and its erosion by reform and revolution are studied in Nancy M. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759–1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London, 1968), while the economic role of the church and its limits are clarified by Arnold J. Bauer, 'The Church in the economy of Spanish America: *Censos* and *Depósitos* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *HAHR*, 63/4 (1983), 707–33; religious trends in Mexico are studied by D. A. Brading, 'Tridentine Cathol-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

icism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico', *JLAS*, 15/1 (1983), 1–22. Aspects of renewed fiscal pressure are explained in D. A. Brading, 'Facts and figments in Bourbon Mexico', *BLAR*, 4/1 (1985), 61–4; W. Kendall Brown, *Bourbons and Brandy: Imperial reform in eighteenth-century Arequipa* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1986); and Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso, 'Estado borbónico y presión fiscal en la Nueva España, 1750–1821', in Antonio Annino et al. (eds.), *America Latina: Dallo stato coloniale allo stato nazione (1750–1940)*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1987), vol. 1, 78–97.

The violent reaction to taxation and other burdens has been studied in a number of works on the rebellions of the eighteenth century. Joseph Perez, *Los movimientos precursores de la emancipación en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid, 1977) identifies the major movements and their character. Segundo Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito, desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la colonia* (Bonn, 1976), describes Indian protest and riot in the region of Quito, 1760–1803, against a background of agrarian structure. Indian and *mestizo* movements in Upper Peru are the subject of René Arze Aguirre, *Participación popular en la independencia de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1979). Anthony McFarlane, 'Civil disorders and popular protests in late colonial New Granada', *HAHR*, 64/1 (1984), 17–54, classifies and interprets the numerous examples of popular protests, previously overshadowed by the *comunero* movement, and focuses on an urban movement in 'The "Rebellion of the Barrios": Urban insurrection in Bourbon Quito', *HAHR*, 69/2 (1989), 283–330. Brian Hamnett identifies the regional origins of protest in *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). On the *comunero* rebellion, see John Leddy Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781* (Madison, Wis., 1978); Carlos E. Muñoz Oraá, *Los comuneros de Venezuela* (Mérida, Ven., 1971). Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne, 1985) explores the culmination of eighteenth-century protests in the great rebellion of Tupac Amaru.

The problems of economic causation continue to exercise historians. Tulio Halperín Donghi (ed.), *El ocaso del orden colonial hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1978), brings together a number of studies of a socio-economic character dealing with crises in the colonial order. Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.), *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986) is a combination of new research and the latest synthesis. Spanish thinking on colonial trade is the subject of Marcelo Bitar Letayf, *Economistas españoles del siglo XVIII: Sus ideas sobre la libertad del comercio con Indias* (Madrid, 1968), while policy and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

practice are described in E. Arcila Farías, *El siglo ilustrado en América: Reformas económicas del siglo XVIII en Nueva España* (Caracas, 1955), and Sergio Villalobos R., *El comercio y la crisis colonial: Un mito de la independencia* (Santiago, Chile, 1968). The role of colonial trade in Spanish economic development is discussed in Jordi Nadal and Gabriel Tortella (eds.), *Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contemporánea: Actas del Primer Coloquio de Historia Económico de España* (Barcelona, 1974). Quantitative studies of new research and its fate during the Anglo–Spanish wars are provided by Antonio García-Baquero, *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717–1778)*, 2 vols. (Seville, 1976) and *Comercio colonial y guerras revolucionarias* (Seville, 1972), and by Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, *Comercio exterior de Veracruz 1778–1821* (Seville, 1978). John Fisher, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade, 1778–1796* (Liverpool, 1985) gives a precise measurement of trade under *comercio libre*.

Economic conditions within Spanish America in the late colonial period are the subject of basic research. Lyman L. Johnson and Enrique Tandeter (eds.), *Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990) studies the framework of late colonial price history and provides indexes of prices in urban and regional markets. The mining sector and its position in the socio-economic structure of Mexico is studied in David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971). For mining in Peru, see J. R. Fisher, *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776–1824* (Liverpool, 1977), and for Upper Peru Rose Marie Buechler, *The Mining Society of Potosí 1776–1810* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1981). Enrique Tandeter, 'Forced and free labour in late colonial Potosí', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), 98–136, demonstrates the importance of *mita* labour to the survival of Potosí production. Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708–1810)* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), examines rising maize prices, agrarian crisis and rural misery on the eve of the Mexican insurgency. For further regional studies of the agrarian sector, see D. A. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León 1700–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978), and Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of Guadalajara, 1675–1820* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981). Humberto Tandrón, *El real consulado de Caracas y el comerico exterior de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1976), illustrates the tension between agricultural and commercial interests and the clash between Venezuelan and Spanish viewpoints, while problems of another export economy and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

its hinterland are studied by Michael T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil, 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973). Susan Migden Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires 1778–1810: Family and Commerce* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978) analyses the formation, economic role and social position of the *porteño* merchant group, while the little-known history of artisans is investigated by Lyman L. Johnson, 'The silversmiths of Buenos Aires: a case study in the failure of corporate social organisation', *JLAS*, 8/2 (1976), 181–213.

Social structure of the pre-independence period involves problems of class, creoles and race. Historians have recently tended to emphasize economic interests, social perceptions and political groupings rather than simple creole – peninsular conflict as an explanation of independence: see Luis Villoro, *El proceso ideológico de la revolución de independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), for a survey of social classes in Mexico; further refinement of analysis is provided by David A. Brading, 'Government and elite in late colonial Mexico', *HAHR*, 53/3 (1973), 389–414, and by Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence 1780–1826* (Austin, Tex., 1976). Venezuelan structures are explained by Germán Carrera Damas, *La crisis de la sociedad colonial venzolana* (Caracas, 1976), and Miguel Izard, *El miedo a la revolución: La lucha por la libertad en Venezuela (1777–1830)* (Madrid, 1979); while the growing tension between whites and coloureds is described by Federico Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en la sociedad colonial* (Caracas, 1961), Miguel Acosta Saignes, *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1967), and I. Leal, 'La aristocracia criolla venezolana y el código negrero de 1789', *Revista de Historia*, 2 (1961), 61–81. The influence of the revolution in Saint-Domingue can be studied in Eleazar Córdova-Bello, *La independencia de Haiti y su influencia en Hispanoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., and Caracas, 1967). Alberto Flores Galindo, *Aristocracia y plebe, Lima 1760–1830* (Lima, 1984) studies the formation of a new ruling elite in Peru.

The theme of incipient nationalism is gradually receiving more systematic study. Older works by J. A. de la Puente Candamo, *La idea de la comunidad peruana y el testimonio de los precursores* (Lima, 1956), and Nestor Meza Villalobos, *La conciencia política chilena durante la monarquía* (Santiago, Chile, 1958) contain useful data, while André Saint-Lu, *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatemale (1524–1821)* (Paris, 1970) brings in a less-studied region. Americanism as a cultural phenomenon is explored in the classic study by Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1973). But the most significant advance has been

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

made by D. A. Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985), and especially *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), a comprehensive search for the origins and nature of creole identity. On the process of nation building at independence, see Inge Buisson et al. (eds.), *Problemas de la formación del estado y de la nación en Hispanoamérica* (Bonn, 1984). A synthesis is suggested by John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1986), 24–34, 341–4.

2. THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The bibliography on Mexico's struggle for independence is vast, perhaps the largest in Mexican studies. Published documentary collections are rich; only the most notable can be mentioned here. The fundamental set is Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México,* 6 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1877–82). Almost as useful are Genaro García, *Documentos históricos mexicanos,* 7 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1910–12) and *El clero de México y la guerra de independencia,* vol. 9 in *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1906); Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1925) and *Nueva colección de documentos,* 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1886). And for Morelos there is Luis Castillo Ledón, *Morelos, documentos inéditos y poco conocidos* (Mexico, D.F., 1927). Equally important are the histories written by participants and observers. The classic work is Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su independencia en el año de 1808 hasta la época presente,* 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1849-52). Other very useful works are Carlos María Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1843–4); Anastasio Zerecero, *Memorias para la historia de las revoluciones en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1869); Servando Teresa de Mier, *Historia de la revolución de Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1822); José María Luis Mora, *México y sus revoluciones,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1836); and Henry George Ward, *Mexico in 1827,* 2 vols. (London, 1828). Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz y Berzábal, *Méjico desde 1808 hasta 1867,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1871), is derivative and generally follows Alamán.

Though always a subject of great fascination to scholars, Mexican late colonial and independence studies have undergone much recent revision.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Some of the most significant later works that trace the political history are Timothy E. Anna, *The Fall of the Royal Government in Mexico City* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1978), *Spain and the Loss of America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983) and *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1990); the very different interpretation of Romeo Flores Caballero, *La contrarevolución en la independencia: Los españoles en la vida política, social y económica de Mexico 1804–1838* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); another study of the royalists and their resistance to independence, Brian R. Hamnett, *Revolución y contrarevolución en México y el Perú: Liberalismo, realeza y separatismo (1800–1824)* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); as well as Hamnett, *La política española en le época revolucionaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); the basic study of Hidalgo, Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., *The Hidalgo Revolt: Prelude to Mexican Independence* (Gainesville, Fla., 1966); on Morelos, Anna Macías, *Génesis del gobierno constitucional en México, 1808–1820* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); Virginia Guedea, *José María Morelos y Pavón: Cronología* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); Ernesto Lemoine, *La revolución de independencia, 1808–1821*, vol. 3 of *La república federal mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism, 1808–1832* (Berkeley, 1975); Luis Villoro, *El proceso ideológico de la revolución de independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1967) and Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation* (Los Angeles, 1989). Important new institutional and social studies include Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760–1810* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1977) and 'The army of New Spain and the wars of independence, 1790–1821', *HAHR*, 61/4 (1981), 705–14; Michael P. Costeloe, *Church Wealth in Mexico, 1800–1856* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967); N. M. Farriss, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759–1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London, 1968); Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780–1826* (Austin, Tex., 1976); Silvia M. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); María del Refugio González (ed.), *La formación del estado mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Ernesto de la Torre Villar (ed.), *Los 'Guadalupes' y la independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); Linda Arnold, *Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City, 1742–1835* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988); and Javier Ocampo, *Las ideas de un día: El pueblo mexicano ante la consumación de su independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). Providing much new knowledge about the economic and social condition of late colonial Mexico are David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708–1810)* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); Brian R. Hamnett, *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico, 1750–*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1821 (Cambridge, Eng., 1971) and *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986); Enrique Florescano and Isabel Gill, *1750–1808: La época de las reformas borbónicas y del crecimiento económico* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley, 1981); and John J. Tepaske and Herbert S. Klein, *Ingresos y egresos de la Real Hacienda de Nueva España* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). David A. Brading's *Los orígenes del nacionalismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) is perhaps the most thoughtful study on the origins of creolism. All these works alter earlier views of the meaning and process of independence, especially clarifying social, economic and class structures.

At the same time, a number of older works remain invaluable for their contributions, largely in the fields of narrative history and institutional studies. These include Nettie Lee Benson (ed.), *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1822: Eight Essays* (Austin, Tex., 1966), and *La diputación provincial y el federalismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1955); Luis Castillo Ledón, *Hidalgo, la vida del héroe,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1948–9); Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Diseases in Mexico City, 1761–1813* (Austin, Tex., 1965); Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México,* 5 vols. (El Paso, Tex., 1928); Lillian Estelle Fisher, *The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence* (Boston, 1934), and *Champion of Reform, Manuel Abad y Queipo* (New York, 1955); Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *El Virrey Iturrigaray y los orígenes de la independencia de México* (Madrid, 1941); John Rydjord *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain* (Durham, N.C., 1935); William Spence Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1952); Wilbert H. Timmons, *Morelos of Mexico, Priest, Soldier, Statesman* (El Paso, Tex., 1963); and María del Carmen Velázquez, *El estado de guerra en Nueva España, 1760–1808* (Mexico, D.F., 1950). An insightful interpretive work is José Bravo Ugarte, *Historia de México: Independencia, caracterización política e integración social,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1953). An important reference work, dealing with the rebels, is José María Miquel i Vergés, *Diccionario de insurgentes* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). For a Soviet historian's view, see M. S. Al'perovich, *Historia de la independencia de México, 1810–1824* (Mexico, D.F., 1967).

While not as vast or complex as the historiography of Mexican independence, Central American historigraphy has also been fascinated by indepen-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dence and its impact, though the story there is one of a relatively bloodless political movement. Particularly notable, however, is the absence of scholarly publications on the topic from the 1980s, a reflection of the effects of civil war in Central America during that decade. Some published collections of documents are useful. Notable among them are Carlos Meléndez, *Textos fundamentales de la independencia centroamericana* (San José, C.R., 1971); Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *Pensamiento vivo de José Cecilio del Valle,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1971), and *La anexión de Centro América a México,* 6 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1924–7). The two important periodicals edited during the independence era have been reprinted: Pedro Molina's *El editor constitucional,* 3 vols. (Guatemala City, 1969), and José del Valle's *El Amigo de la Patria,* 2 vols. (Guatemala City, 1969). Notable histories written in the nineteenth century are Lorenzo Montúfar, *Reseña histórica de Centro América,* 7 vols. (Guatemala City, 1878–88), and Alejandro Marure, *Bosquejo histórico de las revoluciones de Centro América* (Guatemala City, 1837).

Important works on the background to independence include Oscar Benítez Porta, *Secesión pacífica de Guatemala de España* (Guatemala City, 1973), and Jorge Mario Garcia Laguardia, *Orígenes de la democracia constitucional en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1971). The best modern general treatment of Central American independence is Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Central America: A Nation Divided,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), chap. 4; this work also contains the most complete general bibliography. Also notable are chapters on independence in Franklin D. Parker, *The Central American Republics* (London, 1964) and Thomas L. Karnes, *The Failure of Union: Central America, 1824–1975,* rev. ed. (Tempe, 1976). The most important monographs are Andrés Townsend Ezcurra, *Las Provincias Unidas de Centroamérica: Fundación de la república* (Guatemala City, 1958; 2nd rev. ed., San José, C.R., 1973); Louis E. Bumgartner, *José del Valle of Central America* (Durham, N.C., 1963); Mario Rodríguez, *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808–1826* (Berkeley, 1978), which provides the most complete study of the influence of Spanish liberal constitutionalism; and Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Class Privilege and Economic Development: The Consulado de Comercio of Guatemala, 1793–1871* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966). See also by R. L. Woodward, 'Economic and social origins of the Guatemalan parties (1773–1823)', *HAHR,* 45/4 (1965), 544–66. Other recent works on the independence period worthy of mention include José G. Valverde, *Apariencia y realidad en el movimiento emancipador de Centroamérica* (Nanterre, 1975); Francisco J. Monterrey, *Historia de El Salvador: Anotaciones cronológicas,* vol. 1: *1810–1842,* 2nd ed. (San Salvador, 1977); Francisco Peccorini Letona,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

La voluntad del pueblo en la emancipación de El Salvador (San Salvador, 1972); Chester Zelaya, *Nicaragua en la independencia* (San José, C.R., 1971); Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *La independencia: Historia de Costa Rica,* 3rd ed. (San José, C.R., 1971); Rafael Obregón, *De nuestra historia patria: los primeros días de independencia* (San José, C.R., 1971); and Héctor Samayoa, *Ensayos sobre la independencia de Centroamérica* (Guatemala City, 1972). On the Mexican intervention and annexation, see H. G. Peralta, *Agustín de Iturbide y Costa Rica,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1968); also Nettie Lee Benson and Charles Berry, 'The Central American delegation to the First Constituent Congress of Mexico, 1822–1824', *HAHR,* 49/4 (1969), 679–701, and Miles Wortman, 'Legitimidad política y regionalismo: El imperio mexicano y Centroamérica', *HM,* 26 (1976), 238–62. Separation from Mexico and creation of the Federation is treated in Pedro Joaquín Chamorro y Zelaya, *Historia de la Federación de la América Central* (Madrid, 1951), and in the very useful work of Alberto Herrarte, *La unión de Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1972). See also two arrticles by Gordon Kenyon, 'Mexican influence in Central America', *HAHR,* 41/2 (1961), 175–205, and 'Gabino Gaínza and Central America's Independence from Spain', *TA,* 12/3 (1957), 241–54. Some more recent articles on social history are in Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (eds.), *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983). On the independence of Yucatan, see Paul Joseph Reid, 'The Constitution of Cádiz and the independence of Yucatan', *TA,* 36/1 (1979), 22–38. Biographies of prominent indiviudals include César Brañas, *Antonio de Larrazabal, un guatemalteco en la historia,* 2 vols. (Guatemala City, 1969), and Enrique del Cid Fernández, *Don Gabino de Gaínz y otras estudios* (Guatemala City, 1959). A book that brings together a number of biographies of the chief figures of independence is Carlos Meléndez (ed.), *Próceres de la independencia Centroamericana* (San José, C.R., 1971).

3. THE INDEPENDENCE OF SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

The independence movement of Spanish South America has long been a favourite topic among conservative historians while attracting rather few innovative scholars either in Latin America or in other countries. Nevertheless, thanks to the efforts of both traditional academicians and official agencies, the student of the period has available an unusually wide array of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

printed source collections. These range from the classic and misleadingly titled *Memorias del general O'Leary* (Caracas, 1879–88; re-ed., with index volumes, Caracas, 1981), only three of whose 32 volumes are in fact devoted to the memoirs of Bolívar's Irish aide, Daniel F. O'Leary, to the more recent *Colección documental de la independencia del Perú* (Lima, 1971–77), which is an assortment of official documents, newspapers of the period, writings of 'ideologues', memoirs and travel accounts. A gratifying number of newspapers have also been reprinted in their own right, of which perhaps the most important examples are the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires,* 6 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1910–15) and *Gaceta de Colombia,* 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1973–5), each spanning roughly a decade. Every country except Paraguay, Bolivia and Ecuador has produced one or more major source compilations, and even they have some lesser ones.

Few top-ranking patriot leaders left autobiographical memoirs, and of those who did only José Antonio Páez produced one that is still a major source, though certainly to be used with care: *Autobiografía,* 2nd rev. ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1871). More valuable are the memoirs left by foreign adventurers like O'Leary, *Bolívar and the War of Independence,* Robert F. McNerney, Jr. (trans. and ed.) (Austin, Tex., 1970); and William Miller, who served both San Martín and Bolívar, *Memoirs of General Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru,* John Miller (ed.), 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1829). Equally helpful, particularly on the scene behind the lines of battle or after the fighting was over in a given area, are the accounts of foreign non-participants. William Duane, *A Visit to Colombia in the Years 1822 and 1823, by Laguayra and Caracas, over the Cordillera to Bogotá, and Thence by the Magdalena to Cartagena* (Philadelphia, 1826), and Charles Stuart Cochrane, *Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia, during the Years 1823 and 1824,* 2 vols. (London, 1825), for Gran Colombia; Maria Callcott, *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the Year 1822; and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823* (London, 1824), for Chile; and the brothers John P. and William P. Robertson, *Letters on South America; Comprising Travels on the Banks of the Paraná and Río de la Plata,* 3 vols. (London, 1843), for the Río de la Plata, well exemplify this genre.

The secondary literature is mostly less impressive. The pertinent chapters of the survey of John Lynch, *The Spanish-American Revolutions: 1808–1826* (London, 1973; 2nd ed., New York, 1986) give an excellent overview; no other general account is remotely as good. Nor does there exist anything approaching a definitive biography of Bolívar, which might serve as general narrative of the struggle in much of South America,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

although vast numbers have been written. Probably most useful are Gerhard Masur, *Simon Bolivar,* rev. ed. (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1969), Salvador de Madariaga, *Bolívar* (London, 1951), and Augusto Mijares, *The Liberator* (trans. John Fisher) (Caracas, 1983), of which the first is pedestrian in style but generally balanced in interpretation, the second full of original insights but tendentiously critical, and the third a highly competent, if properly respectful, Venezuelan treatment. Also worthwhile are the essays included in a special number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 63/1 (1983) issued to mark Bolívar's bicentennial, which contains analyses of his domestic and international politics by a group of non–Latin American historians and a discussion of the patriotic Bolívar 'cult' by the Venezuelan scholar Germán Carrera Damas.

Bolívar's southern counterpart, José de San Martín, has attracted less attention from historians in recent years but is well served by the classic study by Argentina's first 'scientific' historian, Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación sudamericana,* 2nd rev. ed., 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1890), and the conscientious work of such twentieth-century Argentine scholars as José Pacífico Otero, *Historia del libertador José San Martín,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1932) and Ricardo Piccirilli, *San Martín y la política de los pueblos* (Buenos Aires, 1957). There are adequate if hardly definitive studies of several secondary figures: for example, John P. Hoover, *Admirable Warrior: Marshal Sucre, Fighter for South American Independence* (Detroit, 1977). On the whole, however, what has been written on the heroes of independence in a biographical vein, whether pietistic or debunking, is somewhat superficial.

Historians who have not been intent on following a single military figure from one battleground to another have seldom dealt with more than one country. For Venezuela, the best one-volume survey is no doubt the Spanish historian, Miguel Izard's *El miedo a la revolución: La lucha por la libertad en Venezuela 1777–1830* (Madrid, 1979), whose title reveals its central thesis that the creole elite wanted at all costs to avoid a real revolution. A stimulating brief interpretation is Germán Carrera Damas, *La crisis de la sociedad colonial venezolana* (Caracas, 1976), but it is best appreciated by someone who already has a general grasp of the period as obtained from Izard, from a Bolívar biography, or from the competent studies of the Venezuelan academic historian Caracciolo Parra-Pérez: *Mariño y la independencia de Venezuela,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1954–6) and *Historia de la primera república de Venezuela,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Caracas, 1959).

The literature on Colombian independence is less abundant than that on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Venezuela. Nevertheless, the pertinent volumes of the *Historia extensa de Colombia* issued by the Academia Colombiana de Historia – particularly Camilo Riãno, *Historia militar; la independencia: 1810–1815* (Bogotá, 1971), Guillermo Plazas Olarte, *Historia militar; la independencia: 1819–1828* (Bogotá, 1971), and Oswaldo Díaz Díaz, *La reconquista española,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1964 and 1967) – give a reasonably complete account of the struggle in New Granada. Hermes Tovar Pinzón has further provided a suggestive treatment of popular mobilization and confiscation policy in 'Guerras de opinión y represión en Colombia durante la independencia (1810–1820),' *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura,* 11 (1983), 187–233, while for the years of Gran Colombian union there is David Bushnell, *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954). A more recent work, *Santander: Biografía,* by Pilar Moreno de Angel (Bogotá, 1989), traditional in tone but highly detailed, covers the entire era. In Ecuador disproportionate attention has been devoted to the first Quito junta, and on it the available literature is mainly of interest to a few specialists; on the conclusion of the process one can consult the first part of Mark Van Aken, *King of the Night: Juan José Flores and Ecuador, 1824–1864* (Berkeley, 1989).

Peruvian historians traditionally have been less fascinated with independence than their Gran Colombian or Platine neighbours, but Peru's independence sesquicentennial of 1971 righted the balance at least somewhat. That occasion inspired not just the multi-volume collection noted above but the wide-ranging interpretative volume by Peru's premier historian Jorge Basadre, *El azar en la historia y sus límites* (Lima, 1973). Also highly suggestive is the essay of Heraclio Bonilla, 'Clases populares y estado en el contexto de la crisis colonial,' in the volume by Bonilla et al., *La independencia en el Perú,* 2nd rev. ed. (Lima, 1981), which reviews the latest research and considers why Peruvians seemed incapable of gaining 'independence' by their own efforts. The latter problem is also dealt with in the study by Timothy Anna, *The Fall of the Royal Government of Peru* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1979), a provocative analysis that speaks well of Viceroy Abascal but reflects little credit on anybody else. Peru's popular majority, on its part, has been skillfully treated by Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: Las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800–1830* (Bonn, 1982).

Chilean scholars, meanwhile, regularly produce fine monographic articles and special studies on aspects of independence, even though the topic does not absorb the attention of current scholars to the same extent as it

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

absorbed that of Chile's great nineteenth-century historians. The ideological dimensions, for example, have been well treated in Walter Hanisch Espíndola, *El catecismo político-cristiano; las ideas y la época: 1810* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), as well as in Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Ideario y ruta de la emancipación chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1957), and, above all, in Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–1833* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967). Eyzaguirre's *O'Higgins,* 6th rev. ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1965) is one standard modern biography of the Chilean liberator. A later one is Luis Valencia Avaria, *Bernardo O'Higgins, el 'buen genio' de América* (Santiago, Chile, 1980).

Bolivian authors have emphasized the junta experience of 1809, as have the Ecuadorians, and with not much of permanent value resulting. The best account of Bolivian independence continues to be Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville, Fla., 1957), and on the brief government of Sucre a basic source is William L. Lofstrom, *The Promise and Problem of Reform: Attempted Social and Economic Change in the First Years of Bolivian Independence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972; Spanish eds., La Paz, 1983, and Caracas, 1987). For Paraguay there is even less, and Uruguayan writings on Artigas, though abundant, are somewhat monotonous. An honourable exception is the examination of his social and agrarian policies in Lucía Sala de Touron, Nelson de la Torre and Julio C. Rodríguez, *Artigas y su revolución agraria, 1811–1820* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), which reflects both a Marxist perspective and industrious documentary research. Also valuable is John Street, *Artigas and the Emancipation of Uruguay* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959).

Argentine independence, on balance, continues to receive the most adequate treatment. The tradition begun by Mitre was ably continued in the first part of the present century by such figures as Ricardo Levene in his *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno,* 4th ed., 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960). More recently, the literature on Argentine independence has been enriched by a plethora of both right- and left-wing revisionism, e.g., Rodolfo Puiggrós, *Los caudillos de la Revolución de Mayo,* 2nd rev. ed. (Buenos Aires, 1971); by competent topical treatments of cultural developments e.g., Oscar F. Urquiza Almandoz, *La cultura de Buenos Aires a través de su prensa periódica desde 1810 hasta 1820* (Buenos Aires, 1972), and economic policy, e.g., Sergio Bagú, *El plan económico del grupo rivadaviano (1811–1827)* (Rosario, 1966) and Carlos S. A. Segreti, 'La repercusión en Mendoza de la política comercial porteña en la primera década revolucionaria,' *JGSWGL,* 19 (1982), 183–222, which is of inter-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

est for much more than the Mendoza case; and by Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), whose very title suggests a breadth of approach not to be found in most older writings. Segreti has further contributed a very good overview of the first five years of the revolutionary process in *La aurora de la independencia: 1810–1815*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1976).

Although the analysis of social alignments and economic interests is still not the dominant tendency in work done on Spanish American independence, it has in fact attracted a growing number of scholars. A brief introduction is provided by the trail-blazing essays of Charles Griffin, *Los temas sociales y económicos en la época de la independencia* (Caracas, 1962). There are some good specialized studies on socio-economic aspects, of which a few have been cited above. Marxist-oriented historians almost by definition offer some sort of socio-economic emphasis, and several of them have written on independence. However, apart from Germán Carrera Damas in his *Boves: Aspectos socioeconómicos de su acción histórica*, 2nd rev. ed. (Caracas, 1968) and *La crisis de la sociedad colonial*, or the Uruguayan rediscoverers of Artigas's agrarian populism, they have too often been content to offer either a mechanical economic determinism or a propagandist effort to co-opt particular independence heroes for present-day causes. Bolívar is the one most often presented as precursor of twentieth-century struggles of national liberation; and probably the least simplistic example of the genre is by the Venzuelan Miguel Acosta Saignés, *Acción y utopía del hombre de las dificultades* (Havana, 1977). On the other hand, the 'new social history' has largely passed the independence period by. The short volume by Marie-Danielle Demélas and Y. Saint-Geours, *La vie quotidienne en Amérique du Sud au temps de Bolivar, 1809–1830* (Paris, 1987) is a series of often perceptive vignettes rather than an integrated treatment of the subject.

The position of the church has been often treated, though with more detailed narrative than true analysis, by ecclesiastical historians of the various countries. Argentina's Américo A. Tonda is especially prolific and thoroughly competent; a good example is his study of Córdoba's royalist prelate, *El obispo Orellana y la revolución* (Córdoba, Arg., 1981). For continental overviews, one can turn to Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *El episcopado en los tiempos de la emancipación sudamericana*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1945), and Pedro de Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1959–60), a major contribution on Hispanic America and the Vatican, two volumes of which are devoted to the independence period. But the latter falls as much in the area of foreign relations, where a great

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

part of the literature almost inevitably treats Latin America as a whole vis-à-vis given outside powers.

4. THE INDEPENDENCE OF HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Among contemporary works, Médéric L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle de Saint Domingue,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1797–8; 3 vols., Paris, 1984; English version, abridged, edited and translated by Ivor A. Spencer, *A Civilization That Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti* (Lanham, Md., 1985), and Bryan Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo* (London, 1797) offer the most comprehensive view of the economic, social and political problems of colonial Saint-Domingue in the years immediately before the French Revolution. See also on Haiti before 1808, Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haiti,* vols. 1–3 (1847–8; Port-au-Prince, 1904). The best and most comprehensive work on the Haitian Revolution continues to be C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York, 1938; and numerous later editions). Other, less satisfactory, works include José L. Franco, *Historia de la revolución de Haiti* (Havana, 1966), and T. O. Ott, *The Haitian Revolution, 1789–1804* (Knoxville, 1973). A book now out of fashion because of its racism, though still retaining some interest, is T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston, 1914; reprint, 1982). Among the many biographies of Toussaint Louverture two are now classics: Victor Schoelcher, *Vie de Toussaint-Louverture* (1889; Paris, 1982), and Horace Pauléus Sannon, *Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture,* 3 vols. (Port-au-Prince, 1920–33). See also Pierre Pluchon, *Toussaint-Louverture, d'esclavage au pouvoir* (Paris, 1979). There are contrasting accounts of the military side of the Revolution. The one favourable to Toussaint is Alfred Nemours, *Histoire militaire de la Guerre d'Indépendance de Saint-Domingue,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1925–8). From the French point of view there is Henry de Poyen-Bellisle, *Histoire militaire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1899), from the Spanish, Antonio del Monte y Tejada, *Historia de Santo Domingo,* vols. 3 and 4 (Santo Domingo, 1890–2), and from the British, Sir John Fortescue, *History of the British Army,* vol. 4 (London, 1906). See also Thomas P. Howard, *The Haitian Journal of Lieutenant Howard, York Hussars, 1796–1798,* Roger Norman

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Buckley (ed.) (Knoxville, Tenn., 1985); Antoine Metral, *Histoire de l'expédition des Français à Saint-Domingue sous le consulat de Napoleon Bonaparte, 1802–1803* (1825; Paris, 1985). An important modern study is David P. Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint-Domingue 1793–1798* (Oxford, 1982). Robert Louis Stein's biography of the Jacobin Commissioner, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax: The Lost Sentinel of the Republic* (Rutherford, N.J., and London, 1985), is a significant contribution. For a useful guide to archival sources in Spain, the Caribbean, Great Britain and the United States, see David Geggus, 'Unexploited sources for the history of the Haitian revolution', *LARR,* 18/1 (1983), 95–103. Mats Lundhal, 'Toussaint l'Overture and the war economy of Saint-Domingue, 1796–1802', *Slavery and Abolition,* 6 (1985) is an important article. The most recent account of the abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue is Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988), chaps. 5 and 6. See also David Geggus, 'Haiti and the abolitionists: Opinion, propaganda and international politics in Britain and in France, 1804–1838', in D. Richardson (ed.), *Abolition and Its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790–1916* (London, 1986) and 'The French and Haitian revolutions, and resistance to slavery in the Americas', *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer* (1989).

For the impact that the Haitian Revolution had upon Spanish Santo Domingo, several works are worthy of note: see, for example, Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi (ed.), *Cesión de Santo Domingo a Francia* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1958) and *La era de Francia en Santo Domingo* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), Joaquín Marino Incháustegui Cabral (ed.), *Documentos para estudio: Marco de la época y problemas del Tratado de Basilea de 1795 en la parte española de Santo Domingo,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1957), and Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle, *El Tratado de Basilea* (Cuidad Trujillo, 1952). The Haitian invasions of Santo Domingo are dealt with in Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi (ed.), *Invasiones haitianas de 1801, 1805 y 1822* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955). On Spain's efforts to recover the part of Santo Domingo ceded to France in 1795, see Miguel Artola, 'La guerra de reconquista de Santo Domingo 1808–1809', *Revista de Indias,* 11 (1951), 447–84. For a modern synthesis of this period in the history of Santo Domingo, see Frank Moya Pons, *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo* (Santiago de los Caballeros, Dom. Rep., 1974).

Some more recent studies have also examined the impact of the Haitian revolution elsewhere. See, for example, Alfred Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988); Paul Lachance, 'The 1809 immigration of Saint-Domingue refugees

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

to New Orleans: Reception, integration and impact', *Louisiana History* (Spring 1988); Paul Verna, *Petión y Bolívar* (Caracas, 1980) and 'La revolución haitiana y sus manifestaciones socio-jurídicas en el Caribe y Venezuela', *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia,* (October–December 1988); and Arturo Morales Carrión, 'La revolución haitiana y el movimiento anti-esclavista en Puerto Rico', *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia,* 30 (1983).

Haiti's evolution in the period 1808–43 is chronicled in Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haiti,* vols. 4–7 recently discovered and published for the first time (Port-au-Prince, 1988). See also Tonnerre Boisrond, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Haiti* (1852; Port-au-Prince, 1981). Interesting and important accounts by British and North American visitors during the years immediately following independence are the most trustworthy contemporary sources for the period: Jonathan Brown, *The History and Present Condition of St. Domingo,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1837; repr. London, 1972), with its ample reporting of Haitian social customs and of the evolution of the Haitian political system, which Brown termed, on consideration, 'a republican monarchy resting on its bayonets'; John Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti, with its Conditions, Resources, and Prospects* (London, 1842; repr. London, 1972), which contains valuable information on the government of Boyer; James Franklin, *The Present State of Hayti (Saint Domingo)* (London, 1828; repr. London, 1972) which is excellent for its assessment of the evolution of Haiti's economy and Haitian agriculture in the times of Pétion and Christophe; and, lastly, Charles Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti, Made during a Residence in that Republic,* 2 vols. (London, 1830; repr. London, 1972), which comprises notes that the author collected in Haiti as British consul there (1826–7), in which he presents useful statistics and enlightened observations on the economic and social differences between the two parts of the island. The traditional Haitian account of its early independent history is to be found in the monumental work of Beaubrun Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti,* 11 vols. (Paris, 1853–60; 2nd ed., Port-au-Prince, 1958); this is indispensable for any knowledge of Boyer's régime, but not always wholly to be relied upon, since it reflects the official point of view and the ideology of Haiti's mulatto élite. There are few modern works, but see Hubert Cole, *Christophe, King of Haiti* (New York, 1967); Leslie F. Manigat, *La Politique agraire du gouvernement d'Alexandre Pétion, 1807–1818* (Port-au-Prince, 1962); David Nicholls, *Economic Development and Political Autonomy: The Haitian Experience* (Montreal, 1974) and 'Rural protest and peasant revolt in Haiti (1804–1869)', and 'Economic depen-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dence and political autonomy 1804–1915', in his collected essays, *Haiti in Caribbean Context: Ethnicity, Economy and Revolt* (London: 1985). See also the series of articles by Benoit Joachim largely drawn from his unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Aspects fondamentaux des relations de la France avec Haiti de 1825 à 1874: Le néocolonialisme à l'essai' (University of Paris, 1968), notably 'Le néocolonialism à l'essail: La France et l'indépendance d'Haiti', *La Pensée* (1971), 'La Reconnaissance d'Haiti par la France (1825): Naissance d'un nouveau type de rapports internationaux', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine,* 22 (1975), 369–96, 'L'Indemnité colonial de Saint-Domingue et la question des repatriés', *Revue Historique,* 246 (1971), 359–76, and 'Commerce et decolonisation: L'expérience franco-haitienne au XIX^{e} siècle', *AESC,* 27 (1972), 1497–1525. A useful study of the press in Haiti up to the mid-nineteenth century is Justin Emmanuel Castera, *Bref coup d'oeil sur les origins de la presse haïtienne, 1764–1850* (Port-au-Prince, 1986). Other essays on early independent Haiti include: Mats Lundhal, 'Defense and distribution: Agricultural policy in Haiti during the reign of Jean Jacques Dessalines, 1804–1806', *Scandinavian Economic History Review,* 31 (1984), and Frances MacLean, 'Henry Christophe, legendary king of Haiti', *The Smithsonian* (October 1987).

The traditional Dominican account of the period can be found in volumes 2 and 3 of José Gabriel García, *Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo,* 4 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1893–1906). The Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo during the period of Boyer's rule is the subject of Frank Moya Pons, *La dominación haitiana, 1822–1844* (Santiago de los Caballeros, Dom. Rep., 1973). Moya Pons studies the political impact of the changes Boyer tried to introduce in the agricultural structure of the former Spanish sector, and the economic decline of Haiti due to the agrarian policy of the mulatto governments of those years. See also his 'The land question in Haiti and Santo Domingo: The socio-political context of the transition from slavery to free labor, 1801–1843', in Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons and Stanley L. Engerman (eds.), *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1985). Roberto Marte, *Estadísticas y documentos históricos sobre Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1984) is a useful compilation.

On Boyer's fall and the proclamation of independence by the Dominican Republic there are contemporary studies by Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haiti:* Vol. 8, *Années 1843–1847* (1847–8; Port-au-Prince, 1904), and Romuald Lepelletier de Saint-Rémy, *Saint-Domingue, étude et solution nouvelle de la question haitienne,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1846; Santo Domingo, 1978). See also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

H. Pauléus Sannon, *Essai historique sur la révolution de 1843* (Lescayes, Haiti, 1905). The events of 1843–4 have been the subject of hundreds of articles in the Dominican Republic, but we still lack the great synthesis which is needed to sum up the materials published in several collections of documents, especially Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, 'La Revolución del 1843: Apuntes y documentos para su estudio', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación,* 25–6 (1943) and *Correspondencia del Cónsul de Francia en Santo Domingo,* 2 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1944–7), as well as *Correspondencia de Levasseur y de otros agentes de Francia relativa a la Proclamación de la República Dominicana, 1843–1844* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1944) which the government of the Dominican Republic published upon the centenary of independence.

5. THE INDEPENDENCE OF BRAZIL

The first chronicle of the events of the entire period 1808–31, though concentrating on the years 1821–31, is John Armitage, *History of Brazil from the Arrival of the Braganza Family in 1808 to the Abdication of Dom Pedro the First in 1831,* published in London in 1836 when the author, who had gone to Rio de Janeiro as a young merchant in 1828, was still only 29. Intended as a sequel to Robert Southey's monumental *History of Brazil* (1810–19), the first general history of Brazil during the colonial period, Armitage's *History* has been used and justly praised by every historian of the independence period in Brazil. Of the many contemporary accounts perhaps the best known and most valuable is Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London, 1824). The author was resident in Brazil from September 1821 to March 1822 and again from March to October 1823, that is to say, immediately before and immediately after independence. Indispensable for the period of Dom João's residence in Brazil (1808–21) is Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, *Memórias para servir à história do reino do Brasil* [1825], 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1943).

The traditional historiography of Brazilian independence is dominated by four great works, all essentially detailed accounts of political events: Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História da independência do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1917); Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil (1808–21)* (1909; 2nd ed., 3 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1945), the classic study of the Portuguese court in Rio, and *O Movimento da Independência* (São Paulo, 1922); and Tobias do Rego Monteiro, *História do império: A elaboração da*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

independência (Rio de Janeiro, 1927). And for the story of the independence of Bahia, there is Braz do Amaral, *História da independência na Bahia* (Salvador, 1923).

Caio Prado Júnior was the first historian to analyse the internal tensions and contradictions in the process leading to Brazilian independence. See, in particular, *Evolução política do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933 and many later editions); *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: Colônia* (São Paulo, 1963), which has been translated as *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 1967); and the introduction to the facsimile edition of *O Tamoio* (São Paulo, 1944). Octávio Tarquínio de Souza, *José Bonifácio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960) and *A vida do Dom Pedro I*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1954) are important biographies.

Among more recent general works on Brazilian independence by leading Brazilian historians, especially worthy of note are Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira*, Tomo 2, *O Brasil monárquico*, vol. 1, *O Processo de emancipação* (São Paulo, 1962); Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *1822: Dimensões* (São Paulo, 1972); and, above all, José Honório Rodrigues, *Independência: Revolução e contrarevolução*, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1975): 1, *A evolução política;* 2, *Economia e sociedade;* 3, *As forças armadas;* 4, *A liderança nacional;* 5, *A política internacional.* A Portuguese perspective is offered by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Nova história da expansão portuguêsa*, vol. 8, *O Império luso-brasileiro, 1750–1822* (Lisbon, 1986). A general account in English is provided by Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), chaps. 3–4. By far the most important and provocative single essay on Brazilian independence is Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Introdução ao estudo da emancipação política do Brasil', in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *Brasil em perspectiva* (São Paulo, 1968); revised English versions, 'The political emancipation of Brazil', in A. J. R. Russell-Wood (ed.), *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil* (Baltimore, 1975), and 'Independence: The building of a nation', in Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985). See also three essays by Emília Viotti da Costa on José Bonifácio: 'José Bonifácio: Mito e história', *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 21 (1967); 'José Bonifácio: Homem e mito', in Mota (ed.), *1822*, and 'José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva: A Brazilian founding father', in *The Brazilian Empire.* On the role of Dom Pedro, see Neill Macaulay's biography, *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798–1834* (Durham N.C., 1986), chaps. 3–4. On the independence movement in Rio de Janeiro, the essay by Francisco C. Falcón and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, 'O processo de independência no Rio de Janeiro' in Mota (ed.), *1822* is particularly interesting. And on the movement in Bahia, see Luis Henrique Dias Tavares, *A independência do Brasil na Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977), and F. W. O. Morton, 'The conservative revolution of independence: Economy, society and politics in Bahia, 1790–1840' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1974).

The outstanding modern work on the late colonial period, in particular on economic policy-making and on the trade between Brazil, Portugal and England, is Fernando A. Novais, *Portugal e Brasil na crise do antigo sistema colonial (1777–1808)* (São Paulo, 1979). On the balance of trade, see also José Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no comércio colonial* (São Paulo, 1981). The influence of the Enlightenment on colonial Brazil is examined in Maria Odila da Silva, 'Aspectos da ilustração no Brasil', *RIHGB*, 278 (1968), 105–70. Also see Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Atitudes de inovação no Brasil (1789–1801)* (Lisbon, 1970) and E. Bradford Burns, 'The intellectuals as agents of change and the independence of Brazil, 1724–1822', in Russell-Wood (ed.), *From Colony to Nation*. The best study of the Inconfidência mineira (1788–9) is to be found in Kenneth R. Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal 1750–1808* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973). See also his essay 'The generation of the 1790s and the idea of Luso-Brazilian empire' in Dauril Alden (ed.), *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 1973). There are several studies of the Inconfidência baiana (1798): Luis Henrique Dias Tavares, *História da sedição intentada na Bahia em 1798: A 'conspiração do alfaiates'* (São Paulo, 1975); Afonso Ruy, *A primeira revolução social brasileira, 1798*, 2nd ed. (Salvador, 1951); Kátia Maria de Queirós Mattoso, *A presença francesa no movimento democrático baiano de 1798* (Salvador, 1969); and chap. 4 of Morton, 'Conservative revolution'. There is a modern edition of the *Obras económicas* of José Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho with an introduction by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo, 1966). For a commentary, see E. Bradford Burns, 'The role of Azeredo Coutinho in the enlightenment of Brazil', *HAHR*, 44/2 (1964), 145–60.

The transfer of the Portuguese court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro (1807–8) has been thoroughly studied by Alan K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil: Its Rise and Decline* (Durham, N.C., 1933), chap. 3; 'The transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro', in Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (eds.), *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia, S.C., 1969); and 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808–1821', *JLAS*, 4/1 (1972), 77–83. On the opening of Brazilian ports to

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

foreign trade (1808), besides Manchester, *British Preeminence,* see Manuel Pinto de Aguiar, *A abertura dos pôrtos: Cairú e os ingleses* (Salvador, 1960) and José Wanderley de Araújo Pinho, 'A abertura dos pôrtos – Cairú', *RIHGB,* 243 (April–June 1959). Manchester, *British Preeminence,* remains the best study of the Anglo–Portuguese treaties of 1810 and of Portuguese expansionism in the Banda Oriental. Early attempts at encouraging industrial growth in Brazil are examined in Nícia Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização do Brasil, 1808–1930* (São Paulo, 1961) and Alice P. Canabrava, 'Manufacturas e indústrias no período de D. João VI no Brasil', in Luis Pilla, et al., *Uma experiência pioneira de intercâmbio cultural* (Porto Alegre, 1963). On internal trade and, in particular, the organisation of Rio de Janeiro's food supply, see Alcir Lenharo, *As tropas da moderação da Corte na formação política do Brasil (1808–1842)* (São Paulo, 1979). On the society of Rio de Janeiro during the period 1808–21, see Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Análise de estratificação social: O Rio de Janeiro de 1808 à 1821* (São Paulo, 1975) and *Cultura e sociedade no Rio de Janeiro, 1808–21* (São Paulo, 1977); and Leila Mezan Algranti, *O Feitor ausente: Estudos sobre a escravidão urbana no Rio de Janeiro – 1808–1822* (Petrópolis, 1988). The French artistic mission is the subject of Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, *A missão artística de 1816* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956; Brasília, 1983). There has been only one modern study of the revolution of 1817 in Pernambuco: Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Nordeste, 1817: Estruturas e argumentos* (São Paulo, 1972), which concentrates on the ideological aspects of the struggle. Still useful is the account by one of the leading participants: Francisco Muniz Tavares, *História da revolução de Pernambuco em 1817,* 3rd ed. (Recife, 1917). On the armed forces during this period, besides volume 3 of Rodrigues, *Independência,* there is an interesting case study of Bahia, F. W. O. Morton, 'Military and society in Bahia, 1800–1821', *JLAS,* 7/2 (1975), 249–69. The Portuguese Côrtes, and especially the role of the Brazilian representatives, is the subject of two essays: George C. A. Boehrer, 'The flight of the Brazilian deputies from the Côrtes Gerais in Lisbon, 1822', *HAHR,* 40/4 (1960), 497–512, and Fernando Tomaz, 'Brasileiros nas Côrtes Constituintes de 1821–1822', in Mota (ed.), *1822.* The most recent work on the Constituent Assembly is José Honório Rodrigues, *A Constituinte de 1823* (Petrópolis, 1974). The question of the continuation of the slave trade and Brazilian independence has been studied by Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970), chaps. 1 and 2. See also his article, 'The independence of Brazil and the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade: Anglo–Brazilian

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

relations 1822–1826', *JLAS*, 1/2 (1969), 115–147. On Anglo–Brazilian relations in general, and British recognition of Brazilian independence, Manchester, *British Preeminence*, remains the best study. But see also Caio de Freitas, *George Canning e o Brasil*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1960).

6. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND LATIN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The basic source for British relations with Latin America during the independence period is C. K. Webster (ed.), *Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812–1830: Select Documents from the Foreign Office Archives*, 2 vols. (London, 1938; repr. New York, 1970), the introduction to which provides a valuable overview of British policy. This can be followed in more detail through its successive phases in J. Lynch, 'British policy and Spanish America, 1783–1808', *JLAS*, 1/1 (1969), 1–30; C. M. Crawley, 'French and English influences in the Cortes of Cadiz, 1810–1814', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 6 (1939); J. Rydjord, 'British mediation between Spain and her colonies, 1811–1813', *HAHR*, 21 (1941); C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812–1815* (London, 1931), and *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822*, 2nd ed. (London, 1934); D. A. G. Waddell, 'British neutrality and Spanish–American independence: The problem of foreign enlistment', *JLAS*, 19/1 (1987), 1-18, and 'Anglo–Spanish relations and the "Pacification of America" during the "Constitutional Triennium", 1820–1823', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 46 (1989); and H. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822–1827* (London, 1925; repr. London, 1966). Leslie Bethell, *George Canning and the Emancipation of Latin America* (London, 1970), gives a brief re-evaluation of Canning's role, and J. D. Jaramillo, *Bolívar y Canning, 1822–1827: Desde el Congreso de Verona hasta el Congreso de Panamá* (Bogotá, 1983) analyses both Britian's policy in relation to recognition and Bolívar's policy towards Britain. W. W. Kaufmann, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804–1828* (New Haven, Conn., 1951; repr. London, 1967) offers an interesting, though idiosyncratic, interpretation of the whole period, based on printed sources.

British commercial relations are discussed in D. B. Goebel, 'British trade to the Spanish colonies, 1796–1823', *AHR*, 43 (1938); R. A. Humphreys, 'British merchants and South American independence', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 51 (1965); J. F. Rippy, 'Latin America and the British

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

investment "boom" of the 1820s', *Journal of Modern History*, 19 (1947); F. G. Dawson, *The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822–25 Loan Bubble* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1990); and the first part of D. C. M. Platt, *Latin America and British Trade, 1806–1914* (London, 1972). They are documented in R. A. Humphreys (ed.), *British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America, 1824–1826*, Camden Society, 3rd series, vol. 53 (London, 1940).

The local implementation of British policy in the southern hemisphere may be followed through the selection of dispatches from British naval commanders printed in G. S. Graham and R. A. Humphreys (eds.), *The Navy and South America, 1807–1823*, Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. 104 (London, 1962). British activities in relation to Brazil and Argentina may be traced in the earlier chapters of A. K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil: Its Rise and Decline* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933; repr. New York, 1964); Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970); H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960); and V. B. Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810–1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); J. Street, 'Lord Strangford and Río de la Plata, 1808–1815', *HAHR*, 33 (1953); J. C. J. Metford, 'The recognition by Great Britain of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata', and 'The Treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and the United Provinces of Río de la Plata', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 29 (1952) and 30 (1953); and D. C. M. Platt, 'Foreign finance in Argentina for the first half-century of independence', *JLAS*, 15/1 (1983), 23–47.

There is little in English on northern South America, apart from G. E. Carl, *First Among Equals: Great Britain and Venezuela, 1810–1910* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980), which includes an examination of economic relations during the independence period and its aftermath. However, material from British archives is printed in Spanish translation in C. Parra-Pérez (ed.), *Documentos de las cancillerías europeas sobre la independencia venezolana*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1962) and C. L. Mendoza, *Las primeras misiones diplomáticas de Venezuela*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1962). There is much information on British relations at local level in Carlos Pi Sunyer, *El General Juan Robertson: Un prócer de la independencia* (Caracas, 1971) and at metropolitan level in the same author's *Patriotas americanos en Londres* (Caracas, 1978). D. A. G. Waddell, *Gran Bretaña y la independencia de Venezuela y Colombia* (Caracas, 1983), is a study of contacts between British authorities and both patriots and royalists, and E. Lambert, *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses en la gesta*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bolivariana, vol. 1 (Caracas, 1981), gives a documented account of the activities of British legionaries in Bolívar's forces until 1819.

Anglo–Mexican negotiations are discussed in the light of Mexican archive material in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism, 1808–1832* (Berkeley, 1975), as are Mexico's early dealings with other European powers. The period before 1810 is explored in J. Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain* (Durham, N.C., 1935; repr. New York, 1972).

United States relations are fully documented in W. R. Manning (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations,* 3 vols. (New York, 1925), and comprehensively discussed in A. P. Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830* (Baltimore, 1941; repr. New York, 1962). C. C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810–1822* (New York, 1937; repr. 1968) is valuable for U.S. relations with Spain. D. Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine 1823–1826* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927) is still the standard work on its subject, though E. R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975) places new emphasis on the influence of U.S. domestic politics. North American relations with particular countries may be followed in W. R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico* (Baltimore, 1916; repr. New York, 1968), in E. B. Billingsley, *In Defence of Neutral Rights: The United States Navy and the Wars of Independence in Chile and Peru* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967), and in the appropriate chapters of H. F. Peterson, *Argentina and the United States, 1810–1960* (New York, 1964); L. F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 1932; repr. New York, 1969); and E. T. Parks, *Colombia and the United States, 1765–1934* (Durham, N.C., 1935; repr. New York, 1968).

Anglo–American rivalry is investigated at local level in J. F. Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America, 1808–1830* (Baltimore, 1929; repr. New York, 1972); at metropolitan level in Bradford Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812–1823* (Berkeley, 1964); and in a perceptive essay by R. A. Humphreys, 'Anglo–American rivalries and Spanish American emancipation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th Series, 16 (1966). P. K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: A Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore, 1983), is an ambitious attempt to relate the independence movements to intellectual and economic developments in the Atlantic world of the United States and Great Britain, and of Spain and her colonies.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Much information on the attitudes and policies of all the European powers can be gleaned from the large collection of documents printed in A. Filippi (ed.), *Bolívar y Europa en las crónicas, el pensamiento político y la historiografía,* vol. 1 (Caracas, 1986). The standard work on French policy is W. S. Robertson, *France and Latin American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939; 2nd ed., New York, 1967). H Temperley, 'French designs on Spanish America in 1820–25', *English Historical Review,* 40 (1925) deals with a controversial period. Russian relations have been the subject of a modern study by R. H. Bartley, *Imperial Russia and the Struggle for Latin American Independence, 1808–1828* (Austin, Tex., 1978). The policy of the central European powers is well covered in M. Kossok, *Historia de la Santa Alianza y la emancipación de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and illustrated in K. W. Körner, *La independencia de la América española y la diplomacia alemana* (Buenos Aires, 1968) with documents from a variety of European archives. W. S. Robertson, 'Metternich's attitude towards revolutions in Latin America', *HAHR,* 21 (1941) provides a few basic facts. J. Lloyd Mecham, 'The papacy and Spanish American independence', *HAHR,* 9 (1929) is a succinct survey.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

V

LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, *c.* 1820 to *c.* 1870

1. POST-INDEPENDENCE SPANISH AMERICA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History (1830–1930)* (Berkeley, 1977) is a comprehensive survey of existing secondary literature which concentrates on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Mexico. Ciro F. S. Cardoso and Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Historia Económica de América Latina*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1979) is a general economic history of Latin America which includes a valuable chapter (vol. 2, ch. 4) on the post-independence period. See also Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1969; Eng. trans., Durham, N.C., 1993), chaps. 3 and 4 and *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America* (New York, 1973).

On the commercial and financial relations between the new Spanish American states and Britain in the period after independence, besides the classic *The Migration of British Capital to 1875*, by Leland H. Jenks (New York, 1927; reissued London, 1971) and J. Fred Rippy, *British Investment in Latin America, 1822–1949* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1959), see D. C. M. Platt, *Latin America and British Trade, 1806–1914* (London, 1973). Sergio Villalobos R., *El comercio y la crisis colonial: Un mito de la independencia* (Santiago, Chile, 1968), goes further than Platt in limiting the impact of the opening of trade after independence. The collection of articles edited by Reinhard Liehr, *América Latina en la época de Simón Bolívar: La formación de las economías nacionales y los intereses económicos europeos, 1800–1850* (Berlin, 1989), while taking into account the larger European background, puts most of its emphasis on the national and even local socio-economic transitions during the early nineteenth century.

A pioneering study of the impact of the Wars of Independence on the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

economy and society of Spanish America is Charles C. Griffin, 'Economic and social aspects of the era of Spanish American independence', *HAHR*, 29/2 (1949), 170–87, revised and expanded in *Los temas sociales y económicos en la era de la Independencia* (Caracas, 1962). R. A. Humphreys (ed.), *British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America, 1824–26* (London, 1940), covers in considerable detail the situation in the different ports, and reflects the impact on them and the new nations generally of the still recent political and military crisis. The role and attitude of the different strata of Mexican society during the independence struggle is the subject of Luis Villoro's insightful *La revolución de independencia: Ensayo de interpretación histórica* (Mexico, D.F., 1953). For Argentina, see Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (London, 1975). For Peru, see the controversial collection of essays edited by Heraclio Bonilla, *La independencia en el Perú*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Lima, 1981) and the pertinent sections of Alberto Flores Galindo, *Independencia y revolución, 1780–1840*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1987). The agrarian dimension of the independence struggle in Venezuela was the subject of the extensive introductory study in Germán Carrera Damas's *Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela (1800–1830)* (Caracas, 1964), and in Uruguay has been explored by L. Sala de Touron, N. de la Torre and J. C. Rodríguez, *La revolución agraria artiguista* (Montevideo, 1969; abridged version under the title *Artigas y su revolución agraria, 1811–1820*, Mexico, D.F., 1978).

For many aspects of the post-independence period much can be found in works that cover a larger time-span. A necessarily incomplete list should include Carlos Marichal, *A Century of Debt Crises in Latin America: From Independence to the Great Depression, 1820–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); for Mexico, John Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Profirian Mexico* (De Kalb, Ill., 1981); Friedrich Katz (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); and John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); for the Andean area and southern South America, Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: Mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (Lima, 1982); for Peru, Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: El valle de Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima, 1976) and Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); for Bolivia, Brooke Larson, *Colonial-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900 (Princeton, N.J., 1988), Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: Tierra y tributo en el Norte de Potosí* (Lima, 1982) and Enrique Tandeter, *La rente comme rapport de production et comme rapport de distribution: Le cas de l'industrie minière de Potosí, 1750–1826* (3rd cycle thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1980); for Chile, Arnold J. Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (London, 1975).

On the new economic and social order and political reconstruction after independence, once again the most important contributions concern specific countries or regions. This is even the case for Diana Balmori, Stuart F. Voss and Miles Wortman, *Notable Family Networks in Latin America* (Chicago, 1984), a collection of pioneer studies on a subject better developed by Brazilian historians that targets northwest Mexico, Central America and Buenos Aires. David Bushnell, *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954) is an exemplary study of the new state in the face of problems by no means exclusive to Colombia; William Lee Lofstrom, *The Problem and Promise of Reform: Attempted Social and Economic Change in the First Years of Bolivian Independence* (Cornell University Dissertation Series, 33, Ithaca, N.Y., 1972) explores similar issues for Bolivia.

The study of the political economy of the new states in the aftermath of independence has also advanced mostly in a national framework. For Argentina, Miron Burgin, *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820–52* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946) offers a scholarly exploration of issues already studied somewhat impressionistically, but nonetheless perceptively, in Juan Alvarez's *Ensayo sobre las guerras civiles argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1914). For Chile, Francisco Encina's no less impressionistic and even more influential *Nuestra inferioridad económica* (Santiago, Chile, 1911) offered a rosy view of the immediate post-independence period as part of a plea for economic independence through protectionist policies. Encina's views influenced the historical assumptions of the ECLA economists (witness Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz's equally influential *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado* [Santiago, Chile, 1959]) notwithstanding the indirect but devastating rebuttal offered by Claudio Véliz in his *Historia de la marina mercante de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1961). As Véliz convincingly demonstrates, the rise and fall of a vigorous native merchant marine, that according to Encina offered one of the most impressive examples of the negative consequences of the abandonment of protectionism, is a wholly imaginary episode, based on a hasty misreading of the documentary sources. More recently a less engaged (and more promising) approach to

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the same issues has begun to emerge. See, for example, Paul Gootenberg's extremely suggestive *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Post-Independence Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1989). Among the studies that concentrate on the later part of the period, as Spanish America moved towards the new era of export-led expansion, those linked with the export sector take of course pride of place; thus for the River Plate states, H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the XIXth Century* (Oxford, 1960), a convincing presentation of Argentina's entry in the railway age, J. P. Barrán and Benjamin Nahum's monumental *Historia rural del Uruguay moderno, vol. 1, 1851–1885* (Montevideo, 1967) and more recently Hilda Sabato, *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990; Sp. orig. *Capitalismo y ganadería en Buenos Aires: La fiebre del lanar 1850–1890,* Buenos Aires, 1989).

The covering of both elites and subordinate classes is equally patchy. For the first, Carlos Real de Azúa, *El patriciado uruguayo,* 2nd. ed. (Montevideo, 1981) is exceptional in its ambition to offer a total image of the *patriciado* social group. Most studies concentrate on the elite groups' role in defining and influencing public policy. This is the case, for instance, with Heraclio Bonilla's *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima, 1974), and for Chile, Alberto Edwards Vives's classic, *La fronda aristocrática* (Santiago, Chile, 1927) and Maurice Zeitlin's more recent and equally controversial, *The Civil Wars in Chile (or the Bourgeois Revolutions that Never Were)* (Princeton, N.J., 1984). Only recently has the study of the subordinate classes begun to look beyond the policy issues created by them, and even here mostly on subjects already explored in the past. Not surprisingly, the subject of slaves and slavery dominates the field, and – again not surprisingly – Cuba offers the theme for the most substantial contributions, notwithstanding John Lombardi's *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela, 1810–1854* (Westport, Conn., 1971). See Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1970) and Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio* (Havana, 1964; Eng. translation, *The Sugarmill,* New York, 1978) and more recently, Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

Some recent studies have started a more systematic exploration of a subject closely linked to that of public policy, namely that of state finances. See Barbara A. Tenenbaum, *The Politics of Penury: Debts and Taxes*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Mexico, 1821–1856 (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), Alfonso W. Quiróz, *La deuda defraudada: Consolidación de 1850 y dominio económico en el Perú* (Lima, 1987), Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Guerra y finanzas en la formación del estado argentino, 1791–1850* (Buenos Aires, 1982), and the pertinent sections of *El Uruguay comercial, pastoril y caudillesco: Tomo I: Economía* (Montevideo, 1986) by Lucia Sala de Touron and Rosa Alonso Eloy, with the collaboration of Julio C. Rodríguez, especially part 2, chap. 3, 'La acumulación basada en los "grandes negocios" con el estado'.

The history of ideologies and collective *mentalités* is also slowly disengaging itself from that of policy issues. The limited production can only cover in the most partial way the vast field thus opened to the historian's curiosity; its heterogeneity is still its most conspicuous feature, as reflected in the distance between the approach of Frank Safford in *The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite* (Austin, Tex., 1976), with its subtle view of a progressivism that deliberately takes its distance from liberalism, and Mark D. Szuchman's *Order, Family and Community in Buenos Aires, 1810–1860* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

The vast travel literature of the period is listed in Bernard Naylor, *Accounts of Nineteenth Century South America: An Annotated Checklist of Works by British and United States Observers* (London, 1969). Worthy of special mention is H. G. Ward, *Mexico in 1827*, 2 vols. (London, 1828), a systematic presentation of the country by a well-informed and astute, if not disinterested, observer. To this should be added the critical analyses by locally born authors: for example José Antonio Saco's outstanding *Memoria sobre la vagancia en la isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1832) and Mariano Otero, *Ensayo sobre el verdadero estado de la cuestión social y política que se agita en la República Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1842). This period also witnessed the publication of exhaustive descriptions of the geography and socio-economic characteristics of the new countries, along the lines of a pioneer study by Agostino Codazzi, published in Caracas in 1842 under the title *Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela*. In Colombia the 'comisión geográfica', directed by Codazzi, produced Manuel Ancízar's *Peregrinación de Alpha por la provincia del norte de la Nueva Granada, en 1850 y 1851* (Bogotá, 1853). In Peru, there was the monumental work by the Italian geographer, Antonio Raimondi, *El Perú*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1874–80); in Chile, the even more ambitious *Historia física y política de Chile* (Paris and Santiago, 1844–71), by the French botanist Claude Gay, of which the two volumes on *La agricultura*, published in 1862 and 1865, are of particular interest;

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and in Argentina, the French geographer Jean-Antoine-Victor Martin de Moussy's *Description géographique et statistique de la Confédération Argentine*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1860–73).

2. POST-INDEPENDENCE SPANISH AMERICA: SOCIETY AND POLITICS

In addition to works treating political themes for Spanish America as a whole, this bibliographical essay touches on some works on individual countries that have wider significance, either because their conclusions are broadly applicable or because they may be taken as models for study in other places.

David Bushnell and Neill Macaulay, *The Emergence of Latin America* (New York, 1988) is a general survey of Latin America in the nineteenth century full of interesting detail and gracefully written. Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (New York, 1970), as its title suggests, interprets Latin American history from the vantage point of dependency analysis. Its exposition includes political as well as economic features of the nineteenth century, both sketched rather schematically. Tulio Halperín Donghi deals with the society and politics of the post-independence period era in a perspicacious and sophisticated way in two texts: chaps. 3 and 4 of his *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1969; Eng. trans., 1993) and *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America* (New York, 1973). Finally, E. Bradford Burns, in *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1980), offers another general interpretation much influenced by the perspective of dependency analysis, which stresses the conflict between an exploitative Europe-oriented dominant class and a resistant 'folk.' Burns's observations about the dominant class generally are more persuasive than his account of the 'folk,' about whose attitudes there is still rather little solid information.

On the initial formation of new states in Spanish America, David Bushnell's *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954) is a model monograph dealing with political issues and administrative realities. On the birth of the republic in Bolivia, see William L. Lofstrom, *La presidencia de Sucre en Bolivia* (Caracas, 1987); 'Attempted economic reform and innovation in Bolivia under Antonio José de Sucre, 1825–1828,' *HAHR*, 50/2 (1970), 279–99; and 'From colony to republic: A case study

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in bureaucratic change', *JLAS*, 5/2 (1973), 177–97. Michael P. Costeloe, *La primera república federal de México (1824–1835): Un estudio de los partidos políticos en el México independiente* (Mexico, D.F., 1975) gives a marvelous picture of political factions and cross-currents in early republican Mexico.

Spanish American legal scholars and historians have compiled national constitutional histories for most of the countries in the region; they are too numerous to list here. There is no single work on the constitutional history of Spanish America as a whole. Mario Rodríguez, *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808–1826* (Berkeley, 1978) is a case study of more general interest because of the widespread influence of the Cádiz constitution (1812) through much of Spanish America.

A general view of elite ideologies in the nineteenth century may be found in Leopoldo Zea, *The Latin American Mind* (Norman, Okla., 1949). William Rex Crawford, *A Century of Latin American Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961) provides a brief introduction to some of the ideas of salient thinkers. Works on particular countries that are more broadly suggestive include Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence: 1808–1833* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967) and Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, *El pensamiento colombiano en el siglo XIX* (Bogotá, 1964). Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora: 1821–1833* (New Haven, Conn., 1968) usefully sets Mora and his contemporaries in the broad context of received European thought; nonetheless the views of Mora and others discussed by Hale were in important ways peculiar to the Mexican situation. Also for intellectual history, see E. Bradford Burns, 'Ideology in nineteenth-century Latin American historiography,' *HAHR*, 58/3 (1978), 409–31, and Allen Woll, *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), which explore the ideological cargo of the writings of nineteenth-century Spanish American historians. In a rather different vein, Frank Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite* (Austin, Tex., 1976) discusses, among other themes, the role in national politics of policies in higher education.

Fiscal weakness as an obstacle to the development of stable Spanish American republics (1820–1870) is the topic of a growing literature. Much of the work to date deals with Mexico: see, for example, Jan Bazant, *Historia de la deuda exterior de México (1823–1946)* (México, D.F., 1968); Marcello Carmagnani, 'Finanzas y estado en México, 1820–1880,' *I-AA*, 9 (1983), 279–317; Barbara A. Tenenbaum, *The Politics of Penury: Debt and Taxes in Mexico, 1821–1856* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986). Two important analyses bear on fiscal problems in Argentina: Miron Burgin,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820–1852 (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), and Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Guerra y finanzas en los orígenes del estado argentino (1791–1850)* (Buenos Aires, 1982). For the northern Andes there are Malcolm Deas, 'The fiscal problem of nineteenth century Colombia,' *JLAS*, 14 (1982), 287–328, and Linda Alexander Rodríguez, *The Search for Public Policy: Regional Politics and Government Finances in Ecuador, 1830–1940* (Berkeley, 1985).

General cultural explanations of political instability are perhaps less in favour now than structural approaches, but no one should ignore the striking formulations of Richard M. Morse, which emphasize the persistence of Spanish royal patrimonial-authoritarian patterns. Morse has reiterated and reformulated his thesis several times, in 'Toward a theory of Spanish American government,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 15 (1954), 71–93; 'The heritage of Latin America,' in Louis Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1964), 123–77; and, more recently, in chap. 3 of *New World Soundings: Culture and Ideology in the Americas* (Baltimore, 1989). Morse's ideas are applied to the case of Chile in Francisco Antonio Moreno, *Legitimacy and Stability in Latin America: A Study of Chilean Political Culture* (New York, 1969). Another sort of cultural interpretation of Spanish American politics, emphasizing Roman Catholic 'monism' and the drive for individual dominance in Spanish American culture, is offered by Glen Caudill Dealy, 'The tradition of monistic democracy in Latin America,' in *Politics and Social Change in Latin America*, edited by Howard J. Wiarda (Amherst, Mass., 1974), and *The Public Man: An Interpretation of Latin American and Other Catholic Countries* (Amherst, Mass., 1977). Two earlier cultural interpretations, apparently no longer much read, are Francisco García Calderón, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress* (New York, 1913) and Lionel Cecil Jane, *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America* (London, 1929).

Although many current scholars tend to look to enduring cultural patterns rather than to structural characteristics in interpreting nineteenth-century politics in Spanish America, a persuasive overall structural analysis remains to be formulated. Eric R. Wolf and Edward C. Hansen, 'Caudillo politics: A structural analysis,' *CSSH*, 9/2 (1967), 168–79, is much cited and has been very influential. But their analysis is vitiated by a faulty understanding of both economic and social structures. Other sources with useful perspectives on nineteenth-century *caudillismo* include Hugh M. Hamill, Jr. (ed.), *Dictatorship in Spanish America* (New York, 1965) and Robert L. Gilmore, *Caudillism and Militarism in Venezuela, 1810–1910*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Athens, Ohio, 1964). One of the more useful contributions is the analysis of a single case (Martín Güemes in the province of Salta, Argentina) by Roger Haigh, 'The creation and control of a caudillo," *HAHR,* 44/4 (1964), 481–90. John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator: Juan Manuel de Rosas, 1829–1852* (Oxford, 1981) is a masterful treatment of that important *candillo.* Lynch has now written a broader analysis of Spanish American *caudillismo,* focusing upon the cases of Rosas, José Antonio Páez of Venezuela, General Antonio López de Santa Anna of Mexico, and José Rafael Carrera of Guatemala: *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800–1850* (Oxford, 1992).

A number of structural analyses of politics focus upon conflicting regional economic interests or at least differentiation among regional economies. As the economic structures of the countries vary, so also do the analyses of the roles of regional economic interest (or other regional identifications) in shaping politics. Because of both variations among the countries and variations of analysis within individual countires, developing an overall interpretive structure from the individual cases presents a challenge. The classic study of conflicting regional economic interests as a factor in politics is Miron Burgin's *Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism* (cited above); Burgin's picture of the Argentine economy has been challenged and revised by Jonathan Brown, *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), and regional economic experience is treated with sophistication and nuance in various works of Tulio Halperín Donghi, e.g. *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). Differing regional economic interests play a central role in Paul Gootenberg's impressive interpretation of Peruvian politics, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Post-independence Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1989) as well as in various shorter essays. Gootenberg's construction may be thought of as a lineal descendant of Burgin's analysis of Argentine politics, but the regional economic structures, and thus the socio-political consequences, appear to be substantially different. Conveniently brief treatments pointing up the contrast between the structural conditions and political outcomes in Colombia and Peru may be found in Frank Safford, 'The emergence of economic liberalism in Colombia,' and Paul Gootenberg, 'Beleaguered liberals: The failed first generation of free traders in Peru,' both in Joseph L. Love and Nils Jacobsen (eds.), *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (New York, 1988).

Two striking, but flawed, analyses of regional conflict in Colombian

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

politics are Germán Colmenares, *Partidos políticos y clases sociales* (Bogotá, 1968), which empahsizes contrasting socio-political mentalities created by different regional economies, and María Teresa Uribe de Hincapié and Jesús María Alvarez, *Poderes y regiones: Problemas en la constitución de la nación colombiana* (Medellín, 1987), which stresses conflicting regional economic interests. Colmenares identifies Colombian conservatism with the aristocracy of the Cauca, ignoring the developing bourgeoisie of Antioquia, while Uribe de Hincapié and Alvarez, for their part, exaggerate the importance of Antioquia's economic grievances as a source of political conflict. The role of region in political alignments in Colombia after 1850 is an important theme in Helen Delpar, *Red against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1981) and James William Park, *Rafael Núñez and the Politics of Colombian Regionalism, 1863–1886* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985). Regional differentiation also figures in some salient interpretations of Mexican politics. A brief, yet nuanced, anaylsis, stressing both regional and social factors, is François Chevalier, 'Conservateurs et libéraux au Mexique: Essaie de sociologie et géografie politiques de l'independance a l'intervention française,' *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 8 (1964), 457–74. David A. Brading, *Los orígenes del nacionalismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) sketches an opposition between conservative strength in and around Mexico City and liberal provinces in a ring from San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas in the north, to Guadalajara in the west, to Oaxaca to the south. Donald Fithian Stevens, employing statistical analysis, questions this formulation, as well as other standard views, in *Origins of Instability in Early Republican Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

Some authors see class differences as the motor of political conflict in Spanish America. Many textbooks, often apparently taking Mexico as a model, describe political elites in Spanish America as being divided between a Conservative bloc of large landowners, clergy, and military and Liberal professionals, intellectuals, and merchants. Such formulations are to be found even in more imaginative interpretive essays, such as John J. Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford, Calif., 1958) and Stanley and Barbara Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*. These notions are questioned in Frank Safford, 'Bases of political alignments in early republican Spanish America,' in Richard Graham and Peter H. Smith (eds.), *New Approaches to Latin American History* (Austin, Tex., 1974).

On the role of the church in Spanish-American politics, J. Lloyd Mecham provides a country-by-country survey in *Church and State in Latin America*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934; 2nd ed., 1966); the first edition offers some material on the nineteenth century that is deleted in the second edition. Mexico, one of the scenes of greatest conflict over the church, is the subject of a number of studies. Michael P. Costeloe in *Church Wealth in Mexico: A Study of the 'Juzgado de Capellanias' in the Archbishopric of Mexico 1800–1856* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), as well as in various related articles, sheds much light on the roles of the church in economy and politics. See also Costeloe's *Church and State in Independent Mexico: A Study of the Patronage Debate, 1821–1857* (London, 1978). T. G. Powell, 'Priests and peasants in Central Mexico: Social conflict during la Reforma," *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 296–313, explains peasant indifference to defending the church when it was under attack. Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856–1875* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971) analyzes the characteristics of church property and of the people who bought it. Bazant's argument that purchases of church property absorbed capital that might have been better invested elsewhere is more generally expounded in Arnold Bauer, 'The church and Spanish American agrarian structure, 1765–1865,' *TA*, 28/1 (1971). Bauer also clarifies the differences among various sorts of debts to the church in 'The church in the economy of Spanish America: *Censos* and *Depósitos* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,' *HAHR*, 63/4 (1983), 707–34.

The political polarization in the middle of the nineteenth century is treated for Mexico in Hale's *Mexican Liberalism* and in Moisés González Navarro, *Anatomía del poder en México, 1848–1853* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), the latter a loosely constructed work but one rich in suggestive detail. On the same phenomenon in Colombia, see the account of a contemporary, José Maria Samper, *Historia de un alma* (Medellín, 1971), as well as various later analyses – for example, Colmenares's *Partidos políticos y clases sociales;* Robert L. Gilmore, 'Nueva Granada's socialist mirage,' *HAHR*, 36/2 (1956), 190–210, and J. León Helguera, 'Antecedentes sociales de la revolución de 1851 en el sur de Colombia (1848–1851),' *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 5 (1970), 53–63. On Chile, see a nineteenth-century account, Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna, *Historia de la jornada del 20 de abril de 1851; Una batalla en las calles de Santiago* (Santiago, Chile, 1878) and a more recent monograph, Luis Alberto Romero, *La Sociedad de la Igualdad: Los artesanos de Santiago de Chile y sus primeras experiencias politicas, 1820–1851* (Buenos Aires, 1978).

Recent research has begun to extend our knowledge of political topics beyond the realm of national elites in national capitals, exploring politics

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in the provinces and rural communities and the relationship of provincial communities with national politics. Such research apparently is being carried furthest in Mexico and Peru. On Mexico, Charles H. Harris III, *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarro Family, 1765–1867* (Austin, Tex., 1975) provides a glimpse of the politics of Coahuila and its relationship to national politics. Stuart F. Voss, *On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Sonora and Sinaloa, 1810–1877* (Tucson, Ariz., 1982) is a much more purposive analysis of provincial politics and its relation to the national state. Another work dealing with provincial politics in Mexico is Charles R. Berry, *The Reform in Oaxaca, 1856–76* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981). T. G. Powell, *El liberalismo y el campesinado en el centro de México (1850 a 8176)* (Mexico, D.F., 1974) is particularly informative at the level of the peasant community. Florencia Mallon has explored dimensions of peasant actions in local politics and the interaction between peasant communities and national politics, among other places, in *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983) and 'Peasants and state formation in nineteenth-century Mexico: Morelos, 1848–1858', *Political Power and Social Theory*, 7 (1988), 1–54.

The relationship of Indian peasants to the state in the nineteenth century is a subject of continuing research, in Peru and Bolivia as well as Mexico. But scholars are not finding a single pattern. Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: Tierra y tributo en el norte de Potosí* (Lima, 1982) perceives the continuance in the nineteenth century of the colonial pattern of relations between Bolivian peasants and the state, with peasants cooperating in tribute payments and labor drafts in return for security of land tenure and exemption from other taxes. Scholars are divided as to whether this pattern may be applied to Peru; some believe the state was too weak to collect tribute, or indeed to make any kind of bargain with the indigenes. See, for example, Paul Gootenberg, 'Population and ethnicity in early republican Peru: Some revisions,' *LARR*, 26/3 (1991), 109–58. Similar variations may be found in attitudes of political elites toward Indian community lands. Mexican Conservatives are said to have attempted to protect Indian community lands from Liberal depredations. On this, see Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México: Tenochtitlán y Tiatelolco, sus pueblos y sus barrios, 1812–1919* (Zamora, 1983). Frank Safford in 'Race, integration, and progress: Elite attitudes and the Indian in Colombia, 1750–1870,' *HAHR*, 71/1 (1991), 1–33, finds divisions among Colombian elites on this issue varied less by party than by region.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Interesting work is being done on rural rebellion, particularly in Mexico. See especially a number of splendid essays in Friedrich Katz (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988). See also Leticia Reina, *Las rebeliones campesinas en México (1819–1906)*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1986). Paul J. Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police and Mexican Development* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981) offers a number of arresting insights into rural disorder, politics, and the state. On rural society in the Argentine pampa, see two differing perspectives in John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator,* and Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983). While rural society appears to preoccupy many scholars working on popular history in the nineteenth century, a significant effort to analyze the urban bases support for the Rosas regime in Argentina has appeared in Mark D. Szuchman, *Order, Family and Community in Buenos Aires, 1810–1860* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). As scholars continue to explore the local and regional bases of politics, the picture becomes ever more complicated, and generalization about patterns in Spanish American society and politics becomes ever more difficult.

3. MEXICO

Ernesto de la Torre Villar et al. (eds.), *Historia documental de México,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964) is an important documentary collection. F. Tena Ramírez (ed.), *Leyes fundamentales de México 1808–1973,* 5th rev. ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1973), reproduces all the constitutions and their drafts as well as the most important laws and decrees. Guides to the records of the Archivo General de Notarías, Mexico City, for the year 1829 (Amherst, Mass., 1982) and for the year 1847 (Amherst, Mass., 1983) have been compiled by Robert A. Potash in collaboration with Jan Bazant and Josefina Z. Vázquez, and for the years 1836–43 – one volume for each year – by Josefina Z. Vázquez and Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (Mexico, D.F., 1985–90). For economic and social aspects of the period from around 1800 to 1852, L. Chávez Orozco (ed.), *Colección de documentos para la historia del comercio exterior de México,* in two series: series 1 in 7 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1958–62); series 2 in 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1965–7) should be consulted; it covers much more ground than the title indicates. Documentation on the Juárez era can be found in J. L. Tamayo (ed.), *Benito Juárez, documentos, discursos y correspondencia,* 14 vols. (Mexico, D.F.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1964–70), and Secretaría de la Presidencia (ed.), *La administración pública en la época de Juárez,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973). For foreign relations, see L. Díaz (ed.), *Versión francesa de México: Informes diplomáticos 1853–1867,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1963–7), and L. Díaz (ed.), *Versión francesa de México 1851–67; Informes económicos* (consular reports), 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1974).

There are a number of general works which include substantial treatment of Mexican history in the period after independence. Most notable among older works are Lucas Alamán, *Historia de México, 1808–1849,* 2nd ed., 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1942–8), vol. 5; Vicente Riva Palacio (ed.), *México a través de los siglos* (1889; facsimile ed., Mexico, D.F., 1958), vols. 4 and 5; Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz, *México desde 1808 hasta 1867,* 4 vols. (1871–2; 2nd ed., Mexico, D.F., 1974). More recently Luis González y González (ed.), *Historia general de México,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976), vol. 3 (1821–1910), and Jan Bazant, *A Concise History of Mexico from Hidalgo to Cárdenas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977), chaps. 2 and 3, have provided valuable syntheses. See also François-Xavier Guerra, *Le Mexique: De l'ancien régime a la révolution,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1985), an excellent analytical work, the first volume of which deals with the nineteenth century; W. Dirk Raat (ed.), *Mexico: From Independence to Revolution, 1810–1910* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982); Bernardo García Martínez, *Historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); and Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History,* 4th ed. (Oxford, 1991). Still useful is Justo Sierra, *Evolución política del pueblo mexicano,* available in English as *The Political Evolution of the Mexican People* (Austin, Tex., 1970).

There are two collections of essays on aspects of the economic and social history of Mexico in the nineteenth century edited by Ciro F. S. Cardoso: *Formación y desarrollo de la burguesía en México: Siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) and *México en el siglo XIX (1821–1910): Historia económica y de la estructura social* (Mexico, D.F., 1980). John M. Coatsworth, 'Obstacles to economic growth in nineteenth-century Mexico', *AHR,* 83/1 (1978), 80–100, and 'The Decline of the Mexican economy, 1800–1860' in Reinhard Liehr (ed.), *América Latina en la época de Simón Bolívar: La formación de las economías nacionales y los intereses económicos europeos, 1800–1850* (Berlin, 1989), are excellent essays dealing with the causes of the backwardness of the Mexican economy. Richard J. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539–1840* (Princeton, N.J., 1987) is a well-documented history of the first Mexican textile manufacturers. See also Guy P. C. Thomson, 'Traditional and modern manufacturing in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mexico, 1821–1850', in R. Liehr (ed.), *América Latina en la época de Simón Bolívar* and *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City* (Boulder, Colo., 1989). R. W. Randall, *Real del Monte, a British Mining Venture in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1972), is one of the few books on mining. Robert A. Potash, *Mexican Government and Industrial Development in the Early Republic: The Banco de Avío* (Amherst, Mass., 1983), a revised edition of an older work (Mexico, D.F., 1959) available only in Spanish, is essential for the history of manufacturing and government banking. Leonor Ludlow and Carlos Marichal (eds.), *Banca y poder en México (1800–1925)* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), is a selection of essays dealing with different aspects of banking in Mexico (mainly in the nineteenth century). For the financial history of Mexico in the decades immediately following independence, see Barbara Tenenbaum, *The Politics of Penury: Debts and Taxes in Mexico, 1821–1856* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986). J. Bazant, *Historia de la deuda exterior de México 1823–1946* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), replaces the older book by Edgar Turlington, *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors* (New York, 1930). See also the relevant sections of Carlos Marichal, *Historia de la deuda externa de América Latina* (Madrid, 1988); Eng. trans. *A Century of Debt Crises in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821–1853* (New Haven, Conn., 1968) is essential for the study of ideas. Michael P. Costeloe, *Church and State in Independent Mexico: A Study of the Patronage Debate 1821–1857* (London, 1978), is an excellent study of church-state relations. On the difficult question of Church wealth and its disposal, see Michael P. Costeloe, *Church Wealth in Mexico* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967) and J. Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution 1856–1875* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971; 2nd revised ed. in Spanish, *Los bienes de la iglesia en México*, Mexico, D.F., 1977). Jean Pierre Bastian, *Historia del Protestantismo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1990) is the first well-documented book on the subject.

On agrarian structures and the history of the hacienda, see Charles H. Harris III, *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarros 1765–1867* (Austin, Tex., 1975); J. Bazant, *Cinco haciendas mexicanas: Tres siglos de vida rural en San Luis Potosí, 1600–1910* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), a summary of parts of which was published in English in K. Duncan and I. Rutledge, *Land and Labour in Latin America: Essays on the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in the 19th & 20th Centuries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); David A. Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío* (Cambridge, Eng., 1978); Raymond Buve (ed.), *Haciendas in Central Mex-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ico from Late Colonial Times to the Revolution (Amsterdam, 1984), a collection of essays dealing especially with labour conditions, hacienda management and its relation to the state; Herbert J. Nickel, *Soziale Morphologie der mexikanischen Hacienda* (Wiesbaden 1978; Sp. trans. *Morfología social de la hacienda mexicana,* Mexico, D.F., 1988), one of the best hacienda studies so far published, and *Relaciones de trabajo en las haciendas de Puebla y Tlaxcala (1740–1914)* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). See the first part (on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) of Heriberto Moreno García (ed.), *Después de los latifundos: La desintegración de la propiedad agraria en México* (Zamora, 1982); and Juan Felipe Leal and Mario Juacuja Rountree, *Economía y sistema de haciendas en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), which deals with the history of pulque haciendas from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Manuel Plana, *Il regno del cotone in Messico: La struttura agraria de La Laguna (1855–1910)* (Milan, 1984) describes the beginning and development of cotton farming in northern Mexico. Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México* (Zamora, 1983) describes the struggle of Indian villages against the encroachment of Mexico City; Rodolfo Pastor, *Campesinos y reformas: La mixteca, 1700–1856* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) describes village life in a part of the state of Oaxaca. John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) is an important study which provides a fresh look at much-discussed problems and events.

For the period 1821–35, contemporary descriptions include J. Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico* (London, 1825) and H. G. Ward, *Mexico in 1827,* 2 vols. (London, 1828). Günter Kahle, *Militär and Staatsbildung in den Anfängen der Unabhängigkeit Mexikos* (Cologne, 1969), is a pioneer study of the formation of the Mexican army through the amalgamation of guerrilla fighters for independence and former royalist officers. Michael P. Costeloe, *La primera república federal de México 1824–1835* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), is a study of political parties, based on research in the press and pamphlets. Also worthy of note are R. Flores Caballero, *Counterrevolution: The Role of the Spaniards in the Independence of Mexico 1804–1838* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1974); and Brian R. Hamnett, *Revolución y contrarevolución en México y el Perú* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), for the difficult first years of independent Mexico. See also by Brian Hamnett, 'Benito Juárez, early liberalism and the regional politics of Oaxaca, 1828–1853, *BLAR,* 10/1 (1991). Michael P. Costeloe, *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986), offers a new look at the relations between Spain and her rebellious provinces in America. Harold

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

D. Sims, *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821–1836* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1990) is an important work on a little-known subject. Also worthy of note is David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American South-West under Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1982). On the Yucatán Caste War, there are three well-researched articles by Howard F. Cline: 'The "Aurora Yucateca" and the spirit of enterprise in Yucatán, 1821–1847', *HAHR*, 27 (1947), 30–60; 'The sugar episode in Yucatán, 1825–1850', *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 1/4 (1948), 79–100; 'The Henequén episode in Yucatán', *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 2/2 (1948), 30–51. See also Moisés González Navarro, *Raza y Tierra* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), and N. Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatán* (Stanford, Calif., 1964).

The Texas revolution and the Mexican war have naturally received a great deal of attention from U.S. and Mexican historians, contemporary and modern. See R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1849; reprinted 1970); R. Alcaraz et al., *The Other Side: Or Notes for the History of the War between Mexico and the United States* (trans. and ed. by A. C. Ramsey) (New York, 1850), in which 15 prominent Mexicans describe the war; Carlos E. Castañeda (ed. and trans.), *The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution 1836* (Washington, D.C., 1971) contains accounts by five chief Mexican participants, including Santa Anna; J. F. Ramírez, *Mexico during the War with the United States*, ed. by W. V. Scholes, trans. by E. B. Sherr (Columbia, Mo., 1950); G. M. Brack, *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny 1821–1846, An Essay on the Origins of the Mexican War* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1975), a sympathetic account, well documented from Mexican newspapers and pamphlets; Charles H. Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), a very useful study of these adventurers. Finally, on U.S.–Mexican relations after the war, see Donathan C. Olliff, *Reforma Mexico and the United States: A Search for Alternatives to Annexation, 1854–61* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1983).

For Mexico in the period after 1848 there are two studies of the later years of Santa Anna: F. Díaz D., *Caudillos y caciques* (Mexico, D.F., 1972) and M. González Navarro, *Anatomía del poder en México 1848–1853* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). On the career of Santa Anna, see also John Lynch, *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800–1850* (Oxford, 1992), chap. 8. On liberal politics, see W. V. Scholes, *Mexican Politics during the Juárez Régime 1855–1872*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, Mo., 1969); Richard N. Sinkin, *The Mexican Reform, 1855–1876: A Study in Liberal Nation-Building* (Austin, Tex., 1979) and Charles R. Berry, *The Reform in Oaxaca, 1856–76: A Micro-History of the Liberal Revolution* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981), a detailed

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

regional study of the question. On French intervention, see J. A. Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico 1861–1867, a Study in Military Government* (The Hague, 1963); and on the empire, Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Napoleon III and Mexico: American Triumph over Monarchy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971).

A number of political biographies are worthy of note: W. S. Robertson, *Iturbide of Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1952) which is heavily based on archival materials (see also *Memoirs of Agustín de Iturbide* [Washington, D.C., 1971]); J. E. Rodríguez O., *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism 1808–1832* (Berkeley, 1975), a fine biography of an Ecuadorean liberal who took part in the struggle for the Mexican republic; Wilfrid H. Callcott, *Santa Anna* (Norman, Okla., 1936) and O. L. Jones, Jr., *Santa Anna* (New York, 1968), which should be read together with A. F. Crawford (ed.), *The Eagle: The Autobiography of Santa Anna* (Austin, Tex., 1967); Thomas E. Cotner, *The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792–1854* (Austin, Tex., 1949); Frank A. Knapp, *The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823–1899* (Austin, Tex., 1951) and C. G. Blázquez, *Miguel Lerdo de Tejada* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); I. E. Cadenhead, Jr., *Benito Juárez* (New York, 1973), which to a considerable extent replaces the older and more voluminous biography by R. Roeder, *Juárez and His Mexico,* 2 vols. (New York, 1947); also by Cadenhead, *Jesús González Ortega and Mexican National Politics* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1972); G. A. Hutchinson, *Valentín Gómez Farías* (Guadalajara, 1983), a biographical study of the leading liberal; Jan Bazant, *Antonio Haro y Tamariz y sus aventuras políticas* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), the life of a conservative, then liberal and finally reactionary politician. Finally, see Joan Haslip, *The Crown of Mexico, Maximilian and His Empress Carlota* (New York, 1971), a comprehensive biography, both personal and political, of the two tragic figures.

4. CENTRAL AMERICA

A comparison of Lázaro Lamadrid, 'A survey of the historiography of Guatemala since 1821: Part I – The nineteenth century', *TA,* 8/2 (1951), 189–202; W. J. Griffith, 'The historiography of Central America since 1830', *HAHR,* 40/4 (1960), 548–69; and R. L. Woodward, Jr., 'The historiography of modern Central America since 1960', *HAHR,* 67/3 (1987), 461–96, reflects the rapid growth of historical publication on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Central America in the second half of the twentieth century. For publications since *c.* 1970 in particular, see the extensive bibliographical essay in R. L. Woodward, Jr., *Central America, a Nation Divided,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), 278–312.

While earlier general works continue to have utility, Woodward, *Central America,* Ciro Cardoso and Héctor Pérez, *Centroamérica y la economía occidental (1530–1930)* (San José, C.R., 1977), and James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London, 1988) incorporate much of the recent scholarship on the first half-century of independence. Edelberto Torres Rivas, *Interpretación del desarrollo social centroamericano* (San José, C.R., 1971) has provided much of the inspiration for serious recent historical research in the social sciences in Central America. Histories of individual states that reflect recent scholarship on the nineteenth century include Narda Dobson, *A History of Belize* (London, 1973); O. N. Bolland, *The Formation of a Colonial Society: Belize from Conquest to Crown Colony* (Baltimore, 1977); Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, *Weak Foundations: The Economy of El Salvador in the Nineteenth Century, 1821–1898* (Berkeley, 1991); David Luna, *Manual de historia económica* (San Salvador, 1971); and E. Bradford Burns, *Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1798–1858* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). For reference, although uneven in quality, the *Historical Dictionary* series published in Metuchen, N.J., is useful: Philip Flemion, *El Salvador* (1972); H. K. Meyer, *Nicaragua* (1972) and *Honduras* (1976); R. E. Moore, *Guatemala,* rev. ed. (1973); and Theodore Creedman, *Costa Rica* (1977). Also useful are the volumes in the World Bibliographical Series (Oxford): R. L. Woodward, Jr., *Belize* (1980), *El Salvador* (1988), *Guatemala* (1992) and *Nicaragua* (1994); Charles Stansifer, *Costa Rica* (1991); and Pamela Howard, *Honduras* (1992).

Several recent studies deal with specific aspects of the post-independence period: D. R. Radell, *Historical Geography of Western Nicaragua: The Spheres of Influence of León, Granada and Managua, 1519–1965* (Berkeley, 1969); David Browning, *El Salvador, Landscape and Society* (Oxford, 1971); Alberto Sáenz M., *Historia agrícola de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1970); Carolyn Hall, *El café y el desarrollo histórico-geográfico de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1976); Lowell Gudmundson, *Costa Rica before Coffee* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986); Constantino Láscaris, *Historia de las ideas en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1970); Carlos González, *Historia de la educación en Guatemala,* 2nd ed. (Guatemala, 1970); Otto Olivera, *La literatura en publicaciones periódicas de Guatemala: Siglo XIX* (New Orleans, 1974); Arturo Castillo, *Historia de la moneda de Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1974); Samuel Stone, *La dinastía de los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

conquistadores (San José, C.R., 1975) and *The Heritage of the Conquistadors: Ruling Classes in Central America from Conquest to the Sandinistas* (San José, C.R., 1990); Cleto González Víquez, *Capítulos de un libro sobre historia financiera de Costa Rica,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1977); and R. L. Woodward, Jr., *Privilegio de clases y el desarrollo económico: El consulado de comercio de Guatemala, 1793–1871* (San José, C.R., 1981), which contains extensive documentary appendices not included in the 1966 English edition.

Among the most noteworthy articles in Central American journals are Ciro Cardoso, 'La formación de la hacienda cafetalera en Costa Rica (siglo XIX),' *ESC,* 2/6 (1973), 22–50; Carlos Araya, 'La minería y sus relaciones con la acumulación de capital y la clase dirigente de Costa Rica, 1821–1841', *ESC,* 2/5 (1973), 31–64, and 'La minería en Costa Rica, 1821–1843', *Revista Historia,* 1/2 (1976), 83–125; Eugenio Herrera Balharry, 'Los inmigrantes y el poder en Costa Rica,' *Revista Historia,* 6/11 (1985), 131–59; José Antonio Salas Víquez, 'La privatización de los baldíos nacionales en Costa Rica durante el siglo XIX: Legislación y procedimientos utilizados para su ajudicación', *Revista Historia,* 15/1 (1987), 63–118; Héctor Pérez Brignoli, 'Economía y sociedad en Honduras durante el siglo XIX: Las estructuras demográficas', *ESC,* 2/6 (1973), 51–82; Guillermo Molina, 'Estructura productiva e historia demográfica (Economía y desarrollo en Honduras)', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 3 (1977), 161–73; and Alberto Lanuza, 'Nicaragua: Territorio y población (1821–1875)', *Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano,* 31/151 (1976), 1–22, 'Comercio exterior de Nicaragua (1821–1875)', *ESC,* 5/14 (1976), 109–36, and 'La minería en Nicaragua (1821–1875)', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 3 (1977), 215–24. R. L. Woodward, Jr., has reviewed the literature on the demographic history of the period in 'Crecimiento de población en Centroamérica durante la primera mitad del siglo de la independencia nacional', *Mesoamérica,* 1/1 (1980), 219–31. Although he overlooks some of the work already done, Thomas Schoonover, 'Central American commerce and maritime activity in the nineteenth century: Sources for a quantitative approach', *LARR,* 13/2 (1978), 157–69, provides some guidance in this area.

Among recent works dealing with the establishment of Central American independence, clearly the most important is Mario Rodríguez, *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808–1826* (Berkeley, 1978), but also excellent for its structural analysis of Central American society and politics in the period is Julio César Pinto Soria, *Centroamérica, de la colonia al estado nacional, 1800–1840* (Guatemala City, 1986). While

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Louis Bumgartner, *José del Valle of Central America* (Durham, N.C., 1963) remains the definitive work on that important political figure, Ramón López, *José Cecilio del Valle, Fouché de Centro América* (Guatemala City, 1968) offers some new insights, and Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *Pensamiento vivo de José Cecilio del Valle,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1971), is an excellent anthology of his writings and synthesis of his ideas. The role of the first Central American Constituent Assembly is dealt with in detail by Andrés Townsend, *Las Provincias Unidas de Centroamérica: Fundación de la República,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1973) in a substantial amplification of his 1958 edition. Two revisionist articles on the Federation period are Philip Flemion, 'States' rights and partisan politics: Manuel José Arce and the struggle for Central American union', *HAHR,* 53/4 (1973), 600–18, and Mauricio Domínguez, 'El Obispado de San Salvador: Foco de desavenencia político-religiosa', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 1 (1974), 87–133. Francisco Morazán's *Memorias,* written following his defeat in 1840 and published in Paris in 1870, were reprinted in Tegucigalpa in 1971, and a collection of his personal papers have appeared in W. J. Griffith, 'The personal archive of Francisco Morazán', *Philological and Documentary Studies, II* (New Orleans, 1977), 197–286.

For the post-independence period, see T. L. Karnes, *The Failure of Union: Central America, 1824–1871,* rev. ed. (Tempe, Ariz., 1976) and Alberto Herrarte, *El federalismo en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1972), a condensation of his *Unión de Centroamérica* (Guatemala City, 1964). F. D. Parker, *Travels in Central America, 1821–1840* (Gainesville, Fla., 1970), deals with a number of the perceptive travel accounts of this period. Reflecting substantial new research are the articles on Guatemala by Mario Rodríguez, Miriam Williford, R. L. Woodward, Jr., and W. J. Griffith, in *Applied Enlightenment: 19th Century Liberalism* (New Orleans, 1972). Griffith's article in that volume, 'Attitudes toward foreign colonization: The evolution of nineteenth-century Guatemalan immigration', expands upon the ideas earlier presented in his *Empires in the Wilderness* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966). See also Williford's 'The educational reforms of Dr. Mariano Gálvez', *JIAS,* 10/3 (1968), 461–73. For the diplomatic history of the period, in addition to Mario Rodríguez's excellent *Palmerstonian Diplomat in Central America: Frederick Chatfield, Esq.* (Tucson, Ariz., 1964), see R. A. Humphreys, 'Anglo-American rivalries in Central America', in *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America, and Other Essays* (London, 1969), 154–85; David Waddell, 'Great Britain and the Bay Islands, 1821–61', *Historical Journal,* 2/1 (1959), 59–77; C. L. Stansifer, 'Ephra-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

im George Squier: Diversos aspectos de su carrera en Centroamérica', *Revista Conservadora del Pensamiento Centroamericano,* 20/98 (1968); Cyril Allen, *France in Central America* (New York, 1966), which concentrates on canal agent Felix Belly; and Andrés Vega Bolaños, *Los atentados del superintendente de Belice* (Managua, 1971), which focuses on British activities of 1840–2. The most detailed work on British commercial penetration of the isthmus has been done by Robert A. Naylor: 'The British role in Central America prior to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850', *HAHR,* 40/3 (1960), 361–82, *Influencia británica en el comercio centroamericano durante las primeras décadas de la independencia (1821–1851)* (Antigua Guatemala, 1988), and *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914* (Rutherford, N.J., 1989). José Ramírez described the career of an early Nicaraguan diplomat in *José Marcoleta: Padre de la diplomacia nicaragüense,* 2 vols. (Managua, 1975). Chester Zelaya and L.F. Sibaja treat Costa Rican acquisition of Guanacaste in *La anexión del partido de Nicoya* (San José, C.R., 1974). Zelaya has also elucidated the career of J. F. Osejo in *El bachiller Osejo,* 2 vols. (San José, C.R., 1971).

Traditional liberal condemnations of Rafael Carrera, the leading caudillo of the period, have been challenged by Luis Beltranena Sinibaldi, *Fundación de la República* (Guatemala City, 1971), and Keith Miceli, 'Rafael Carrera: Defender and promoter of peasant interests in Guatemala, 1837–1848', *TA,* 31/1 (1974), 72–95, as well as by R. L. Woodward, Jr., 'Liberalism, conservatism and the response of the peasants of La Montaña to the government of Guatemala, 1821–1850,' in *Plantation Society in the Americas,* 1/1 (1979), 109–30, and Juan Carlos Solórzano F., 'Rafael Carrera, ¿reacción conservadora o revolución campesina? Guatemala 1837–1873', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 13/2 (1987), 5–35. See also Pedro Tobar Cruz, *Los montañeses: La facción de los Lucios y otros acontecimientos históricos de 1846 a 1851* (Guatemala City, 1971). R. L. Woodward, *Rafael Carrera and the Emergence of the Republic of Guatemala, 1821–1871* (Athens, Ga., 1993) provides a more comprehensive treatment of the first half-century of Guatemalan independence. On Rafael Carrrera, see also John Lynch, *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800–1850* (Oxford, 1992), chap. 9. David Chandler, *Juan José de Aycinena, idealista conservador de la Guatemala del siglo XIX* (Antigua Guatemala, 1988), with its documentary appendices, describes the career of one of Guatemala's most influential conservatives. See also Chandler's 'Peace through disunion: Father Juan José de Aycinena and the fall of the Central American federation,' *TA,* 46/2 (1989), 137–57. Also useful, if unanalytical, are the series of works on Guatemalan field marshals

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

by Manuel Rubio Sánchez, *Los mariscales de campo* (Guatemala City, 1982–7). José Reina Valenzuela has recorded a biography of one of Carrera's chief opponents in Honduras, *José Trinidad Cabañas: Estudio biográfico* (Tegucigalpa, 1984), while Alberto Sáenz M. sympathetically deals with the Costa Rican *caudillo, Braulio Carrillo, reformador agrícola de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1987). An important memoir of the period has been republished in Francisco Ortega, *Cuarenta años (1838–1878) de historia de Nicaragua,* 2nd ed. (Managua, 1974).

The Anglo-American rivalry for a transoceanic route and the William Walker episode continue to attract historical writings at all levels. Enrique Guier, *William Walker* (San José, C.R., 1971), offers nothing new but is a competent work, while Frederic Rosengarten, *Freebooters Must Die!* (Wayne, Pa., 1976) combines a lively account with many contemporary illustrations and maps. A new, abridged edition of Albert Z. Carr's *The World and William Walker* (1963) has appeared in a volume by Rudy Wurlitzer featuring the motion picture 'Walker' (1987): *Walker: The True Story of the First American Invasion of Nicaragua* (New York, 1987). More scholarly are the works of David Folkman, *The Nicaragua Route* (Salt Lake City, 1972); R. E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973); and Germán Tjarks et al., 'La epidemia del cólera de 1856 en el Valle Central: Análisis y consecuencias demográficas', *Revista de Historia,* 2/3 (1976); 81–129. Alejandro Bolaños Geyer has published a series of works on the Walker period based on the enormous volume of materials he has been accumulating. Of the first volumes to appear, perhaps the most interesting was his *El filibustero Clinton Rollins* (Masaya, Nic., 1976), in which he exposes Rollins, supposedly an associate of Walker, as the pseudonym of H. C. Parkhurst and his account of Walker as fiction. Bolaños's ambitious biography of Walker, *William Walker: The Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny,* begins with *The Crescent City* (St. Louis, Mo., 1988), describing Walker's early career. Subsequent volumes, *The Californias* (vol. 2), *Nicaragua* (vol. 3), and *War of Liberation* (vol. 4) treat the remainder of his colourful career.

For the close of the period, Wayne Clegern, author of *British Honduras: Colonial Dead End* (Baton Rouge, La., 1967), suggests a transitional role for the Vicente Cerna administration in 'Transition from conservatism to liberalism in Guatemala, 1865–1981,' in William S. Coker (ed.), *Hispanic American Essays in Honor of Max León Moorhead* (Pensacola, Fla., 1979), also published in Spanish in the *Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano,* 31/151 (1976), 60–5. His views are corroborated in the work of J. Castellanos Cambranes, *Coffee and Peasants: The Origins of the Modern*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Plantation Economy in Guatemala, 1853–1897 (Stockholm, 1985). There are studies of major figures in Costa Rica and El Salvador during this period: Carlos Meléndez, *Dr. José María Montealegre* (San José, C.R., 1968), and Italo López Vallecillos, *Gerardo Barrios y su tiempo,* 2 vols. (San Salvador, 1965). Finally, valuable contempoary impressions of the period have been reprinted: Lorenzo Montúfar, *Memorias autobiográficas* (Guatemala City, 1988), Francisco Lainfiesta, *Apuntamientos para la historia de Guatemala, período de 20 años corridos del 14 de abril de 1865 al 6 de abril de 1885* (Guatemala City, 1975), and Pablo Levy, *Notas geográficas y económicas sobre la República de Nicaragua,* 2nd ed. (Managua, 1976).

5. HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

On Haiti immediately after its independence from France, the Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo, 1822–44, and the independence of the Dominican Republic, see essay IV:4.

For the Haitian government after 1843, and on Faustin Soulouque especially, Gustave d'Alaux, *L'Empereur Soulouque et son empire* (Paris, 1856) continues to be useful, but should be used with caution: it is reportedly really the work of Maxime Raybaud, consul-general of France in Haiti. Sir Spenser Buckingham Saint John, *Hayti, or the Black Republic* (London, 1884; repr. 1972) has a very informative explanation of Haiti's economic decadence in the second half of the nineteenth century, although its point of view is totally anti-Haitian. The essays of David Nicholls and Benoit Joachim cited in essay IV:4 are valuable for Haiti in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. An interesting work that deals with a short period of the second half of the nineteenth century is André-Georges Adam, *Une crise haitienne, 1867–1869* (Port-au-Prince, 1982–3).

On the Dominican Republic and Dominican–Haitian relations after 1844, Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi has published a long series of documentary volumes, some of which are prefaced by important introductions; the most useful are *Documentos para la historia de la República Dominicana,* 3 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1944–7), *Guerra Dominico-Haitiana* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1957), *Antecedentes de la anexión a España* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), and *Relaciones Dominico-Españolas (1844–1859)* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955). See also William Javier Nelson, 'The Haitian political situation and its effect on the Dominican Republic, 1849–1877', *TA,* 104/2 (1987), 19–29.

In 'Datos sobre la economía dominicana durante la Primera República',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Eme-Eme Estudios Dominicanos, 4 (1976), Frank Moya Pons reconstructs the economic evolution of Santo Domingo in the years following independence, from the reports of the British consuls of the period. On Santo Domingo's annexation by Spain, and the Haitian reaction to it, see Ramón González Tablas, *Historia de la dominación y última guerra de España en Santo Domingo* (Madrid, 1870), the (critical) war memoirs of an officer in the Spanish army who served in Santo Domingo, and from the commander-in-chief of the Spanish troops during Santo Domingo's 'War of Restoration', José de la Gándara y Navarro, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1884). The Dominican version of the period is given by Gregorio Luperón, *Notas autobiográficas y apuntes históricos* (1895–6; 3 vols., Santiago de los Caballeros, 1939), the work of one of the outstanding generals in the struggle against the Spaniards. See also Manuel Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la restauración,* 2 vols. (Santiago de los Caballeros, 1939), written by another participant in the war. Pedro María Archambault, *Historia de la restauración* (Paris, 1938) is a modern but 'traditional' account of the war. More recent and satisfactory is Jaime de Jesús Domínguez, *La anexión de Santo Domingo a España, 1861–1863* (Santo Domingo, 1979). On the Dominican Republic in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, see also Julio A. Cross Beras, *Sociedad y desarrollo en la República Dominicana, 1844–1899* (Santo Domingo, 1984); Jaime de Jesús Domínguez, *Notas económicas y políticas dominicanas sobre el período julio 1885–julio 1886,* 2 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1983–4); Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, ed., *Papeles del General Santana,* (Santo Domingo, 1982), for the period 1861–5; and William Javier Nelson, 'The crisis of liberalism in the Dominican Republic, 1865–1882', *RHA* (July–December 1987). For the Dominican Republic in the second half of the nineteenth century, Harry Hoetink, *El pueblo dominicano: 1850–1900: Apuntes para su sociología histórica* (Santiago de los Caballeros, 1972); Eng. trans. *The Dominican people: 1850–1900* (Baltimore, 1982) offers an intelligent examination of the social, economic and institutional changes that occurred.

Either because of the relative size of the island of Hispaniola, or because of the primitive state of its historiography, or perhaps because documentation on some periods is still scarce, the best treatments of the histories of Haiti and Santo Domingo often appear within general works, whose titles should not mislead the reader into thinking they are superficial accounts. For example, James G. Leyburn, *The Haitian People* (New Haven, Conn., 1941; rev. ed. 1966 with a lengthy introduction by Sidney W. Mintz and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

an updated bibliography) has still not been surpassed as the best ethno-historical introduction to the study of Haitian society. See also Dantès Bellegarde, *La Nation haitienne* (Paris, 1938; revised version, *Histoire du peuple haïtien: 1492–1952*, Port-au-Prince, 1953), the work of an outstanding Haitian intellectual, and T. Lepkowski, *Haiti*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1968–9), the work of a Polish historian. A history of Haiti containing an abundance of fresh data is Robert Debs Heinl, Jr. and Nancy Gordon Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492–1971* (New York, 1978), a book marred, however, by the manifest antipathy of the authors towards all Haitian politicians. A major work by the English historian, David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979) displays much greater perception. The most comprehensive history of the Dominican Republic remains Frank Moya Pons, *Manual de historia dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1977). A book excellent for its period, though anti-Haitian in tone, and still providing a useful introduction to the history of the Republic, is Sumner Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844–1924*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966) which was first published in 1928 as a history of the relations of the Dominican Republic with the United States. But for a more comprehensive view of the subject, see Charles Callan Tansill, *The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789–1873* (Glouchester, Mass., 1967). For Haiti's relations with the United States, see Rayford W. Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776–1891* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1941) and Ludwell Lee Montague, *Haiti and the United States, 1714–1938* (Durham, N.C., 1940). Finally, two efforts to study the history of both peoples in parallel should be mentioned. Jean Price Mars, *La République d'Haiti et la République Dominicaine: Les aspects divers d'un problème d'histoire, de géographie et d'ethnologie*, 2 vols. (Port-au-Prince, 1953), contains an interpretation dictated by intense resentment at the Dominicans for not having wanted to stay united to Haiti. Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (London, 1968) provides an interesting synthesis that is accurate, but lacks the brilliance of his earlier work on U.S.–Haitian relations.

6. CUBA, *c.* 1760–*c.* 1860

Hugh Thomas, *Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom* (London, 1971), is a general history of Cuba since 1762. Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808–1939* (Oxford,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1966), is the best general history of Spain for this period. On the Bourbon reforms in Cuba, see Allan J. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753–1815: Crown, Military and Society* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986). Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Sugar and Society in the Caribbean: An Economic History of Cuban Agriculture*, trans. Marjorie Urquidi (New Haven, Conn., 1964) and Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. Harriet de Onís (New York, 1947), are brilliant and suggestive essays by great Cuban writers. Planter society is well analysed in Roland Ely, *Cuando reinaba su majestad el azúcar: Estudio histórico-sociológico de una tragedia latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1963), a major work of historical reconstruction largely based on the papers of the Drake and Terry families. See also Franklin W. Knight, 'Origins of wealth and the sugar revolution in Cuba, 1750–1850', *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 236–53. Laird W. Bergad, *Cuban Rural Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Social and Economic History of Monoculture in Matanzas* (Princeton, N.J., 1990) is an important provincial study. The sugar industry is best studied from a technical point of view in Manuel Fraginals, *El ingenio*, 1 (Havana, 1964), Eng. trans. *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba 1760–1860* (New York, 1976). The slave trade to Cuba in the nineteenth century, and its abolition, has been adequately covered in David Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), while the Spanish side of the abolition of both the slave trade and slavery has been analysed in Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba 1817–1886* (Austin, Tex., 1967). See also Raúl Cepero Bonilla, *Azúcar y abolición* (Havana, 1948) and Leví Marrero, *Cuba, Economía y sociedad: Azúcar, ilustración y conciencia, 1763–1868*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1983–5). *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 43 (1986) is devoted to slavery and abolition in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Important studies of slavery in Cuba include: H. H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868* (New York, 1907), a workmanlike, if occasionally misleading, pioneering work of scholarship; Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, 1967), which suffers from a disposition to believe Spanish slave laws meant what they said; Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1970); Gwendolyn Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of Saint Domingue and Cuba* (Baltimore, 1971); Verena Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Cambridge, Eng., 1974); and J. Peréz de la Riva, *El Barracón: Esclavitud y capitalismo en Cuba* (Barcelona, 1978). On slavery in Cuba, see also essay

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

VI:13. Kenneth F. Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774–1899* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976) is a rich compilation of census data on blacks, slave and free. See also several essays in Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons and Stanley L. Engerman (eds.), *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1985). On U.S. attitudes toward Cuba in the middle of the nineteenth century, see Basil Rauch, *American Interests in Cuba, 1848–1855* (New York, 1948) and Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–61* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973). A history of U.S.–Cuban relations (to 1895), coloured by twentieth-century guilt, is Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and Its Relations with the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1962–3).

7. VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA AND ECUADOR

GENERAL

For Gran Colombia, see D. Bushnell, *The Santander Régime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, N.J., 1954); J. M. Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia en la América meridional,* 8 vols. (Bogotá, 1942–50); R. M. Baralt and R. Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el año de 1797 hasta el de 1830,* 2 vols. (Bruges, 1939). Also very useful for its collapse are two volumes by C. Parra-Pérez, *Mariño y la independencia de Venezuela,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1954–60), vol. 4, and *La monarquía en la Gran Colombia* (Madrid, 1957). C. A. Gosselman, *Informes sobre los estados sudamericanos en los años de 1837 y 1838* (Stockholm, 1962) and M. M. Lisboa, Barão de Japura, *Relación de un viaje a Venezuela, Nueva Granada y Ecuador* (Caracas, 1954), a description of a journey in 1852–3, are valuable accounts of the whole area. A useful contemporary series of constitutional studies is J. Arosemena, *Estudios constitucionales sobre los gobiernos de la América Latina,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1878).

VENEZUELA

J. V. Lombardi et al., *Venezuelan History: A Comprehensive Working Bibliography* (Boston, 1977), is indispensable. So is the excellent *Diccionario de Historia de Venezuela,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1989), published by the Fundación Polar under the direction of Manuel Pérez Vila. All its entries carry bibliographical notes.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The following collections of documents also serve the period well: P. Grases and M. Pérez Vila (eds.), *Pensamiento político venezolano del siglo XIX*, 15 vols. (Caracas, 1960–2); T. E. Carillo Batalla (comp.), *Historia de las finanzas públicas en Venezuela*, 23 vols. to date (Caracas, 1969–); Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, *Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela en el siglo XIX*, 12 vols. to date (Caracas, 1963–); C. Gómez R. (ed.), *Materiales para el estudio de la cuestión agraria en Venezuela (1829–1860): Enajención y arrendamiento de tierras baldías* (Caracas, 1971); R. J. Velásquez (introd.), *Decretos del poder ejécutivo de Venezuela por el Despacho del Interior y Justicia, 1831–1842* (Caracas, 1973); A. L. Guzmán, *Causa célebre por su iniquidad de la supuesta conspiración del redactor de 'El Venezolano' Antonio L. Guzmán en 1846*, 6 vols. (Caracas, 1884).

Contemporary memoirs and diaries are not as abundant as they are in Colombia, but see J. A. Páez, *Autobiografía*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1973); J. M. de Rojas, *Tiempo perdido* (Caracas, 1967); W. Dupuy (ed.), *Sir Robert Ker Porter's Caracas Diary, 1825–1842* (Caracas, 1966); C. Parra-Pérez (ed.), *La cartera del Coronel Conde de Adlercreutz* (Paris, 1928); L. Level de Goda, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela política y militar, 1858–1886* (Caracas, 1976). There is much of interest in B. Bruni Celli (comp.), *José María Vargas – Obras completas*, 7 vols. in 10 (Caracas, 1958–66); J. A. Cova, (ed.), *Archivo del Mariscal Juan Crisóstomo Falcón*, 5 vols. (Caracas, 1957–60) is confused and disappointing; R. R. Castellanos V., *Guzmán Blanco íntimo* (Caracas, 1969), contains selections from a large surviving archive; see also his *Páez, proscrito y peregrino (1848–1851)* (Caracas, 1976). Guzmán Blanco's archive has more recently received systematic study in T. Polanco Alcántara, *Guzmán Blanco: Tragedia en tres partes y un epílogo* (Caracas, 1992).

Other useful biographical studies are C. Parra-Pérez, *Mariño y las guerras civiles*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1958–60) and R. Díaz Sánchez, *Guzmán: Elipse de una ambición de poder*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1968). Both of these are well documented 'lives and times', the Díaz Sánchez work dealing with both Guzmáns. F. Brito Figueroa's *Tiempo de Ezequiel Zamora* (Caracas, 1975) invited the scrupulously researched and ironically understated riposte of A. Rodríguez's *Ezequiel Zamora* (Caracas, 1977). The earlier lives of Zamora by M. Landaeta Rosales and L. Villanueva (both reprinted, Caracas, 1975) are still worth reading, as is J. R. Pachano, *Biografía del Mariscal Juan C. Falcón*, 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1960). See also J. A. de Armas Chitty, *Fermín Toro y su época* (Caracas, 1966); R. E. Castillo Blomquist, *José Tadeo Monagas: Auge y consolidación de un caudillo* (Caracas, 1984); R. A.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rondón Márquez, *Guzmán Blanco, 'el Autócrata Civilizador'*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1944).

Of the older histories, F. González Guinán, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela*, 2nd ed., 15 vols. (Caracas, 1954), still contains much that is not easily found elsewhere; J. Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, 5th ed., 3 vols. (Caracas, 1967) and E. González, *Historia de Venezuela*, III: *1830–1858* (Buenos Aires, 1944) are both lucid. J. S. Rodríguez, *Contribución al estudio de la guerra federal en Venezuela*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Caracas, 1960), and L. Alvarado, *Historia de la revolución federal en Venezuela*, vol. 5 of his *Obras completas*, 8 vols. (Caracas, 1953–8) are both still essential. Of the 'positivists', the most rewarding is L. Vallenilla Lanz. Two volumes of a new edition of his *Obras completas* have so far appeared. The writings of P. M. Arcaya are also still valuable.

The evolution of Venezuelan historiography can be traced in G. Carrera Damas (comp.), *Historia de la historiografía venezolana: Textos para su estudio* (Caracas, 1961). A more recent general history is John V. Lombardi, *Venezuela* (Oxford, 1982).

An introduction to the recent historiography of nineteenth-century Venezuela is provided in the essays of M. Pérez Vila, R. P. Matthews, B. A. Frankel, M. B. Floyd and N. Harwich in M. Izard et al., *Política y economía en Venezuela, 1810–1976* (Caracas, 1976). The best short survey of the century by a single author is J. A. de Armas Chitty, *Vida política de Caracas en el siglo XIX* (Caracas, 1976). A guide to parties and factions, which includes some provincial activity, is M. V. Magallanes, *Los partidos políticos en la evolución histórica venezolana* (Caracas, 1973). M. Watters, *A History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810–1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934) is likely to remain the standard survey of its subject. Among other more recent monographs and articles, J. V. Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela* (Westport, Conn., 1971), goes well beyond its immediate subject; R. P. Matthews, *Violencia rural en Venezuela, 1840–1858, antecedentes socio-económicos de la Guerra Federal* (Caracas, 1977), sheds more light on the *llanos* in those years than on the Federal War; for the war itself, see S. Thompson, 'The Federal Revolution in Venezuela, 1858–1863' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1983). R. L. Gilmore's *Caudillism and Militarism in Venezuela* (Athens, Ohio, 1964) seems uncertain about the precise nature of its subject. See also B. A. Frankel, *Venezuela y los Estados Unidos, 1810–1888* (Caracas, 1977); R. W. Butler, 'The origins of the Liberal Party in Venezuela, 1830–1848' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1972); L. F. Snow, Jr., 'The Páez Years – Venezuelan

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

economic legislation, 1830–1846' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1970); G. E. Carl, *First Among Equals: Great Britian and Venezuela, 1810–1910* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980); J. V. Lombardi and J. A. Hanson, 'The first Venezuelan coffee cycle, 1830–1855', *Agricultural History,* 44 (1970) D. Bushnell, 'La evolución del derecho de sufragio en Venezuela', *Boletín Histórico,* 39 (1972) A. Lemmo B., *La educación en Venezuela en 1870* (Caracas, 1971).

The most famous early republican geography is A. Codazzi, *Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela (Venezuela en 1841),* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1940). Outstanding travel books which describe the country in this period are K. F. Appun, *En los trópicos* (Caracas, 1961); E. B. Eastwick, *Venezuela or Sketches of Life in a South American Republic* (London, 1868); P. Rosti, *Memorias de un viaje por América* (Caracas, 1968). A complete list is provided by M. L. Ganzenmuller de Blay, *Contribución a la bibliografía de viajes y exploraciones de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1964).

The paintings of Anton Goering have been reproduced in *Venezuela de hace un siglo* (Caracas, 1969); no. 52 conveys more about a civil war army than could be put into many words. Another German was the outstanding painter of the Venezuela landscape in the last century: see R. Loschner (prologue by A. Boulton), *Bellermann y el paisaje venezolano, 1842–1845* (Caracas, 1977).

The following statistical compilations are available: M. Izard, *Series estadísticas para la historia de Venezuela* (Mérida, 1970); A. A. Moreno (comp.), *Las estadísticas de las provincias en la época de Páez* (Caracas, 1973); M. Landaeta Rosales, *Gran recopilación geográfica, estadística e histórica de Venezuela,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1889; 2nd ed., Caracas, 1963); R. Veloz, *Economía y finanzas de Venezuela, 1830–1944* (Caracas, 1945).

COLOMBIA

There is unfortunately no Colombian equivalent to J. V. Lombardi and his team's working bibliography of Venezuela, nor of the Venezuelan *Diccionario.*

The work of Colombia's first bibliographer, I. Laverde Amaya, *Apuntes sobre la bibliografía colombiana con muestras escogidas en prosa y verso* (Bogotá, 1882) is still a valuable guide to the authors of this period. See also G. Giraldo Jaramillo, *Bibliografía de bibliografías colombianas,* 2nd ed., corrected and updated by R. Pérez Ortiz (Bogotá, 1960), and *Bibliografía colombiana de viajes* (Bogotá, 1957); S. Bernal, *Guía bibliografía de Colombia*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de interés para el antropólogo (Bogotá, 1970), invaluable for local history; H. H. Orjuela, *Fuentes generales para el estudio de la literatura colombiana, guía bibliográfica* (Bogotá, 1968); E. Ortega Ricaurte, *Bibliografía académica, 1902–1952* (Bogotá, 1953); M. G. Romero et al., *Papeletas bibliográficas para el estudio de la historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1961).

The following printed personal archives are particularly recommended: R. Cortázar (comp.), *Cartas y mensajes del General Francisco de Paula Santander,* 10 vols. (Bogotá, 1953–6) and *Correspondencia dirigida al general Francisco de Paula Santander,* 14 vols. (Bogotá, 1964–7). Recently the Fundación Francisco de Paula Santander has issued over fifty volumes relating to Santander. Most refer to the period prior to 1830, but for early New Granada, see M. Deas and E. Sánchez (eds.), *Santander y los ingleses, 1832–1840,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1991). See also L. A. Cuervo (comp.), *Epistolario del doctor Rufino Cuervo,* 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1918–22); J. L. Helguera and R. H. Davis (eds.), *Archivo epistolar del General Mosquera,* 3 vols. to date (Bogotá, 1966–); H. Rodríguez Plata, *José María Obando íntimo: Archivo – epistolario – comentarios* (Bogotá, 1958); S. E. Ortiz and L. Martínez Delgado (comps.), *Documentos y correspondencia del general José María Obando,* 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1973); E. Lemaitre (introd.), *Epistolario de Rafael Núñez con Miguel Antonio Caro* (Bogotá, 1977); G. Hernández de Alba (ed.), *Epistolario de Rufino José Cuervo con Luis María Lleras y otros amigos y familiares* (Bogotá, 1970); G. Hernández de Alba et al. (comps.), *Archivo epistolar del General Domingo Caycedo,* 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1943–7).

S. Camacho Roldán, *Escritos varios,* 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1892–5), M. Samper, *Escritos político-económicos,* 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1925–7), and R. Núñez, *La reforma política en Colombia,* 7 vols. (Bogotá, 1946–50), are fundamental commentaries on Colombia in the nineteenth century. An isolated Chilean diplomatic report of great sensitivity, describing the Colombian political scene in the early 1880s, is contained in R. Donoso, 'José Antonio Soffia en Bogotá', *Thesaurus* 31/1 (1976).

For memoirs, see J. M. Restrepo, *Autobiografía* (Bogotá, 1957), and *Diario político y militar,* 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1954); J. M. Cordovez Moure, *Reminiscencias de Santa Fé y Bogotá,* ed. E. Mújica (Madrid, 1962); Cordovez Moure was a pioneer of all sorts of social history, and the riches of his work are only now beginning to receive their due recognition from modern historians. See also F. de P. Borda, *Conversaciones con mis hijos,* 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1974); A. Parra, *Memorias* (Bogotá, 1912); S. Camacho Roldán, *Memorias,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1945); J. M. Samper, *Historia de una alma* (Bogotá, 1971); J. M. Obando, *Apuntamientos para la historia,* 2 vols.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Bogotá, 1945); J. Posada Gutiérrez, *Memorias histórico-políticas,* 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1929). Among numerous contemporary accounts of civil wars see A. Cuervo, *Cómo se evapora un ejército* (Bogotá, 1953); M. Briceño, *La revolución, 1876–1877: Recuerdos para la historia* (Bogotá, 1947); J. M. Vargas Valdéz, *A mi paso por la tierra* (Bogotá, 1938); V. Ortiz, *Historia de la revolución del 17 de abril de 1854* (Bogotá, 1972).

Biographies include C. Cuervo Márquez, *Vida del doctor José Ignacio de Márquez,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1917); E. Posada and P. M. Ibañez, *Vida de Herrán* (Bogotá, 1903); E. Gómez Barrientos, *Don Mariano Ospina y su época,* 2 vols. (Medellín, 1913–15), continued as *Veinticinco años a través del estado de Antioquia,* 2 vols. (Medellín, 1918); A. and R. J. Cuervo, *Vida de Rufino Cuervo y noticias de su época,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1892); I. Gutiérrez Ponce, *Vida de Ignacio Gutiérrez Vergara,* 2 vols. (London, 1900, and Bogotá, 1973); J. M. Arboleda Llorente, *Vida del Ilmo. Señor Manuel José Mosquera, Arzobispo de Santa Fé de Bogotá,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1956); A. J. Lemos Guzmán, *Obando* (Popayán, 1959); F. U. Zuluaga R., *José María Obando, De soldado realista a caudillo republicano* (Bogotá, 1984); D. Castrillón Arboleda, *Mosquera* (Bogotá, 1979); I. Liévano Aguirre, *Núñez* (Bogotá, 1944); G. Otero Muñoz, *La vida azarosa de Rafael Núñez* (Bogotá, 1951).

G. Arboleda, *Historia contemporánea de Colombia,* 6 vols. (Bogotá, 1918–35) is the most complete of older works, but unfortunately runs only to 1861. Valuable for the later years of this period are E. Rodríguez Piñeres, *El olimpo radical, 1864–1884* (Bogotá, 1950) and J. W. Park, *Rafael Núñez and the Politics of Colombian Regionalism, 1863–1886* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985).

A comprehensive and magnificently documented study of its subject is J. L. Helguera, 'The first Mosquera administration in New Granada, 1845–99' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1950). See also his 'Liberalism versus Conservatism in Colombia, 1849–1885', in F. B. Pike (ed.), *Latin American History: Select Problems* (New York, 1969). For mid-century see G. Colmenares, *Poder político y clases sociales* (Bogotá, 1965); and David Sowell, *The Early Latin American Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832–1919* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1992). For intellectual currents, see J. Jaramillo Uribe, *El pensamiento colombiano en el siglo XIX* (Bogotá, 1964); G. Molina, *Las ideas liberales en Colombia, 1849–1914* (Bogotá, 1970); M. Deas, 'Miguel Antonio Caro y amigos: Poder y gramática', in *Poder, gramática, pobreza, guerra civil: Ensayos de historia, política y literatura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1992), and, on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

government finance and its context, his 'The fiscal problems of nineteenth century Colombia', *JLAS*, 14/2 (1982).

On economic history the fundamental work remains L. Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia, 1810–1930* (Medellín, 1955), which is to be preferred to the more speculative W. P. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971). Ospina Vásquez can be supplemented by J. A. Ocampo (ed.), *Historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987); J. A. Ocampo, *Colombia y la economía mundial, 1830–1910* (Bogotá, 1984); and S. Kalmanovitz, *Economía y nación* (Bogotá, 1985), a readable Marxist account. Frank Safford in *The Ideal of the Practical* (Austin, Tex., 1975) explores many themes via a consideration of technical education. His unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'Commerce and enterprise in central Colombia, 1821–1870' (Columbia University, 1965) remains essential reading, as are his essays collected in *Aspectos del siglo XIX en Colombia* (Medellín, 1977). So too are J. P. Harrison, 'The Colombian tobacco industry from government monopoly to free trade, 1778–1876' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1951); L. F. Sierra, *El tabaco en la economía colombiana del siglo XIX* (Bogotá, 1971); J. A. Bejarano y O. Pulido, *Notas sobre la historia de Ambalema* (Ibagué, 1982); R. C. Beyer, 'The Colombian coffee industry: Origin and major trends 1740–1940 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1947); Marco Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980). V. Restrepo, *Estudio sobre las minas de oro y de plata en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1882) is still the best source of republican mining history up to the date of its publication.

On transport see R. L. Gilmore and J. P. Harrison, 'Juan Bernardo Elbers and the introduction of steam navigation on the Magdalena River', *HAHR*, 28 (1948); and H. Horna, 'Francisco Javier Cisneros: A pioneer in transportation and economic development in Colombia' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1970).

Outstanding regional studies are J. J. Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley, 1968); R. J. Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la independencia hasta 1920* (Bogotá, 1977); J. O. Melo (ed.), *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988). J. Friede, *El indio en la lucha por la tierra* (Bogotá, 1944), and O. Fals Borda, *El hombre y la tierra en Boyacá* (Bogotá, 1975) treat aspects of highland agrarian history in the south and centre respectively. For Santander, see D. C. Johnson, *Santander siglo XIX: Cambios socio-económicos* (Bogotá, 1984); and R. J. Stoller, 'Liberalism and conflict in Socorro, 1830–1870' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Duke University, 1991); for the Atlantic Coast, G. Bell (ed.), *El Caribe colombiano, Selección de textos históricos* (Barranquilla, 1988); T. E. Nicholls, *Tres puertos de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1973); see also A. García, *Legislación indigenista en Colombia* (Mexico, D.F., 1952).

For general reference, see A. Pardo Pardo, *Geografía económica y humana de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1972). M. Urrutia and M. Arrubla, *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970), contains series on population, wages, prices, foreign trade, tobacco, coffee and presidential elections.

For nineteenth-century geography, the reports of A. Codazzi are in Comisión Corográfica, *Geografía física y política de las provincias de la Nueva Granada*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1957–8); F. Pérez, *Geografía general de los Estados Unidos de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1883), derives from the same source, and M. Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha* (Bogotá, 1956), from the same travels. R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1920–1) contains much useful material from the 1880s. Other valuable accounts are C. Gosselman, *Viaje por Colombia, 1825 y 1826* (Bogotá, 1981); J. Stewart, *Bogotá in 1836–7* (New York, 1838); I. Holton, *New Granada: Twenty Months in the Andes* (New York, 1857); E. Rothlisberger, *El Dorado* (Bogotá, 1963); F. Von Schenk, *Viajes por Antioquia en el año 1880* (Bogotá, 1952); A. Hettner, *Viajes por los Andes colombianos, 1882–1884* (Bogotá, 1976).

Early *costumbrista* painting in Colombia is illustrated in M. Deas, E. Sánchez and A. Martínez, *Types and Customs of New Granada: The Picture Collection and Diary of Joseph Brown* (Bogotá, 1989); E. Sánchez, *Ramón Torres Méndez, pintor de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1987). The series of watercolours reproduced in *Album de la Comisión Corográfica – suplemento de 'Hojas de cultura popular colombiana'* (Bogotá, n.d.) republished with additional material in J. Ardila and C. Lleras (eds.), *Batalla contra el olvido* (Bogotá, 1985), are an extraordinary record of types, scenes, landscapes and activities at mid-century.

ECUADOR

The problems of Ecuadorian historiography were set out in A. Szászdi, 'The historiography of the Republic of Ecuador', *HAHR*, 44/4 (1964). Some have been remedied since but not all: see R. E. Norris, *Guía bibliográfica para el estudio de la historia ecuatoriana* (Austin, Tex., 1978); see also the short article and shorter bibliography by J. Maiguashca in E. Florescano, (ed.), *La historia económica en América Latina*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1972), and M. T. Hamerly, 'Quantifying the nineteenth century:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The ministry reports and gazettes of Ecuador as quantitative sources', *LARR,* 13/2 (1978). C. M. Larrea's *Bibliografía científica del Ecuador* (Madrid, 1952) lists 9,300 items, but many in the historical sections are virtually unobtainable.

The best introduction is now the *Nueva Historia del Ecuador* (Quito, 1988– ; planned in 15 vols.). For a stimulating introduction to nineteenth-century politics, see E. Ayala, *Lucha política y origen de los partidos en Ecuador* (Quito, 1978).

Among older works the following deserve mention: P. F. Ceballos, *Resumen de la historia del Ecuador desde su origen hasta 1845,* 5 vols. in 3 (Lima, 1870); R. Andrade, *Historia del Ecuador,* 2nd ed., introd. M. Chiriboga, 4 vols. (Quito, 1982–4); P. Moncayo, *El Ecuador de 1825 a 1875: Sus hombres, sus instituciones y sus leyes* (Santiago, Chile, 1885). I. Robalino Dávila's *Orígines del Ecuador de hoy,* collected ed., 7 vols. (Puebla, 1948–70) is a series of well-documented politico-biographical studies running from the ascendency of Flores to the career of Alfaro; a conservative bias is increasingly apparent and the volume on García Moreno is much more successful than the treatment of Alfaro. The series still represents the most ambitious effort of traditional historiography, and is less partisan than J. M. Le Gouhir y Rodas, *Historia de la república del Ecuador,* 3 vols. (Quito, 1920–38), a Jesuit work still useful for its documentation. J. Tobar Donoso, *Monografías históricas* (Quito, 1937) and his *La iglesia ecuatoriana en el siglo XIX: De 1809 a 1845* (Quito, 1934) are still valuable. *Cultura,* 2/6 (1980), a journal published by the Banco Central del Ecuador, Quito, is entirely devoted to 'El Ecuador en 1830: Ideología, economía, política'.

There is now a useful biography of Flores: M. J. Van Aken, *King of the Night: Juan José Flores and Ecuador, 1824–1864* (Berkeley, 1989). On Rocafuerte, see J. E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *Estudios sobre Vicente Rocafuerte* (Guayaquil, 1975) and N. Zuñiga (ed.), *Colección Rocafuerte,* 16 vols. (Quito, 1947). Rocafuerte's Ecuadorian career is not covered in J. E. Rodríguez O., *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism, 1808–1832* (Berkeley, 1975). The Banco Central del Ecuador has begun publishing Rocafuerte's *Epistolario* (Quito, 1991–). On García Moreno, see M.-D. Demélas and Y. Saint-Geours, *Jerusalén y Babilonia: Religión y política en el Ecuador 1780–1880* (Quito, 1988); vol. 4 of Robalino Dávila's *Orígines;* R. Pattee, *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo,* 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1962). On Montalvo, see O. E. Reyes, *Vida de Juan Montalvo,* 2nd ed. (Quito, 1943). Veintemilla's years pro-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

duced a spirited defence from his niece Marieta: M. Veintemilla, *Páginas del Ecuador* (Lima, 1890), and a reply from Flores's son Antonio: A. Flores, *Para la historia del Ecuador,* 2 vols. (Quito, 1891). See also J. L. Mera, *La dictadura y la restauración en la república del Ecuador,* edition and introduction by R. Quintero (Quito, 1982). For the late nineteenth-century church, see F. González Suárez, *Memorias íntimas* (Quito, 1944).

The collections of García Moreno's writings are listed in Robalino Dávila's biography; the largest published collection of letters is that edited by Wilfredo Loor, *Cartas de García Moreno,* 4 vols. (Quito, 1953–5), but it is far from complete.

There are few modern monographs. Most notable is M. T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua provincia de Guayaquil,* 1763–1842 (Guayaquil, 1973). See also M. Chiriboga, *Jornaleros y gran propietarios en 135 años de exportación cacaotera (1790–1925)* (Quito, 1980); L. Alexander Rodríguez, *The Search for Public Policy: Regional Politics and Government Finances in Ecuador, 1830–1940* (Berkeley, 1985). The agrarian history of the sierra in the last century still awaits systematic exploration. There are leads in R. Baraona, *Tenencia de la tierra y desarrollo socio-económico del sector agrícola – Ecuador* (Washington, D.C., 1965), and in A. Rubio Orbe, *Legislación indigenista del Ecuador* (Mexico, D.F., 1954).

C. M. Larrea's bibliography lists travellers and geographical studies. The earliest comprehensive national geography is M. Villavicencio, *Geografía de la república del Ecuador* (New York, 1858). Of foreign observers, two of the more accessible and informative are F. Hassaurek, *Four Years Among Spanish Americans* (New York, 1867) and A. Holinski, *L'Equateur – Scenes de la vie Américaine* (Paris, 1861).

8. PERU AND BOLIVIA

PERU

For the entire period from independence to the War of the Pacific, Jorge Basadre's great work, *Historia de la República del Perú,* 5th ed., 10 vols. (Lima, 1962–4), undoubtedly constitutes the most important source of reference. His earlier works, *Perú, problema y posibilidad* (Lima, 1931), and *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo* (Lima, 1947), have not only maintained their freshness but were responsible for pioneering the study of Peru's history. Apart from Basadre's classic works, another summary of this

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

period written by Emilio Romero, *Historia económica del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1949) contains information which is still of value. More recently, Ernesto Yepes del Castillo, *Perú 1820–1920: Un siglo de desarrollo capitalista* (Lima, 1972) has provided an overall interpretation of the nineteenth century, while Julio Cotler, in *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima, 1978) discusses and explains the persistence of the colonial character of Peruvian society and the state after 1821. A useful general history in English is Fredrick B. Pike, *The Modern History of Peru* (London, 1967). Heraclio Bonilla, *Un siglo a la deriva* (Lima, 1980), chaps. 1 and 2, and Shane Hunt, *Price and Quantum Estimates of Peruvian Exports, 1830–1962* (Princeton, N.J., Woodrow Wilson School, Discussion Paper 33, 1973) have suggested the division of the nineteenth century into economic periods, on the basis of the country's export performance.

The years between 1821 and 1840 were decisive in the process of disengagement from the colonial system and in the emergence of a new national order. On this period see the important book of Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Post-Independence Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1989) and an article by the same author, 'North–South: Trade policy, regionalism and *caudillismo* in post-independence Peru', *JLAS*, 23/2 (1991), 273–308. Heraclio Bonilla, *Gran Bretaña y el Perú: Los mecanismos de un control económico* (Lima, 1977), examines the conditions and effects of the British presence in post-independence Peru. The unique economic and social characteristics of the Andean region have been dealt with in John F. Wibel, 'The evolution of a regional community within the Spanish empire and the Peruvian nation: Arequipa, 1780–1845' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1975) and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Arequipa y el Sur Andino, siglos XVIII–XX* (Lima, 1977). Relations between the communities and haciendas and the process of decomposition and recovery within the former during this period are the subject of Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena* (Bonn, 1982). Two general works on the army and on the church contain useful information on this period: Victor Villanueva, *Ejército peruano: Del caudillaje anárquico al militarismo reformista* (Lima, 1973) and Jeffrey Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1976). On the Peru–Bolivian Confederation, that is to say, the failed attempt to unite the two countries, the following are worth consulting: L. C. Kendall, 'Andrés Santa Cruz and the Peru–Bolivian Confederation', *HAHR*, 16 (1936), 29–48; Robert Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830–1905* (Berkeley, 1965); Carlos Ortiz de

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Zevallos Paz Soldán, *Confederación Peru–Boliviana, 1835–1839*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1972–4).

Jonathan Levin, *The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), inaugurated the modern debate on the impact of guano on the Peruvian economy. Levin's thesis that the guano boom produced in Peru a typical enclave economy was questioned by Shane Hunt in 'Growth and guano in nineteenth-century Peru', in Roberto Cortés Conde and Shane Hunt (eds.), *Latin American Economies: Growth and the Export Sector, 1880–1930* (New York, 1985), 255–318. On the other hand, William M. Mathew, in 'Anglo-Peruvian commercial and financial relations, 1820–1865' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964), and in 'Peru and the British guano market, 1840–1870', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 23 (1970), has shown, by basing himself on the private papers of Antony Gibbs & Sons, the mechanics by which guano was marketed, and the considerable autonomy enjoyed by the Peruvian government. See also by W. M. Mathew, 'The imperialism of free trade, Peru 1820–1870', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 21 (1968); 'The first Anglo-Peruvian debt and its settlement, 1822–49', *JLAS*, 2/1 (1970); 'Foreign contractors and the Peruvian government at the outset of the guano trade', *HAHR*, 52/4 (1972); 'A primitive export sector: Guano production in mid-nineteenth century Peru', *JLAS*, 9/1 (1977); 'Antony Gibbs & Sons, the guano trade and the Peruvian government 1842–1861', in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Business Imperialism 1840–1930* (Oxford, 1977); and *The House of Gibbs and the Peruvian Guano Monopoly* (London, 1981).

The attitude of the ruling class regarding the policy to be pursued with resources from guano, and the process by which the international crisis of 1872 affected Peruvian finances, are themes examined in Juan Maiguashca, 'A reinterpretation of the Guano age, 1840–1880' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1967). See also R. Miller and R. Greenhill, 'The Peruvian government and the nitrate trade, 1873–1879', *JLAS*, 41 (1973). Heraclio Bonilla, *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima, 1974), examines the collapse of the Peruvian economy during the guano period in terms of the characteristics of the ruling class and the limitations of the internal market. Alfonso Quiróz, in *La deuda defraudada: consolidación de 1850 y dominio económico en el Perú* (Lima, 1987), has questioned the idea that the 'consolidation of the internal debt', that is to say, the fraudulent payment of guano revenue to large numbers of the state's local creditors, was responsible for the economic

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

recovery of the Peruvian elite. The role of guano in the growth of productive capital for export agriculture has been examined in the following: Pablo Macera, 'Las plantaciones azucareras andinas, 1821–1875', *Trabajos de Historia* 4 (1977); Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista* (Lima, 1976); Juan R. Engelsen, 'Social aspects of agricultural expansion in coastal Peru, 1825–1878' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977). In contrast to the direct links with agriculture on the coast, the agrarian sector of the Andean highlands grew independently of the effects of guano. The reasons for this are analysed in Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), Nelson Manrique, *El desarrollo del mercado interno en la sierra central* (Lima, 1978), and Martha Giraldo and Ana Lizia Franch, 'Hacienda y gamonalismo, 1850–1920' (unpublished master's dissertation, Universidad Católica de Lima, 1979). Other changes associated with the overall effects of guano were the mobilization of capital and the creation of the banking system, the importation of Chinese workers in massive numbers and the construction of the Peruvian rail network. On the banks, Carlos Camprubí Alcazar, *Historia de los bancos del Perú, 1860–1879* (Lima, 1957) vol. 1, is still useful. On the Chinese 'coolies', Watt Stewart's pioneer work, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849–1874* (Durham, N.C., 1951), can be supplemented by a later, albeit more general, study by Arnold J. Meagher, 'The introduction of Chinese laborers to Latin America: The coolie trade, 1847–1874' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975). A study of the railways has not yet been undertaken. The only work of any relevance is Watt Stewart's biography of the American contractor who put down the first lines: *Henry Meiggs: A Yankee Pizarro* (Durham, N.C., 1946). It is now well known that guano produced wealth and poverty at the same time. Gigantic price increases in cities like Lima in the early 1870s caused one of the first important mass uprisings. Its composition and objectives are the subject of a careful study by Margarita Giesecke, *Masas urbanas y rebelión en la historia: Golpe de estado, Lima 1872* (Lima, 1978).

The demographic history of the period has been largely ignored. Although some important research is being carried out on the whole Cuzco region, the only basic work of reference currently available is George Kubler, *The Indian Caste of Peru, 1795–1940* (Washington, D.C., 1950).

An interesting discussion of the politics of this period and especially the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

role of the state can be found in Ronald H. Berg and Frederick Stirton Weaver, 'Towards a reinterpretation of political change in Peru during the first century of independence', *JIAS*, 20/1 (1978), 69–83, and Stephen M. Gorman, 'The state, elite and exports in nineteenth century Peru', *JIAS*, 21/3 (1979), 395–418.

Many books of differing quality have been produced on the war with Chile. Henri Favre was the first scholar to draw attention to the need to examine the conflict from a new perspective: 'Remarques sur la lutte des classes au Pérou pendant la Guerre du Pacifique', in *Litérature et société au Pérou du XIX siècle à nos jours* (Grenoble, 1975). The war is also the starting point for analysing problems such as the issue of national identity and the colonial tradition in modern Peru. Heraclio Bonilla, 'The War of the Pacific and the national and colonial problem in Peru', *Past and Present*, 81 (1978), sets out the guidelines for a re-examination of both issues. The most important work since then is Nelson Manrique, *Campesinado y nación: La sierra central durante la Guerra del Pacífico* (Lima, 1981).

BOLIVIA

The bibliography on Bolivian history between 1825 and 1879 is unfortunately still very weak. General works which offer coverage of this period include Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society* (Oxford, 1982); J. Valerie Fifer, *Bolivia: Land, Location and Politics since 1825* (Cambridge, Eng., 1972) and Luis Peñaloza, *Historia económica de Bolivia*, 2 vols. (La Paz, 1946–7). *Estudios bolivianos en homenaje a Gunner Mendoza L.* (La Paz, 1978) is an interesting collection of essays.

The transition from colony to republic is the subject of William L. Lofstrom, 'The promise and problem of reform: Attempted social and economic change in the first years of Bolivian independence' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1972); Charles Arnade, *The Emergence of the Republic of Bolivia* (Gainesville, Fla., 1957); and Alberto Crespo et al., *La vida cotidiana en La Paz durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (La Paz, 1975). The state of the country's resources at the time of independence were described in J. B. Pentland, 'Report on Bolivia 1827', ed. J. Valerie Fifer, Royal Historical Society, London, *Camden Miscellany*, 35 (1974). There is a more complete version in Spanish: J. B. Pentland, *Informe sobre Bolivia, 1827* (Potosí, 1975), a unique and indispensable collection of demographic and economic data on Bolivia in the middle of the nineteenth century. Fernando Cajías, *La provincia de Atacama, 1825–1842* (La

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Paz, 1975), is a valuable regional study. On the survival of the Indian tribute system, see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978). The standard work on Santa Cruz, who dominated the political life of Bolivia in the post-independence period, is Alfonso Crespo, *Santa Cruz, el cóndor indio* (Mexico, D.F., 1944). Also see Oscar de Santa Cruz (ed.), *El General Santa Cruz, Gran Mariscal de Zepita y el Gran Perú* (La Paz, 1924). Manuel Carrasco, *José Ballivián, 1805–1852* (Buenos Aires, 1960), is a biography of the third most important of the early presidents (after Sucre and Santa Cruz). An interesting discussion of Bolivian politics in this period can be found in James Dunkerley, 'Reassessing caudillismo in Bolivia, 1825–79', *BLAR*, 1/1 (1981). The complicated relations between Great Britain and Bolivia at this time have been described, in a rather heavy-handed way, by Roberto Querejazu C., *Bolivia y los ingleses* (La Paz, 1973). An important contribution on mining in the nineteenth century has been made by Antonio Mitre in *Los patriarcas de la Plata* (Lima, 1981) and *El monedero de los Andes* (La Paz, 1986).

On the Indian communities in the nineteenth century, Erwin P. Greishaber, 'Survival of Indian communities in nineteenth century Boliva' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1977), and 'Survival of Indian communities in nineteenth century Bolivia: A regional comparison', *JLAS*, 12/2 (1980), 223–69 are important. A useful monograph on Melgarejo's policies is Luis Antezana, *El feudalismo de Melgarejo y la reforma agraria* (La Paz, 1970). Relations between haciendas and communities in the highlands are examined in an important article by Silvia Rivera C., 'La expansión del latifundio en el altiplano boliviano', *Avances*, 2 (1978), 95–118. See also Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino* (Lima, 1982); Erick D. Langer, *Economic Change and Rural Resistance in Southern Bolivia* (Stanford, Calif., 1988); and Brooke Larson, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

9. CHILE

Invaluable work has been done since the late 1950s by the journal *Historia* (published by the Institute of History, Catholic University of Chile, Santiago), in keeping a detailed record of all materials published on Chilean history (in Chile and abroad) from year to year. These are listed in the journal's regular *Fichero bibliográfico*. The first such bibliographies were usefully collected in Horacio Aránguiz Donoso (ed.), *Bibliografía histórica,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1959–1967 (Santiago, Chile, 1970). Subsequent *ficheros* have been published in each issue of *Historia* except for 21 (1986), the first of two special memorial issues for Mario Góngora, whose tragic death at the end of 1985 deprived Chile of one of its most respected twentieth-century scholars.

The publications appearing in Chile during the period from independence to the War of the Pacific are listed (though not in accordance with modern bibliographical criteria) in Ramón Briseño (ed.), *Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura chilena,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1965–6). Briseño's two original volumes were printed in 1862 and 1879. Vol. 3, produced under the auspices of the Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago, contains much-needed amendments and additions, compiled by Raúl Silva Castro. The Oficina Central de Estadística was founded in Chile in 1843, though it only began work four years later; thereafter the government became reasonably assiduous in collecting statistical information, much of it subsequently published in the *Anuario estadístico* from 1861 onwards. Commercial statistics were published (after 1844), as were the censuses of 1854, 1865 and 1875. Statistical material from this period, however, has to be used with critical awareness of its inadequacies. For a detailed list of Chilean government publications, including statistics, see Rosa Quintero Mesa (ed.), *Latin American Serial Documents,* No. 7, *Chile* (New York, 1973). Markos Mamalakis (ed.), *Historical Statistics of Chile,* 6 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1978–89), provides much valuable material.

Traditional historical scholarship in Chile, which produced some memorable narratives between the mid-nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth, tended to focus less on the post-independence decades – 'the early republic' – than on the colonial era and the wars of independence. The great nineteenth-century historians played a part in the history of their own time, as is well illustrated in Allen Woll, *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth Century Chile* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), but they did not usually write about it. This also tended to be true, with certain notorious exceptions, of their successors between 1900 and 1950. Recent work by scholars has begun to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge of the period. Simon Collier, 'The historiography of the "Portalian" period in Chile, 1830–1891,' *HAHR,* 57/4 (1977), 660–90, reviews the literature as it existed in the mid-1970s. Some of the hopes for future research expressed in that article have now been fulfilled: since that time there have been very positive signs of a substantial new interest in the early republic.

The most extensive single description of the period as a whole is still the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

one to be found in Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891*, 20 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1942–52), vols. 9–17. This huge and idiosyncratically conservative work has not lacked critics: it is instructive when using it to consult the relevant passages of Ricardo Donoso's sustained attack, *Francisco A. Encina, simulador*, 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1969–70).

In older works, the years from independence to 1833 are narrated in copious detail in Diego Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile*, 16 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1884–1902), vols. 9–16, while good narratives of specific presidencies include Ramón Sotomayor Valdés *Chile bajo el gobierno del general don Joaquín Prieto*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1905–6); Diego Barros Arana, *Un decenio de la historia de Chile, 1841–1851*, 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1905–6), the greatest Chilean historian's serene swansong; Alberto Edwards Vives, *El gobierno de don Manuel Montt* (Santiago, Chile, 1932); and, on the four administrations between 1841 and 1876, Agustín Edwards, *Cuatro presidentes de Chile*, 2 vols. (Valparaíso, 1932). A very early political narrative that continues to repay close attention is Isidoro Errázuriz, *Historia de la administración Errázuriz, precedida de una introducción que contiene la reseña del movimiento y lucha de los partidos desde 1823 hasta 1871* (Valparaíso, 1877). All the works mentioned show traditional Chilean historical writing at its best.

There are few extensive printed documentary collections for this period of the kind available for colonial times and the wars of independence. Congressional debates, however, were printed as *Sesiones del Congreso Nacional* from 1846 onwards, while congressional papers (and selected debates) from before that date may be found in Valentín Letelier (ed.), *Sesiones de los cuerpos legislativos de la República de Chile, 1811–1845*, 37 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1887–1908). Complete lists of the names and dates of the presidents, cabinet ministers, senators and deputies for the years 1823–83 are printed in Luis Valencia Avaria (ed.), *Anales de la República*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. in 1 (Santiago, Chile, 1986), vol. 1, 448–503 and vol. 2, 22–281.

On the general political framework of the period, the stimulating essay (1928) of Alberto Edwards Vives, *La fronda aristocrática en Chile*, 10th ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1987), remains a classic source for its many asides and insights. Also still well worth consulting is the account of the ideological battles of the period provided by the doyen of mid-twentieth-century Chilean historians, Ricardo Donoso, in his *Las ideas políticas en Chile*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1975). Valuable introductory texts by modern scholars, giving general coverage of the period, include Sergio Villalobos R., Fer-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

nando Silva V., Osvaldo Silva G. and Patricio Estellé M., *Historia de Chile,* 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1974–76), vol. 3, 404–578 and vol. 4, 580–761; Gonzalo Izquierdo F., *Historia de Chile,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1989–90), vol. 2, 83–309; and Brian Loveman, *Chile, The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1988), chaps. 4–5; this last is the best one-volume history of Chile in English to date. The older essay by Julio César Jobet, *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1955), still merits a perusal. Luis Vitale, *Interpretación marxista de la historia de Chile,* vol. 3 (Santiago, Chile, 1971), re-works the period up to 1859 from a further perspective. General ideas about the early republic along differing lines are offered in Sergio Villalobos R., 'Sugerencias para un enfoque del siglo XIX,' *Estudios CIEPLAN,* 12 (1984), 9–36; Mario Góngora, *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de estado en Chile en los siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago, 1981), 1–28; Simon Collier, 'Gobierno y sociedad en Chile durante la república conservadora,' *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana 'Dr. Emilio Ravignani,'* 3rd series, 1 (Buenos Aires, 1989), 115–26.

Political history in the traditional sense has attracted little attention since 1960; Chilean historians may still be unconsciously overreacting to the giants of the past. A promising line of inquiry into the political elite of the period has been opened up in Gabriel Marcella, 'The structure of politics in nineteenth-century Spanish America: The Chilean oligarchy, 1833–1891' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Notre Dame University, 1973). The politics of the 1820s and early 1830s are analysed in Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–1833* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), chaps. 6–9, and Julio Heise González, *Años de formación y aprendizaje políticos, 1810–1833* (Santiago, Chile, 1978), part 4, chaps. 1–6. The life and work of the supposed 'organizer of the republic,' Diego Portales, have been re-evaluated, mildly in Jay Kinsbruner, *Diego Portales: Interpretive Essays on the Man and His Times* (The Hague, 1967), and more critically in Sergio Villalobos R., *Portales, una falsificación histórica* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). Whatever is said or written about him, the shade of the 'omnipotent minister' continues to haunt us: see the interesting collection of essays, Bernardino Bravo Lira (ed.), *Portales: El hombre y su obra: La consolidación del gobierno civil* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). Roberto Hernández P., *Diego Portales, vida y tiempo* (Santiago, Chile, 1974) is a rare example of a modern 'straight' biography of any of the major politicians of the period: several others cry out for one. At the other end of the period, Aníbal Pinto's presidency (1876–81) receives a re-examination in Cristián Zegers

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

A., *Aníbal Pinto, historia política de su gobierno* (Santiago, Chile, 1969). An important episode in the liberalization of the republic after 1861 is studied in Patricio Estellé M., 'El club de la reforma de 1868–71: Notas para el estudio de una combinación política del siglo XIX,' *Historia,* 9 (1970), 111–35. Estellé's tragically premature death in 1975 cut short an especially promising scholarly career.

On the political ideas and attitudes of the Conservative party during its lengthy hegemony, see Simon Collier, 'Conservatismo chileno, 1830–1860: Temas e imágenes,' *Nueva Historia,* 2/7 (1983), 143–63. An interesting new approach to liberalism in this period may be found in Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt L., 'Liberalismo y modernidad: Ideología y simbolismo en el Chile decimonónico: Un marco teórico,' in Ricardo Krebs and Cristián Gazmuri (eds.), *La revolución francesa y Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1990), 303–33. For a study of the outstanding liberal of the time, see Bernardo Subercaseaux, *Cultura y sociedad liberal en el siglo XIX: Lastarria, ideología y literatura* (Santiago, Chile, 1981). The ideas of the two most prominent mid-century radicals are analysed in Alberto J. Varona, *Francisco Bilbao, revolucionario de América* (Panama, 1973), and Cristián Gazmuri, 'El pensamiento político y social de Santiago Arcos', *Historia,* 21 (1986), 249–74. Gazmuri has also edited a valuable reprint of Arcos's best-known essay in *Carta a Francisco Bilbao y otros escritos* (Santiago, Chile, 1989).

Chile was three times at war during the early republic: against the Peru–Bolivian Confederation (1836–39), against Spain (1865–66), and once more against Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879–83). These conflicts have not aroused very much scholarly interest in recent times. For the brief war with Spain, the older account by W. C. Davis, *The Last Conquistadores: The Spanish Intervention in Peru and Chile, 1863–1866* (Athens, Ga., 1950), is unlikely to be much improved on. The classic narrative of the War of the Pacific remains Gonzalo Bulnes, *La guerra del Pacífico,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1911–19). Numerous documents on the war were collected soon after it ended, as a gesture of national pride, in Pascual Ahumada Moreno (ed.), *Guerra del Pacífico: Recopilación completa de todos los documentos oficiales, correspondencias y demás publicaciones referentes a la guerra,* 9 vols. (Valparaíso, 1884–90), while more recently there has been a good facsimile edition of the official *Boletín de la Guerra del Pacífico* (1879–81; Santiago, Chile, 1979). A solid technical description of the early land campaigns of the war may be found in Augusto Pinochet U., *La Guerra del Pacífico: Campaña de Tarapacá,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1979). William F. Sater, *Chile and the War of the Pacific* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986) is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

not a military history so much as an exhaustively detailed account of the impact of the war on different parts of the national life. Sater's earlier book, *The Heroic Image in Chile: Arturo Prat, Secular Saint* (Berkeley, 1973), analyses the treatment accorded by later generations to Chile's supreme hero of the war.

It must be noted here that there are few if any serious institutional studies of the nineteenth-century Chilean armed forces. Frederick M. Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976), chapters 1–4, sketches civil–military relations over our period, but its main concern is with later times. Carlos López Urrutia, *Historia de la marina de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1969), chaps. 1–14, offers a history of the navy – anecdotal rather than analytical – from its foundation to the War of the Pacific. The key institution of the national (or civic) guard is studied – such studies are long overdue – in Roberto Hernández P., 'La Guardia Nacional de Chile: Apuntes sobre su orígen y organizaciones, 1808–1848,' *Historia,* 19 (1984), 53–113.

Some very interesting work on nineteenth-century economic history has been done in recent times: a suitable synthesis must surely now be within reach. For reviews of the available literature up to the 1970s, see Sergio Villalobos R., 'La historiografía económica de Chile: Sus comienzos,' *Historia,* 10 (1971), 7–56, and Carmen Cariola and Osvaldo Sunkel, 'Chile,' in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley, 1977), 275–363. An excellent overview of the period is given in Luis Ortega, 'Economic policy and growth in Chile from independence to the War of the Pacific,' in Christopher Abel and Colin Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State* (London, 1985), 147–71. Markos Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy* (New Haven, Conn., 1976), 3–85, deals with the period 1840–1930 in a single sweep. Also well worth consulting are the relevant sections of Marcello Carmagnani, *Sviluppo industriale e sotto-sviluppo economico: Il caso cileno, 1860–1920* (Turin, 1971) and José Gabriel Palma, 'Growth and structure of Chilean manufacturing industry from 1830 to 1935' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1979). The industrial growth of the later part of the period is well examined in a pioneering study by Luis Ortega, 'Acerca de los orígenes de la industrialización chilena, 1860–79,' *Nueva Historia,* 1/2 (1981), 3–54.

Two valuable monographs that throw much-needed light on the mechanisms of external trade – the motor of Chilean economic change – and the all-important role of British trading houses are Eduardo Cavieres F.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Comercio chileno y comerciantes ingleses, 1820–1880: Un ciclo de historia económica (Valparaíso, 1988), and John Mayo, *British Merchants and Chilean Development, 1851–1886* (Boulder, Colo., 1987). The theme of the economic consequences of independence is neatly explored by John L. Rector in two articles: 'El impacto económico de la independencia en América Latina: El caso de Chile,' *Historia,* 20 (1985), 295–318, and 'Transformaciones comerciales producidas por la independencia de Chile,' *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía,* 143 (1975), 107–27. John Mayo's article, 'Before the nitrate era: British commission houses and the Chilean economy, 1851–1880,' *JLAS,* 11/2 (1979), 263–303, is useful. The role of Valparaíso as an entrepôt is sketched in Jacqueline Garreaud, 'La formación de un mercado de tránsito, Valparaíso, 1817–1848,' *Nueva Historia,* 3/11 (1984), 157–94. The operations of the commercial firms in the port itself are intelligently surveyed by Eduardo Cavieres F. in his 'Estructura y funcionamiento de las sociedades comerciales de Valparaíso durante el siglo XIX (1820–1880),' *Cuadernos de Historia,* 4 (1984), 61–86. Thomas M. Bader, 'Before the gold fleets: Trade and relations between Chile and Australia, 1830–1848,' *JLAS,* 6/1 (1974), 35–58, looks at early trans-Pacific links. A study is needed for the years after 1848. The French trading connection is well illustrated in M. Barbance, *Vie commerciale de la route du Cap Horn au XIXe siècle: L'armement de A. D. Bordes et fils* (Paris, 1969). On foreign investment, in addition to the books by Cavieres and Mayo mentioned above, see Manuel A. Fernández, 'Merchants and bankers: British direct and portfolio investment in Chile during the nineteenth century,' *I-AA,* 9/3–4 (1983), 349–79.

The long-neglected theme of agriculture has been taken up in Bauer's first-class study, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), which, despite its title, largely focusses on or near this period. An interesting picture of one large hacienda and its subdivisions in the nineteenth century is Jorge Valladares, 'La hacienda Longaví, 1639–1959,' *Historia,* 14 (1979), 117–93. Landowners' attitudes are examined in Gonzalo Izquierdo F., *Un estudio de las ideologías chilenas: La Sociedad de la Agricultura en el siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile, 1968). Much more needs to be known about copper and silver mining, so immensely profitable in this period, but L. R. Pederson, *The Mining Industry of the Norte Chico, Chile* (Evanston, Ill., 1966), remains a good introduction, which can now be usefully complemented by Pierre Vayssière, *Un siècle de capitalisme minier au Chili, 1830–1930* (Paris, 1980), chaps. 1–5. See also John Mayo, 'Commerce, credit and control in Chilean

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

copper mining before 1880,' in Thomas Greaves and William W. Culver (eds.), *Miners and Mining in the Americas* (Manchester, Eng., 1985), 29–46, and William W. Culver and Cornel J. Reinhart, 'The decline of a mining region and mining policy: Chilean copper in the nineteenth century,' in the same collection, 68–81. Labour discipline in the northern mines is sketched in María Angélica Illanes, 'Disciplinamiento de la mano de obra minera en una formación social en transición: Chile, 1840–1850,' *Nueva Historia,* 3/11 (1984), 195–224. For coal-mining in the south, see the good, detailed study by Luis Ortega, 'The first four decades of the Chilean coal-mining industry, 1840–1879,' *JLAS,* 14/1 (1982), 1–32. The story of nitrates to the end of the War of the Pacific can be followed in Oscar Bermúdez, *Historia del salitre desde sus orígenes hasta la Guerra del Pacífico* (Santiago, Chile, 1963), the classic work, and Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Nitrate Industry and Chile's Critical Transition, 1870–1891* (New York, 1982). See also O'Brien's article, 'The Antofagasta company: A case study in peripheral capitalism,' *HAHR,* 60 (1980), 1–31.

The standard work on the ups and downs of Chile's merchant navy in this period remains Claudio Véliz, *Historia de la marina mercante de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1961). Railway-building and its economic context are intelligently covered in Robert B. Oppenheimer, 'Chilean transportation development: The railroads and socio-economic change in the Central Valley' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976). See also the same author's articles: 'Chile's central valley railroads and economic development in the nineteenth century,' *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies,* 6 (1977–9), 73–86, and 'National capital and national development: Financing Chile's railroads in the nineteenth century,' *BHR,* 56 (1982), 54–75. Especially interesting on regional issues is John Whaley, 'Transportation in Chile's Bio–Bio region, 1850–1915' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1974). A newer and highly valuable source on the 'infrastructure' and technology in general is Sergio Villalobos R. and others, *Historia de la ingeniería en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1990), chap. 3.

Commercial policies in the early part of the period are discussed in John L. Rector, 'Merchants, trade and commercial policy in Chile, 1810–1840' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1976), 88–112, and in the later part by William F. Sater in his 'Economic nationalism and tax reform in late nineteenth-century Chile,' *TA,* 33 (1976), 311–35. Sergio Villalobos R. and Rafael Sagredo B., *El proteccionismo económico en Chile, siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile, 1987), looks at the tension between protection-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ism and free trade in economic legislation. The issues here are by no means wholly resolved. Perhaps the best recent summary of monetary problems in the period prior to the decree of 1878 is that of Pierre Vayssière, 'Au Chili: De l'économie coloniale à l'inflation,' *Cahiers des Amériques Latines*, 5 (1970), 5–31. No close study of the recession at the end of the 1850s yet exists, but the altogether more severe crisis of the 1870s is covered in William F. Sater, 'Chile and the world depression of the 1870s,' *JLAS*, 11/1 (1979), 67–99, and it also receives careful consideration in Luis Ortega, 'Change and crisis in Chile's economy and society, 1865–1879' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1979).

Social history, however broadly or narrowly one defines the term, still needs an appreciable amount of research; there are some large gaps in our knowledge of particular social groups. Gabriel Salazar, *Labradores, peones y proletarios* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), gives a stimulating account of the 'popular classes' in this period (and in the decades to either side of it), with suggestive detail. Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society*, presents information about the rural labouring classes. Valuable findings about a traditional rural locality in the first part of our period (and the century preceding it) are offered in the highly rigorous study by Rolando Mellafe and René Salinas, *Sociedad y población rural en la formación de Chile actual: La Ligua, 1700–1850* (Santiago, Chile, 1988): it would be splendid to have a dozen studies of this sort, focussing on different regions – the mining north, the forested south, Chiloé, etc.

Urban artisans and craftsmen up to the 1850s are studied in Luis Alberto Romero, *La Sociedad de la Igualdad: Los artesanos de Santiago de Chile y sus primeras experiencias políticas* (Buenos Aires, 1978): see also Romero's well-researched articles on the urban lower classes in general, mentioned below. Sergio Villalobos R. offers a sprightly portrait of the 'new rich' entering the upper class in his *Origen y ascenso de la burguesía chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). The importance of family links for the upper class is shown in Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, 'Family clusters: Generational nucleation in nineteenth-century Argentina and Chile,' *CSSH*, 21 (1979), 231–61. More studies of family links are needed, in the manner of – although it touches only the edge of the period – Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, 'The Larrain family in the independence of Chile, 1789–1830' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970).

Other distinctive groups in the nineteenth-century pattern have not been ignored in recent research. Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les allemands au*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile, 1816–1945 (Cologne, 1974), a magnificent piece of research in the modern French style, provides a fine picture of the German 'micro-society' in the south after 1850. See also George Young, *The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849–1914* (New York, 1974), not as detailed as Blancpain but a worthwhile account. For the British presence, not least in Valparaíso, see John Mayo, 'The British community in Chile before the nitrate age,' *Historia,* 22 (1987), 135–50, as well as the monographs by Mayo and Cavieres mentioned above.

The decline and fall of the Araucanian Indian enclave is summarized neatly in Jacques Rossignol, 'Chiliens et indiens araucans au milieu du XIXe siècle,' *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brésilien,* 20 (1973), 69–98, and thoroughly explored in José Bengoa, *Historia del pueblo mapuche* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), chaps. 4–9, an account that uses oral histories and goes well beyond the older (but nonetheless useful) work of Tomás Guevara, *Historia de la civilización de la Araucania,* 3 vols. (Santiago, 1900–2), vol. 3. See also Leonardo León S., 'Alianzas militares entre los indios araucanos y los grupos indios de las pampas: La rebelión araucana de 1867–72 en Argentina y Chile,' *Nueva Historia,* 1/1 (1981), 3–49. The first phase of the advance of the *huinca* (white man) south of the traditional frontier is well examined in Arturo Leiva, *El primer avance a la Araucanía: Angol 1862* (Temuco, 1984).

Urban histories are in general deficient in their coverage of the early republic. On Santiago, two works by René León Echaiz, *Historia de Santiago,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1975) and *Nuñohue* (Buenos Aires, 1972), the latter dealing with the nowadays affluent eastern suburbs, can be seen as useful introductions but not much more. That research in this area is expanding can be seen in Armando de Ramón, 'Estudio de una periferia urbana: Santiago de Chile, 1850–1900,' *Historia,* 20 (1985), 199–284, and Luis Alberto Romero, 'Condiciones de vida de los sectores populares en Santiago de Chile, 1840–1895: vivienda y salud,' *Nueva Historia,* 3/9 (1984), 3–86. The latter is also a real contribution to social history as such, as is the same author's 'Rotos y gañanes: Trabajadores no calificados en Santiago, 1850–1895,' *Cuadernos de Historia,* 8 (1988), 35–71.

Work on the demographic history of the period has made some good advances in recent times, though here, as with social history in general, the chronological boundaries have to be seen as very flexible. Robert McCaa, 'Chilean social and demographic history: Sources, issues and methods,' *LARR,* 13/2 (1978), 104–26, and Eduardo Cavieres F., 'Población y

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sociedad: Avance de la demografía histórica de Chile,' *Cuadernos de Historia,* 5 (1985), 105–20, both give intelligent surveys of the issues. Good case studies may be found in McCaa's book, *Marriage and Fertility in Chile: Demographic Turning Points in the Petorca Valley, 1840–1976* (Boulder, Colo., 1983), and in Ann Hagerman Johnson, 'The impact of market agriculture on family and household structure in nineteenth-century Chile,' *HAHR,* 58 (1978), 625–48, as well as in the relevant sections of Mellafe and Salinas, *Sociedad y población rural,* mentioned above.

The progress of education in the early republic, such as it was, is briefly summarized in Fernando Campos Harriet, *Desarrollo educacional, 1810–1960* (Santiago, Chile, 1960), though the larger and older work by Amanda Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1939) remains a basic source. The role of the University of Chile, a key institution, has been re-examined by Iván Jaksic and Sol Serrano, in 'In the service of the nation: The establishment and consolidation of the University of Chile, 1842–1879,' *HAHR,* 70 (1990), 139–71. See also Sol Serrano's essays, 'Los desafíos de la Universidad de Chile en la consolidación del Estado, 1842–1879,' in Juan Ricardo Couyoumdjian et al., *Reflexiones sobre historia, política y religión: Homenaje a Mario Góngora* (Santiago, Chile, 1988), 111–29, and 'De la academia a la especialización: La Universidad de Chile en el siglo XIX,' *Opciones,* 13 (1988), 9–34. For the 'uses of history' in education, see Allen Woll, *A Functional Past,* cited above, chap. 8. The role of philosophy and philosophers is sketched in Iván Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (Albany, N.Y., 1989), chap. 1, though the book's main emphasis is on later periods. On the influence of Andrés Bello, see the essays collected in La Casa de Bello, *Bello y Chile: Tercer Congreso del Bicentenario,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1981).

Ecclesiastical history has long been cultivated in Chile as a fairly specialized sub-discipline, but there have been no major recent investigations into the institutional history of the Catholic Church in the early republic or into church–state relations: for some useful suggestions, see Sergio Vergara Quiroz, 'Iglesia y estado en Chile, 1750–1850,' *Historia,* 20 (1985), 319–62. The study of freemasonry has not advanced since the standard account was published: Benjamín Oviedo, *La masonería en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1929), written from a rather starry-eyed masonic standpoint.

Chile's international relations and the development of diplomacy can best be followed in Robert N. Burr, *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830–1905* (Berkeley, 1965), and in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mario Barros's compendious account, *Historia diplomática de Chile, 1541–1938* (Barcelona, 1970), 63–440. The vexed question of the northern frontier is covered in Eduardo Tellez L., *Historia general de la frontera de Chile con Perú y Bolivia, 1825–1929* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). The diplomacy of the first Chilean cabinet minister to hold the separate foreign affairs portfolio is analysed in Ximena Rojas V., *Don Adolfo Ibáñez: Su gestión con el Perú y Bolivia, 1870–1879* (Santiago, Chile, 1970). For a mere recent general view of early Chile–U.S. relations, see William F. Sater, *Chile and the United States* (Athens, Ga., 1990), 9–50.

10. THE RIVER PLATE REPUBLICS

ARGENTINA

The bibliography of nineteenth-century Argentina can be approached through Joseph R. Barager, 'The historiography of the Río de la Plata area since 1930', *HAHR*, 39 (1959), 588–642, and James R. Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (New York, 1964), 248–74. A more specialised work is Julio O. Chiappini, *Bibliografía sobre Rosas* (Rosario, 1973).

Public documents are reproduced in a number of collections. The formal policy reviews of the executive are given in H. Mabragaña, *Los Mensajes, 1810–1910*, 6 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1910); for the governors of Buenos Aires a better version is provided by Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, *Mensajes de los gobernadores de la provincia de Buenos Aires 1822–1849*, 2 vols. (La Plata, 1976). Basic legislative, constitutional and inter-provincial texts are to be found in Emilio Ravignani (ed.), *Asambleas constituyentes argentinas*, 6 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1937–9). The main documentation concerning Rosas is that of Adolfo Saldías (ed.), *Papeles de Rosas*, 2 vols. (La Plata, 1904–7), which can be supplemented by two convenient compilations of his thought and policy, Andrés M. Carretero, *El pensamiento político de Juan M. de Rosas* (Buenos Aires, 1970) and Arturo Enrique Sampay, *Las ideas políticas de Juan Manuel de Rosas* (Buenos Aires, 1972), and by a further collection of his correspondence, Juan Carlos Nicolau, ed., *Correspondencia inédita entre Juan Manuel de Rosas y Manuel José García* (Tandil, 1989). Aspects of the opposition to Rosas are documented in Gregorio F. Rodríguez (ed.), *Contribución histórica y documental*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1921–2), and Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, *La campaña libertadora del general Lavalle (1838–1842)*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(La Plata, 1944). Amidst other and smaller collections the monumental writings of Argentina's three most eminent figures of politics and letters stand out, beginning with Juan B. Alberdi, *Obras completas,* 8 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1876–86) and *Escritos póstumos,* 16 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1895–1901). Bartolomé Mitre, *Archivo del General Mitre: Documentos y correspondencia,* 28 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1911–14), can be supplemented by *Correspondencia literaria, histórica y política del General Bartolomé Mitre,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1912) and *Correspondencia Mitre–Elizalde* (*Documentos para la historia argentina,* 26) (Buenos Aires, 1960). Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Obras completas,* 52 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1887–1902), is an indispensable source for Argentine history, together with *Sarmiento–Mitre: Correspondencia, 1846–1868* (Buenos Aires, 1911), *Facundo* (La Plata, 1938), and *Epistolario entre Sarmiento y Posse, 1845–1888,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1946–7).

The subject is rich in narrative sources, and the following is no more than a brief selection. Sir Woodbine Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Río de la Plata,* 2nd ed. (London, 1852), a work first published in 1838, is an objective and scholarly account by the former British chargé d'affaires. William MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride through the Argentine Provinces,* 2 vols. (London, 1853), brings the economy and the people of the pampas to life. One of the first approaches to quantification is provided by Victor Martin de Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique de la confédération argentine,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1860–4). Thomas Joseph Hutchinson, *Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings* (London, 1865), is a less accurate account, by the British consul at Rosario, but takes the story to 1862–3. Wilfred Latham, *The States of the River Plate,* 2nd ed. (London, 1868), is an amplified version of a book first published in 1866 and written from the author's 'home in the campo', a large sheep farm.

General histories are headed by the Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Historia de la nación argentina,* 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1939–50), with its sequel, *Historia argentina contemporánea, 1862–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1963–). These are composite works, uneven in quality. Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Argentina: De la revolución de independencia a la confederación rosista* (Buenos Aires, 1972) is analytically superior, as is his masterly essay introducing *Proyecto y construcción de una nación* (*Argentina 1846–1880*) (Caracas, 1980), a selection of texts from major writers of Argentina's age of nation-building. Haydée Gorostegui de Torres, *Argentina: La organización nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1972), gives a balanced account of the period 1852–74.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Study of the economy can begin with Jonathan C. Brown, *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776–1860* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), which combines synthesis, original research and a sense of chronology. Miron Burgin, *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism 1820–1852* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), is still unsurpassed for data and interpretation. Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Guerra y finanzas en los orígenes del estado argentino (1791–1850)* (Buenos Aires, 1982) studies the role of the state as a participant as well as a policy-maker in the economy. Juan Carlos Nicolau, *Rosas y García (1829–35): La economía bonaerense* (Buenos Aires, 1980), concentrates on financial and fiscal policy, while his *La reforma económico-financiera en la provincia de Buenos Aires (1821–1825): Liberalismo y economía* (Buenos Aires, 1988) includes new research on merchants and artisans, liberal economic policy and the origins of emphyteusis. The basic institutional account of landowning is Miguel A. Cárcano, *Evolución histórica del régimen de la tierra pública, 1810–1916,* 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1972), first published in 1917. Further details on land acquisition and concentration are provided by Jacinto Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente argentina,* 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1956), but for more accurate data see Andrés M. Carretero, 'Contribución al conocimiento de la propiedad rural en la provincia de Buenos Aires para 1830', *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina 'Doctor Emilio Ravignani'*, 2nd series, 13/22–23 (1970), 246–92; and *La propiedad de la tierra en la época de Rosas* (Buenos Aires, 1972). Cattle-raising can be studied in Horacio C. E. Giberti, *Historia económica de la ganadería argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1961), and the processing plants in Alfredo J. Montoya, *Historia de los saladeros argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1956) and *La ganadería y la industria de salazón de carnes en el período 1810–1862* (Buenos Aires, 1971). Aspects of early industrial development are covered in José M. Mariluz Urquijo, *Estado e industria, 1810–1862* (Buenos Aires, 1969), a collection of texts; Juan Carlos Nicolau, *Antecedentes para la historia de la industria argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and *Industria argentina y aduana, 1835–1854* (Buenos Aires, 1975); and Clifton Kroeber, *The Growth of the Shipping Industry in the Río de la Plata Region, 1794–1860* (Madison, Wis., 1957). Foreign trade and its participants are studied in a useful article and two important books: Juan Carlos Nicolau; 'Movimiento marítimo exterior del puerto de Buenos Aires (1810–1854)', *Nuestra Historia,* 12 (1973), 351–61; H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960); Vera Blinn Reber, *British Merchant Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810–1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). For the wool cycle and the economy in transition, see José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Nacionalismo y*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

liberalismo económicos en la Argentina, 1860–1880 (Buenos Aires, 1971), Hilda Sábato, 'Wool trade and commercial networks in Buenos Aires, 1840s to 1880s,' *JLAS*, 15/1 (1983), 49–81, and the now classic H. Gibson, *The History and Present State of the Sheepbreeding Industry in the Argentine Republic* (Buenos Aires, 1893). Finally, see Hilda Sábato, *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990).

Society in its demographic aspect is well described by Ernesto J. A. Maeder, *Evolución demográfica argentina de 1810 a 1869* (Buenos Aires, 1969), while for a shorter period population change is measured by Susana R. Frías, César A. García Belsunce, et al., *Buenos Aires: Su gente, 1800–1830* (Buenos Aires, 1976), based on censuses of the city of Buenos Aires. These should be supplemented by George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wis., 1980). On immigration, see Juan Antonio Oddone, *La emigración europea al Río de la Plata* (Montevideo, 1966). New research on the life and labour of the Irish is provided by Juan Carlos Korol and Hilda Sábato, *Cómo fue la inmigración irlandesa en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1981). The most powerful social group is studied by María Sáenz Quesada, *Los estancieros* (Buenos Aires, 1980). Gauchos, peons and vagrants are placed in their historical context by Gastón Gori, *Vagos y mal entretenidos,* 2nd ed. (Santa Fe, Arg., 1965), and Ricardo Rodríguez Molas, *Historia social del gaucho* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1982), and Richard W. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb., 1983). Mark D. Szuchman, *Order, Family, and Community in Buenos Aires 1810–1860* (Stanford, 1988) uses family history in a search for the responses of the masses to political leadership. On Indian society, Raúl Mandrini, 'La sociedad indígena de las pampas en el siglo XIX', in Mirta Lischetti (ed.), *Antropología* (Buenos Aires, 1985) is the surest guide. Rubén H. Zorrilla, *Extracción social de los caudillos, 1810–1870* (Buenos Aires, 1972), discusses the social base of *caudillismo.*

Political history can be divided into three periods, comprising Rivadavia, Rosas and national organization. On the first, Ricardo Piccirilli, *Rivadavia y su tiempo,* 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960) is a work of scholarship, and Sérgio Bagú, *El plan económico del grupo Rivadaviano, 1811–1827* (Rosario, 1966) a cogent interpretation with documents. The enormous bibliography on Rosas is a hindrance rather than a help to understanding. Adolfo Saldías, *Historia de la Confederación Argentina: Rosas y su época,* 9 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1958), a work first published in 1881–7

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

from official Rosas sources, is a useful chronicle of events. Roberto Etchepareborda, *Rosas: Controvertida historiografía* (Buenos Aires, 1972), is a modern survey of the 'problems'. Enrique M. Barba, *Cómo llegó Rosas al poder* (Buenos Aires, 1972), explains the conquest of power. Among the *rosista* historians, Carlos Ibarguren, *Juan Manuel de Rosas, su vida, su drama, su tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1961), first published in 1930, provides a well-documented political biography; and Julio Irazusta, *Vida política de Juan Manuel de Rosas, a través de su correspondencia,* 2nd ed., 8 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1970), supplies much detail and documentation. Ernesto H. Celesia, *Rosas, aportes para su historia,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1968), is hostile but well researched. Benito Díaz, *Juzgados de paz de campaña de la provincia de Buenos Aires (1821–1854)* (La Plata, 1959), studies a vital agency of the regime. On the foreign blockades and other forms of intervention, see John F. Cady, *Foreign Intervention in the Río de la Plata, 1838–50* (Philadelphia, 1929), and Nestor S. Colli, *La política francesa en el Río de la Plata: Rosas y el bloqueo de 1838–1840* (Buenos Aires, 1963), as well as the work by Ferns already cited. The international context of the fall of Rosas is explored by the *rosista* historian José María Rosa, *La caída de Rosas: El imperio de Brasil y la Confederación Argentina (1843–1851)*, 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1968). For a modern history of Rosas, his power base and his policy, see John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator: Juan Manuel de Rosas 1829–1852* (Oxford, 1981) and *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800–1850* (Oxford, 1992), chap. 6. The period contained a history of reform as well as reaction, expertly studied in its legislation by David Bushnell, *Reform and Reaction in the Platine Provinces 1810–1852* (Gainesville, Fla., 1983). And in the Littoral alternative forms of political control developed, investigated by José Carlos Chiaramonte, 'Finanzas públicas de las provincias del Litoral, 1821–1841', *Anuario del IEHS,* 1 (Tandil, 1986), 159–98, and 'Legalidad constitucional o caudillismo: El problema del orden social en el surgimiento de los estados autónomos del Litoral argentino en la primera mitad del siglo XIX', *Desarrollo Económico,* 26/102 (1986), 175–96.

In the period of national organization the transitional figure is Urquiza: see Beatriz Bosch, *Urquiza y su tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1971). Older accounts of the decade after Rosas are superseded by James R. Scobie, *La lucha por la consolidación de la nacionalidad argentina, 1852–1862* (Buenos Aires, 1964). The great constitutional statesmen have attracted a number of biographies, of which Jorge M. Mayer, *Alberdi y su tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1963) is outstanding. Sarmiento receives scholarly attention from Ricardo

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rojas, *El profeta de la pampa: Vida de Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires, 1945), Paul Verdevoye, *Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: Educateur et publiciste entre 1839 et 1852* (Paris, 1963), and José S. Campobassi, *Sarmiento y su época,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1975).

URUGUAY

The history of Uruguay in the nineteenth century has an established framework of political narrative and documentation in Eduardo Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay,* vols. 2 and 3 (Montevideo, 1933), which should be supplemented for the mid-century by Juan E. Pivel Devoto, *El fin de la Guerra Grande* (Montevideo, 1953). An excellent analysis of economy, society and politics is provided by José Pedro Barrán, *Apogeo y crisis del Uruguay pastoral y caudillesco, 1838–1875* (Montevideo, 1974). On the rural structure, see José Pedro Barrán and Benjamín Nahum, *Historia rural del Uruguay moderno. Tomo 1 (1851–1895)* (Montevideo, 1967), a work of basic scholarship. Juan Antonio Oddone, *Economía y sociedad en el Uruguay liberal, 1852–1904: Antología de textos* (Montevideo, 1967), is a collection of documents preceded by a valuable introduction. For an analysis of the social structure, see Carlos M. Rama, *Historia social del pueblo uruguayo* (Montevideo, 1972).

PARAGUAY

The best approach to understanding the history of Paraguay in the nineteenth century is provided by John Hoyt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800–1870* (Austin, Tex., 1979), a work of research and interpretation. Richard Alan White, *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution, 1810–1840* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1978), takes a new, though partial, look at Francia. For a Paraguayan view, see Julio César Chavez, *El supremo dictador: Biografía de José Gaspar de Francia,* 4th ed. (Madrid, 1964). The same author has written the history of Francia's successor, *El Presidente López: Vida y gobierno de Don Carlos,* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1968); see also Juan F. Pérez Acosta, *Don Carlos Antonio López, 'Obrero Máximo'* (Buenos Aires, 1948). For the demographic and developmental history of the period, see John Hoyt Williams, 'Observations on the Paraguayan Census of 1846', *HAHR,* 56 (1976), 424–37, and 'Foreign técnicos and the modernization of Paraguay, 1840–1870', *JIAS,* 19/2 (1977), 233–57. The latter subject is explored in further detail by Josefina Pla, *The British*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Paraguay (1850–70) (London, 1976). On the Paraguayan War, Pelham Horton Box, *The Origins of the Paraguayan War* (Urbana, Ill., 1929) is still worth reading, but should be supplemented by Efraím Cardozo, *Vísperas de la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1954) and *El Imperio del Brasil y el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1962). The same author's *Hace cien años,* 8 vols. (Asunción, 1967–72), is a useful chronicle of events based on contemporary Paraguayan newspapers. For a history of the war in English see Charles Kolinski, *Independence or Death: The Story of the Paraguayan War* (Gainesville, Fla., 1965). Ramón J. Cárcano, *Guerra del Paraguay,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1938–40), still has value as a work of reference. There is an expert survey of Paraguayan bibliography by John Hoyt Williams, 'Paraguayan historical resources, Part Four: A selective Paraguayan historiography', *TA,* 34 (1978), 1–20.

11. BRAZIL, 1822–1850

Two volumes of the *História geral de civilização brasileira* (ed. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda) cover the period 1822–48: Tomo 2, *O Brasil monárquico:* Vol. 1, *O processo de emancipação* (São Paulo, 1962) and Vol. 2, *Dispersão e unidade* (São Paulo, 1964). A general history in English, sensible and well organized, but somewhat superficial and now out of date, is C. H. Haring, *Empire in Brazil: A New World Experiment with Monarchy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). For a more recent general survey of the period 1822–52, see Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), chaps. 4–8. Still valuable is Stanley J. Stein, 'The historiography of Brazil, 1808–1889', *HAHR,* 40/2 (1960), 234–78. For the period 1822–31 Tobias do Rego Monteiro, *História do império: O primeiro reinado* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), remains the most detailed account of political events. An indispensable contemporary account is John Armitage, *History of Brazil from the Arrival of the Braganza Family in 1808 to the Abdication of Dom Pedro the First in 1831,* 2 vols. (London, 1836). Other important nineteenth-century accounts include João Manuel Pereira de Silva, *História do Brasil de 1831 a 1840* (Rio de Janeiro, 1868), Manuel Duarte Moreira de Azevedo, *História Pátria: O Brasil de 1831 a 1840* (Rio de Janeiro, 1884) and Heinrich Handelmann, *Geschichte von Brasilien* (Berlin, 1860; Portuguese translation, *História do Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

Nícia Vilela Luz, 'Brazil' in Stanley J. Stein and Roberto Cortés Conde (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1977), 163–272, is a useful guide to the secondary literature on Brazilian economic history. There are two general economic histories of Brazil, both now classics, which touch on this period: Caio Prado Júnior, *História econômica do Brasil,* 6th ed. (São Paulo, 1959), and Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959); English translation, *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times* (Berkeley, 1963). The most comprehensive (and provocative) study of Brazil's economic history after independence is Nathaniel H. Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil,* vol. 1, *Economic Structures and Change 1822–1947;* vol. 2, *Reassessing the Obstacles to Economic Development* (London, 1982). On the beginnings of the coffee boom, see Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), and, still useful, Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, *História do café,* 15 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1939–43). On sugar, see Maria Teresa Schorer Petrone, *A Lavoura canavieira em São Paulo: Expansão e declínio, 1765–1861* (São Paulo, 1968), and Peter L. Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernisation Without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley, 1974). For two different views on the impact made by British imperial preference, especially the sugar duties, on Brazilian economic development or underdevelopment, see Paulo Nogueira Batista, Jr., 'Política tarifária britânica e evolução das exportações brasileiras na primeira metade do século XIX', *RBE,* 34/2 (1980), 203–39, and Roberta M. Delson, 'Sugar production for the nineteenth century British market: Rethinking the roles of Brazil and the British West Indies', in A. Graves and B. Albert (eds.), *Crisis and Change in the International Sugar Economy, 1860–1914* (Norwich, Eng., 1984). The outstanding work on Anglo–Brazilian commercial and financial (as well as diplomatic and political) relations in the first half of the nineteenth century is Alan K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil: Its Rise and Decline* (Durham, N.C., 1933). Brazil's failure to industrialize in the period after independence is examined in the early chapters of Nícia Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1961). On the financial history of the period, see Carlos Manuel Pelaez and Wilson Suzigan, *História monetária do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976). On government income and expenditure in particular, Liberato de Castro Carreira, *O orçamento do império desde a sua fundação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1883) and *História financeira e orçamentária do império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889) remain indispensable. See also Amaro Cavalcanti, *Resenha financeira do ex-império do Brasil em 1889* (Rio de Janeiro, 1890). A monograph which breaks new ground by

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

examining internal trade, and in particular the organization of Rio de Janeiro's food supply, is Alcir Lenharo, *As tropas da moderação: O abastecimento da Corte na formação política do Brasil (1808–1842)* (São Paulo, 1979).

The most wide-ranging study of the political system of the empire is José Murilo de Carvalho's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'Elite and state building in imperial Brazil' (Stanford University, 1974). The first part, revised and expanded, has been published in *A construção da ordem: A elite política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), and the second part, also revised and expanded, in *Teatro de sombras: A política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). See also his article, 'Political elites and state building: The case of nineteenth century Brazil', *CSSH*, 24/3 (1982). Three other important contributions are Fernando Uricoechea, *The Patrimonial Foundations of the Brazilian Bureaucratic State* (Berkeley, 1980), which examines in particular the National Guard, Thomas Flory, *Judge and Jury in Imperial Brazil, 1808–1871: Social Control and Political Stability in the New State* (Austin, Tex., 1981), which examines the political and administrative role of the judges, and Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), a wide-ranging exploration of the role of patronage in the political life of the Empire which includes the best available study of imperial elections. On the National Guard, see also Jeanne Berrance de Castro, *A milícia cidadã: A Guarda Nacional de 1831 a 1850* (São Paulo, 1977). There is no study of the army in this period, but see the early chapters of John H. Schulz, 'The Brazilian army in politics, 1850–1894', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1973). João Camilo de Oliveira Torres, *A democracia coroada (teoria política do império do Brasil)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957) remains valuable for the political history of the empire. Indispensable as a reference work is *Organizações e programas ministeriais: Regime parlamentar no império,* 2nd ed. Arquivo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro, 1962). The electoral legislation of the period can be found in Francisco Belisário Soares de Souza, *O sistema eleitoral no império* (1892; Brasília, 1979). Also useful are José Honório Rodrigues (ed.), *O Parlamento e a evolução nacional,* 8 vols. (Brasília, 1972), which covers the period 1826–40, José Honório Rodrigues (ed.), *Atas do Conselho de Estado,* 14 vols. (Brasília, 1973), and Augusto Tavares de Lyra, *Instituições políticas do império* (Brasilia, 1979).

There are a number of biographies of leading politicians in this period, notably those written by Octávio Tarquínio de Sousa: *José Bonifácio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945), *A vida de D. Pedro I,* 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), *Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos e seu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), *Evaristo da Veiga* (São Paulo, 1939) and *Diogo Antônio Feijó (1784–1843)* (Rio de

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Janeiro, 1942), republished as vols. 1–7 of *História dos fundadores do império do Brasil,* 10 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1957–8). Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798–1834* (Durham, N.C., 1986) is a useful biography in English.

An excellent well-documented study of the political mobilization at the beginning of the regency is Augustin Wernet, *Sociedades políticas (1831–1832)* (São Paulo, 1978). A major study of conservative ideology and the origins of the Conservative party is Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, *O tempo saquarema* (São Paulo, 1987).

On the provincial revolts of the 1830s and 1840s, besides the various regional histories in the *História geral da civilização brasileira,* 2, vol. 2, and chaps. 3 and 4 of Caio Prado Júnior, *Evolução política do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933), a number of works deserve mention. The best available study of the War of the Cabanos is Manuel Correia de Andrade, *A Guerra dos Cabanos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965) which is partly summarized in 'The social and ethnic significance of the War of the Cabanos', in Ronald H. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil: Comparative Studies* (Berkeley, 1972). A more recent study by Dirceu Lindoso, *A utópia armada: Rebeliões de pobres nas matas do Tombo Real* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983), emphasizes the ideological and cultural aspects of the war. See also, Manuel Correia de Andrade, *Movimentos nativistas em Pernambuco: Setembrizada e Novembrada* (Recife, 1971), for the smaller rebellions in Pernambuco during the regency. Astolfo Serra, *A Balaiada* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946) and Maria Juanuária Vilela Santos, *A Balaiada e a insurreição dos escravos no Maranhão* (São Paulo, 1983) are the best studies of this movement. On the Sabinada, see Luís Viana Filho, *A Sabinada (A República Bahiana de 1837)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), Paulo Cesar Souza, *A Sabinada: A revolta separatista da Bahia (1837)* (São Paulo, 1987) and F. W. O. Morton, 'The Conservative revolution of independence: Economy, society and politics in Bahia, 1790–1840' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1974), chap. 11. Although very disorganized, Domingos Antonio Rayol, *Motins políticos ou história dos principais acontecimentos políticos da província do Pará desde o ano de 1821 até 1835,* 3 vols. (Belém, 1970), is still the best study of the Cabanagem. The best-documented study of the Farroupilha is Alfredo Varela, *História da grande revolução,* 6 vols. (Porto Alegre, 1925). Walter Spalding, *A revolução Farroupilha: História popular do grande decênio* (São Paulo, 1939), is also valuable. A study which emphasizes the economic roots of the rebellion is Spencer L. Leitman, 'Socio-economic roots of the Ragamuffin War: A chapter in early Brazilian history' (unpublished Ph.D.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1972), published as *Raízes sócio-econômicas da Guerra dos Farrapos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). The only modern work on the liberal revolts in Minas Gerais and São Paulo is Victor M. Filler, 'Liberalism in imperial Brazil: The regional rebellions of 1842' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1976). For the view of a participant, see José Antônio Marinho, *História do movimento político que no ano de 1842 teve lugar na província de Minas Gerais* (Conselheiro Lafaiete, 1939). Apart from the Farroupilha, the Praieira is the best-studied rebellion of the period. See Izabel Andrade Marson, *Movimento Praieiro, 1842–1849; Imprensa, ideologia e poder político* (São Paulo, 1980) and *O Império do progresso: A revolução praieira em Pernambuco (1842–1855)* (São Paulo, 1987), and Nancy Priscilla Naro, 'The 1848 Praieira revolt in Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1981). Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *Bahia, século XIX: Uma província do império* (Rio de Janeiro, 1992) is the best general history of any province in the nineteenth century.

Useful information on the population of Brazil (as well as on slavery and immigration) in the decades after independence can be found in T. W. Merrick and D. H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979). See also Maria Luiza Marcílio, 'Evolução da população brasileira através dos censos até 1872', *Anais de História* 6 (1974), 115–37. The best study of immigration before the beginnings of mass European immigration is George P. Browne, 'Government immigration policy in imperial Brazil 1822–1870' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1972). A critical view of Senator Vergueiro's free labour policies by a German–Swiss *colono*, which tells us much about rural São Paulo in the middle of the nineteenth century, is Thomas Davatz, *Memórias de um colono no Brasil (1850)*, edited with an introduction by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo, 1941). Land policy, and especially the origins of the law of 1850, is examined in Warren Dean, 'Latifundia and land policy in nineteenth century Brazil', *HAHR*, 51/4 (1971), 606–25; José Murilo de Carvalho, 'A Modernização frustrada: A política de terras no Império', *Revista Brasileira de História*, 1/1 (1981), and Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Land policies: The Land Law, 1850, and the Homestead Act, 1862', in *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985). More generally, Ruy Cirne Lima, *Pequena história territorial do Brasil: Sesmarias e terras devolutas* (Porto Alegre, 1954), remains useful. On urban growth in this period, see Mary Karasch, 'Rio de Janeiro: From colonial town to imperial capital (1808–1850)', in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Robert J. Ross and G.J. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities* (Dordrecht, 1985) and the works by Richard Morse, Emília Viotti da Costa, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo and Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso cited in essay V:12. The bibliography on slavery in nineteenth-century Brazil is also discussed in bibliographical essay V:12. But on slavery in Rio de Janeiro in this period, see Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton, N.J., 1987) and Luis Carlos Soares, 'Urban slavery in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988). The slave uprising in Bahia in 1835 is the subject of an important book by João José Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A historia do levante dos malês* (São Paulo, 1986); Eng. trans., *Slave Rebellion in Brazil. The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore, 1993). See also João José Reis and Eduardo Silva, *Negociação e conflito: A resistência negra no Brasil escravista* (São Paulo, 1989) and João José Reis, 'Um balanço dos estudos sobre as revoltas escravas da Bahia', in João José Reis (ed.), *Escravidão e invenção da liberdade: Estudos sobre o negro no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1988). On the nineteenth-century slave trade, see Robert Conrad, *World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986). The slave trade question in Anglo–Brazilian relations and the final abolition of the slave trade in 1850–1 are thoroughly examined in Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970). The best diplomatic history of the period is still João Pandiá Calógeras, *A política externa do império,* 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1927–33), vol. 2, *O primeiro reinado,* vol. 3, *Da regência à queda de Rosas.* For Brazil's relations with its neighbours during the First Empire, see Ron Seckinger, *The Brazilian Monarchy and the South American Republics, 1822–1831: Diplomacy and State Building* (Baton Rouge, La., 1984).

An important source for the social history of Brazil in the period after independence are the accounts of the many European travellers, scientists and artists who visited the country: for example, Maria Graham, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, Jean Baptiste Debret, Johann-Moritz Rugendas, Alcide d'Orbigny. They are listed in Bernard Naylor, *Accounts of Nineteenth Century South America* (London, 1969). See also Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos: Decadência do patriarcado rural e desenvolvimento do urbano,* 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1951; English translation, *The Mansions and the Shanties: The Making of Modern Brazil,* [New York, 1963]), a continuation into the nineteenth century of his more famous *The Masters and the Slaves;* and his 'Social life in Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth cen-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tury', *HAHR,* 5/4 (1922), 597–630. A pioneer work which makes good use of judicial records is Patricia Ann Aufderheide, 'Order and violence: Social deviance and social control in Brazil, 1780–1840' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1976). João José Reis, *A Morte é uma festa: Ritos fúnebres e revoltas populares no Brasil do século XIX* (São Paulo, 1991) is a study of a revolt against the secularisation of the cemeteries in Salvador with original (for Brazil) analysis of attitudes toward death and funeral rites.

12. BRAZIL, 1850–1870

Two broad interpretive studies of Brazilian history that give prominent attention to the political circumstances of mid-century are Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder,* 2nd ed. (Porto Alegre and São Paulo, 1975), and Florestan Fernandes, *A revolução burguesa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975). Both are concerned with tracing the connection between social structure and political institutions and events. Both are heavily influenced by Weberian typologies, although Fernandes also includes a certain amount of Marxist thought in his scheme. Faoro stresses the emergence of a strong state bureaucracy allegedly victorious over the landed class, while Fernandes sees the seigneurial, supposedly status-oriented slave owners as dominating the state. Less ambitious and more mechanically Marxist is Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História da burguesia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964). Caio Prado Júnior's *História econômica do Brasil,* 5th ed. (São Paulo, 1959), is not so rigid as is Sodré in the economic interpretation of society and politics, but gives less attention to the nineteenth century. His *Evolução política do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1957) stresses the struggle between merchants and landowners for control of the state.

The first historian of the Empire, who still exerts great influence on our understanding of the period, was Joaquim Nabuco, whose biography of his father, *Um estadista do império,* 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1975), first published in 1897–1900, dealt chronologically with politicians and political events without neglecting the larger social setting within which they acted. Nabuco's conservative, pro-imperial point of view can be contrasted with the critical stance adopted in 1909 by Euclides da Cunha in *A margem da história,* 2nd ed. (Oporto, 1913); da Cunha felt much more clearly than Nabuco the Empire's failure to change. A defence of the Empire that plays down the role of the emperor and stresses the responsiveness of the system

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

to the shifting tempers of social and economic elites is José Maria dos Santos, *A política geral do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1930).

A more recent political history, this one built around the theme of legislation regarding slavery and slave trade, is Paula Beiguelman's *Formação política do Brasil, I: Teoria e ação no pensamento abolicionista* (São Paulo, 1967). C. H. Haring prepared the only chronological account of the entire period in English, *Empire in Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). Based as it was on his reading of standard works up to that time, it can be used to measure the changes in the understanding of the empire during the next ten to fifteen years, when contrasted with the various essays in Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira,* Tomo II: *O Brasil monárquico,* vols. 3, 4 and 5 (São Paulo, 1967–1972). The political events leading to the initial consolidation of central state authority are ably surveyed by Roderick J. Barman in *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

Several works consider the inner workings of the imperial political system. Richard Graham, in *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1990) provides a detailed look at the system's internal mechanisms and their relation to the social structure, stressing political action and its meaning for participants. Two Brazilian scholars – one a political scientist, the other a sociologist – have also produced impressively detailed studies of political life in nineteenth-century Brazil: José Murilo de Carvalho used printed sources to construct composite biographies of the political elite in his *A construção da ordem* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) and *Teatro de sombras* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988); Fernando Uricoechea went to the manuscript sources to explore the values and social relationships displayed in the life of the National Guard in his *The Patrimonial Foundations of the Brazilian Bureaucratic State* (Berkeley, 1980). On this institution, also see Jeanne Berrance de Castro, *A milícia cidadã* (São Paulo, 1977). A number of insightful and provocative essays are included in Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Realities* (Chicago, 1985).

A less sophisticated but nevertheless still useful description of political institutions during the empire is João Camilo de Oliveira Torres, *A democracia coroada* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957). His conservative, pro-monarchical point of view is also found in Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay's two studies of members of the houses of parliament: *O senado do império* (São Paulo, 1942) and 'A Câmara dos Deputados sob o império', *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 14 (1950), 1–252. The Council of State – part legislature, part court – has been ably studied by José Honório Rodrigues in *O Conselho de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Estado: A quinto poder? (Brasília, 1978). Although most of Thomas Flory's *Judge and Jury in Imperial Brazil* (Austin, Tex., 1981) deals with the period before 1850, the final chapter is a fine discussion of changes in the place of magistrates within the social, political and ideological system of imperial Brazil to 1871. Also provocative is Eul-Soo Pang and Ron L. Seckinger, 'The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil', *CSSH,* 14/2 (1972), 215–44. There has been as yet no significant study of the provincial presidents who so importantly shaped the course of the empire's political history, although the principal policies pursued by those in Minas Gerais are examined by Francisco Iglesias in his *Política econômica do governo provincial mineiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958).

Of the many biographies of the Emperor Pedro II the best remains Heitor Lyra, *História de Dom Pedro II, 1825–1891,* 2nd rev. ed., 3 vols. (Belo Horizonte and São Paulo, 1977). Mary W. Williams presented a romanticized account in her *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937). Of the triumvirate – Eusébio, Itaboraí and Uruguai – who defined what could be called the far right at mid-century, only the last has received a worthy biography: José Antônio Soares de Souza, *A vida do visconde do Uruguai (Paulino José Soares de Souza) (1807–1866)* (São Paulo, 1944). The more creative conservatives at the centre-right – Rio Branco and Cotegipe – have been more fortunate: see, for example, José Wanderley Pinho, *Cotegipe e seu tempo: Primeira phase, 1815–1867* (São Paulo, 1937), which was unfortunately not continued by the author; José Maria da Silva Paranhos, 2nd baron Rio Branco, *O visconde do Rio Branco,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1943); and, more interestingly interpretive, Lidia Besouchet, *José Ma. Paranhos, visconde do Rio Branco: Ensaio histórico-biográfico* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945). At the centre-left stood José Nabuco de Araújo, whose biography by his son Joaquim Nabuco was mentioned earlier. Teófilo Ottoni defended the most reformist measures of the period; see Paulo Pinheiro Chagas, *Teófilo Ottoni, ministro do povo,* 2nd rev. ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1956).

Alongside the debates in parliament, pamphlets formed central pieces of political discourse in the nineteenth century. Many of these have been reprinted. See, for example, Raymundo Magalhães Júnior, *Três panfletários do segundo reinado: Francisco de Sales Torres Homem e o 'Líbelo do povo'; Justiniano José da Rocha e 'Ação, reação, transação'; Antonio Ferreira Vianna e 'A conferência dos divinos'* (São Paulo, 1956). Also reprinted have been some classic juridical works, such as José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, *Direito público brasileiro* (Brasília, 1978), Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos, *Da natureza*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

e limites do poder moderador (Brasília, 1978), Braz Florentino Henriques de Souza, *Do poder moderador* (Brasília, 1978) and, most important, Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil,* 2 vols. (Petrópolis, 1976). Still missing are modern versions of José Paulino Soares de Sousa, *Ensaio sobre o direito administrativo* (1862) and *Estudos práticos sobre a administração das províncias do Brasil* (1865). These works and others like them provide the principal raw material for the magisterial study carried out by Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos of the emerging mid-century conservative ideology: *O tempo saquarema* (São Paulo, 1987).

On the Paraguayan War the literature is still unsatisfactory except on its military aspects. John Hoyt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800–1870* (Austin, Tex., 1979), provides the necessary background, while Pelham Horton Box, *The Origins of the Paraguayan War* (Urbana, Ill., 1930) examines its immediate causes. The point of view of Paraguay is ably presented by Efraím Cardozo, *El imperio del Brasil y el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1961). The best military history of the war is Augusto Tasso Fragoso, *História da guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai,* 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1956–60). The Brazilian military itself is provocatively discussed in Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História militar do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965).

A study of Brazil's economic history for the period must begin with the historiographical chapter on Brazil by Nícia Vilela Luz in Stanley J. Stein and Roberto Cortés Conde (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley, 1977), 163–272. Celso Furtado presents a general interpretive survey in *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times,* translated by Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Charles Drysdale (Berkeley, 1963). Furtado's knowlegde of Keynesian economic theory enlightens rather than beclouds his treatment. A contrasting Marxist perspective can be found in Caio Prado Júnior's *História econômica,* already mentioned. Older, but still useful, is J. F. Normano, *Brazil, A Study of Economic Types* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935). Nathaniel H. Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil,* 2 vols. (London, 1982) indicts the imperial government for its policy failures and draws attention to the maldistribution of wealth as an important retardant in the process of economic development.

Particular sectors of the economy have not been studied in sufficient detail. Notable on the sugar economy is Peter L. Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization Without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley, 1974), although Eul-Soo Pang argues an alternative point of view in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'Modernization and slavocracy in nineteenth century Brazil', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 9/4 (1979), 667–88. A detailed study of the sugar economy in one small province is Moacir Medeiros de Sant'Ana, *Contribuição à história do açúcar em Alagoas* (Recife, 1970). The classic account regarding coffee, which includes the transcription of many documents, is the *História do café* prepared in fifteen volumes by Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (Rio de Janeiro, 1939–43). It is said that the author was paid by the word and wrote as many of these as he could; fortunately, he also prepared a summary entitled *Pequena história do café no Brasil (1727–1937)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945). A more lively and still briefer account can be found in Odilon Nogueira de Matos, *Café e ferrovias: A evolução ferroviária de São Paulo e o desenvolvimento da cultura cafeeira,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1974). On coffee, see also the books by Richard Graham, Stanley J. Stein, Warren Dean, and Emília Viotti da Costa cited below. Two families who prospered from coffee have received detailed study: the Werneck family of Rio de Janeiro is examined by Eduardo Silva in *Barões e escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro and Brasília, 1984), and the Prado family of São Paulo, whose interests also included internal trade and merchandising, is the subject of Darrell E. Levi, *The Prados of São Paulo, Brazil* (Athens, Ga., 1987). The Brazilian part of the coffee trade and its financing is studied by Joseph E. Sweigart, *Coffee Factorage and the Emergence of a Brazilian Capital Market, 1850–1888* (New York, 1987).

In contrast to the many studies on coffee and sugar, there are relatively few on the production of other crops or on the cattle economy. Still useful, after more than a century, however, is the work of Brazil's first statistician, Sebastião Ferreira Soares, especially his *Notas estatísticas sobre a produção agrícola e a carestia dos gêneros alimentícios no império do Brasil,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1977). Also see a chapter on the economy of Rio Grande do Sul in José Hildebrando Dacanal and Sérgius Gonzaga (eds.), *RS: Economia & política* (Porto Alegre, 1979), and the first part of Barbara Weinstein's *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1983). Also see Alice Canabrava's discussion of the brief period of cotton production in São Paulo province, *Desenvolvimento da cultura do algodão na província de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1951).

There are a number of works on transport in nineteenth-century Brazil. Almost folkloric, but with some useful data on muletrains, is José Alipio Goulart, *Tropas e tropeiros na formção do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961). Much more detailed, and at times even erudite, is José B. Sousa's book on ox-carts, *Ciclo do carro de bois no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1958). The early history of railways

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Brazil is discussed in Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968). Subsequent works include the book by Odilon Nogueira de Matos, already mentioned, and Robert H. Mattoon, Jr., 'Railroads, coffee, and the growth of big business in São Paulo, Brazil', *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 273–95.

Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization*, also explores foreign control of the export and import business and foreign investments in railroads, utilities, and manufacturing. The longest lasting foreign-owned business in Brazil is the subject of Marshall C. Eakin's business history: *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1860* (Durham, N.C., 1989). Ana Célia Castro, *As empresas estrangeiras no Brasil, 1860–1913* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979), provides a brief summary of foreign investments. To place this trade and investment in a larger context, consult D. C. M. Platt, *Latin America and British Trade, 1806–1914* (London, 1972), which shows how small a part they played in the British world-wide presence, as well as Irving Stone's two articles: 'British long-term investment in Latin America, 1865–1913', *BHR*, 42/3 (1968), 311–39, and 'La distribuzione geografica degli investimenti inglesi nell'America Latina (1825–1913)', *Storia Contemporanea*, 2/3 (1971), 495–518, which puts that investment in the context of the region as a whole. These works suggest the need for revisions in J. Fred Rippy, *British Investments in Latin America, 1822–1949* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1959).

First steps toward modern manufacturing in Brazil are closely tied to the figure of Mauá. Unfortunately, no satisfactory account of his life has yet been written. Anyda Marchant's *Viscount Mauá and the Empire of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1965) does not seek to explain entrepreneurial success or failure, attributing Mauá's problems – as he did – to the personal enmity of others. Her omission of all footnotes advances scholarship no further than did Alberto de Faria, *Mauá: Ireneo Evangelista de Souza, barão e visconde de Mauá*, 3rd ed. (São Paulo, 1946). The best study of textile mills, really a collection of provocative essays, is Stanley J. Stein's *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957). Also see the essays in Frédéric Mauro (ed.), *La préindustrialisation du Brésil* (Paris, 1984). On the legislative battles to erect a protective staff one must consult Nícia Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1975).

Slavery shaped Brazilian life both in the cities and the countryside. It has consequently been the subject of a large number of studies. Robert

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Conrad, *Brazilian Slavery* (Boston, 1977) is a useful bibliography. On the ending of slave trade Leslie Bethell has written the major study, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970). Another approach is that of Robert Conrad, *World of Sorrow* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986). For the abolition of slavery itself, beginning with the 1860s efforts to free the children born to slave mothers, see Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley, 1972). But the most important study is Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo, 1966), the major work on slavery and abolition in São Paulo, and one that gives considerable attention to the efforts to substitute free workers for slaves in the 1850s. An impressively detailed quantitative analysis of the demographic and economic aspects of slavery is Robert W. Slenes, 'The demography and economics of Brazilian slavery, 1850–1888' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1975). The commercial production of foodstuffs is put forward as the major occupation of slaves in Minas Gerais by Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins in their article, 'Slavery in a non-export economy: Nineteenth-century Minas Gerais revisited', *HAHR*, 63/3 (1983), 569–90 (but see the ensuing comments in the same journal issue).

All works on Brazilian slavery respond in one way or another to the views of Gilberto Freyre on the colonial plantation system and its subsequent effect on Brazil's urban society. His *The Mansions and the Shanties*, translated by Harriet de Onis (New York, 1963), dealt especially with the cities in the nineteenth century. In sharp contrast to his favourable view of the paternalistic relationship between master and slave stands Stanley J. Stein's brilliant *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957). A similar approach focused on a region that turned to coffee only later is Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1976). Both authors suggest that the profit-making rural enterprise left little room for paternalism toward slaves. The same point is driven home by Suely Robles Reis de Queiroz, *Escravidão negra em São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977). In his useful collection of documents on slavery, *Children of God's Fire* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), Robert Conrad introduces each item with a brief statement that stresses the victimization of the slaves. Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–50* (Princeton, N.J., 1987) transfers the theme of unmitigated suffering to the urban setting. Most recently still, a third trend in slave studies is emerging that, while fully acknowledging the destructive effects of enslavement, nevertheless finds the slaves to be more than vic-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tims, certainly resilient and tenacious, but even active agents, ready to explore those few spaces left open to them in order to create their own culture, family relationships, and religion. Sandra Lauderdale Graham does this for the domestic servants (both free and slave) of Rio de Janeiro from the 1860s to the early twentieth century in *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro,* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). João José Reis and Eduardo Silva explore the same theme in *Negociação e conflito* (São Paulo, 1989). This tendency toward seeing slaves as creators and actors in their own right suffered a sharp rebuke in Jacob Gorender's *A escravidão reabilitada* (São Paulo, 1990).

The free poor are only now beginning to receive attention from historians, partly because the sources are less abundant. Maria Sylvia de Carvalho Franco noted their importance in rural areas of the province of Rio de Janeiro in her *Homens livres na ordem escravocrata,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1974) as does Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro in *Ao Sul da história: Lavradores pobres na crise do trabalho escravo* (São Paulo, 1987) and 'Beyond masters and slaves: Subsistence agriculture as survival strategy', *HAHR,* 68/3 (1988), 461–89. Eni de Mesquita Samara noted the complexities besetting the study of the free poor in her article 'O papel do agregado na região de Itú – 1780–1830', *Coleção Museu Paulista,* 6 (1977), 13–121. Another suggestive study of the free poor in rural areas is Joan E. Meznar, 'Deference and dependence: The world of small farmers in a northeastern Brazilian community, 1850–1900' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1986). Their condition was shaped primarily by Brazil's land tenure system; on the 1850 land law, see the essays by Warren Dean, José Murilo de Carvalho, and Emília Viotti da Costa cited in essay V:11. Important points on how the state prevented agricultural workers from acquiring land are raised by José de Souza Martins, *O cativeiro da terra* (São Paulo, 1979). In the cities the free poor did not fare much better. Sandra Lauderdale Graham, in the work mentioned above, dealt with free female domestics, both former slaves and immigrants, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Free salaried workers in mines, foundries, and textile mills in the province of Minas Gerais are examined by Douglas Cole Libby in his *Transformação e trabalho em uma economia escravista (Minas Gerais no século XIX)* (São Paulo, 1988), although the book is also important for its discussion of slave labour and the region's demography.

The issues of population and urban life have not received the attention they deserve. Maria Luiza Marcílio notes the various estimates for Brazil's population at mid-century in 'Evolução da população brasileira através dos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

censos até 1872', *Anais de História,* 6 (1974), 115–37. Richard Morse makes stimulating suggestions regarding the relationship of villages, rural estates and cities in his 'Cities and society in nineteenth-century Latin America: The illustrative case of Brazil', in Richard Schaedel, Jorge Hardoy and Nora Scott Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from its Beginnings to the Present Day* (The Hague, 1978). See also Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Urbanização no Brasil no século XIX', in *Da monarquia à república: Momentos decisivos* (São Paulo, 1971), revised and republished as 'Town and country', in *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories.* Rich statistical information on the city of Rio de Janeiro is included in Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro (do capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro),* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). The social life of Rio de Janeiro is examined in the books by Mary Karasch and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, both mentioned above, as well as in the latter's 'Slavery's impasse: Slave prostitutes, small-time mistresses, and the Brazilian law of 1871', *CSSH,* 33/4 (1991). Thomas Holloway presents a rich study of the efforts to exert social control over slave and free poor in the city as well as their resistance to that effort in his *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth Century City* (Stanford, Calif., 1993). Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso discusses the social and economic life of Salvador (Bahia) in *Bahia: A cidade do Salvador e seu mercado no século XIX* (São Paulo, 1978). Urban women are the subject of June E. Hahner's *A mulher brasileira e suas lutas sociais e políticas, 1850–1937,* translated by Maria Theresa P. de Almeida and Heitor Ferreira da Costa (São Paulo, 1981).

The literary history of the period is ably surveyed in the relevant sections of Antônio Cândido de Mello e Souza, *Formação da literatura brasileira,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1959). He is careful to suggest the connections between the larger society and trends in literature. More attentive to stylistic criticism is José Guilherme Merquior, *De Anchieta a Euclides: Breve história da literatura brasileira, I* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977). A quick reference work is Alfredo Bosi's *História concisa da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1970), while much greater detail can be found in Afrânio Coutinho (ed.), *A Literatura no Brasil,* Vol. 1, Tomo 2: *Romantismo,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). José de Alencar, Brazil's most famous mid-century novelist – also a politician – has been the subject of several biographies; see, for instance, Raimundo Magalhães Júnior, *José de Alencar e sua época,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1977).

Philosophy and music are other topics that provide an insight into the nineteenth-century ethos. João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

translated by Suzette Macedo (Berkeley, 1964), like the work of Antônio Cândido, relates intellectual life to social and economic change. The ideas of political thinkers are explored in Nelson Saldanha, *O pensamento político no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). Finally, Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America, An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979), makes important observations on Antônio Carlos Gomes, the composer whose *Il Guarany* excited the opera world in 1870.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

VI

LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, *c.* 1870 to 1930

1. LATIN AMERICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, 1870–1914

Scholars working on the economic history of Latin America in the period 1870–1914 are singularly fortunate in that much, indeed most, of what they need to locate is identified in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley, 1977). The editors, in their introduction, provide a helpful overview of problems and issues, while each country section of the masterfully annotated bibliographies on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru is also prefaced by an interpretive and evaluative essay from a noted scholar. With such an exceptionally valuable resource listing over 4,500 items already available, this essay will concentrate on studies from the more recent years which deal with the international matrix of Latin American regional development, with occasional mention of works written earlier but not included in the aforementioned comprehensive bibliography. There are a number of other bibliographies which deal with individual countries: for example, Enrique Florescano et al. (eds.), *Bibliografía general del desarrollo económico de México, 1500–1976* (Mexico, D.F., 1980), an excellent work. Mention should also be made of a number of statistical publications which provide historical data on Latin America. See, for example, B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Australasia and Americas* (London, 1983); also Paul Bairoch and Bouda Etemad, *Commodity Structure of Third World Exports, 1830–1937* (Geneva, 1985).

A very good place to begin understanding the period is with more general works on the engagement of Latin America in the international economy. Pascal Arnaud, *Estado y capitalismo en América Latina: Casos de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

México y Argentina (Mexico, D.F., 1981) represents one type of approach; based on the experience of two large countries in the 1820–1910 era, the author attempts to develop a general, perhaps too sweeping, picture of the transition to capitalism in Latin America. More satisfying, for being closer to the evidence, are the eleven studies contained in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Business Imperialism, 1840–1930: An Inquiry Based on British Experience in Latin America* (New York, 1977). See also Irving Stone, 'The composition and distribution of British investment in Latin America, 1865 to 1913' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1962). A major work on the export economies, containing articles on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Peru, is Roberto Cortés Conde and Shane Hunt (eds.), *The Latin American Economies* (New York, 1985). Interesting studies that compare Latin America with other parts of the world include Magnus Blomström and Patricio Meller (eds.), *Diverging Paths: Comparing a Century of Scandinavian and Latin American Development* (Washington, D.C., 1991); D. C. M. Platt and Guido di Tella (eds.), *Argentina, Australia and Canada: Studies in Comparative Development, 1870–1965* (London, 1985); and Carl Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

Useful statistics and interpretation relevant to the international economy and Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Peru appear in the four volumes of Laura Randall, *A Comparative Economic History of Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1977). These are complemented, for Brazil, by Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987) and for Colombia, by Miguel Urrutia and Mario Arrubla (eds.), *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970). Also on Brazil, see Nathaniel Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil,* vol. 1, *Economic Structure and Change, 1822–1947* (London, 1982) and Winston Fritsch, *External Constraints on Economic Policy in Brazil* (London, 1988). And on Colombia, see José Antonio Ocampo, 'Desarrollo exportador y desarrollo capitalista colombiano en el siglo XIX', in *Desarrollo y Sociedad* (1979), 139–44, 'Las exportaciones colombianas en el siglo XIX', *Desarrollo y Sociedad* (1980), 165–226 and *Colombia y la economía mundial* (Bogotá, 1984); and Frank Safford, *Aspectos del siglo XIX en Colombia* (Medellín, 1977) and *The Ideal of the Practical* (Austin, Tex., 1976), both of which stress the Colombian response to external stimuli. On Mexico, see Stephen Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico: 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989) and Fernando Rosenzweig Hernán-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dez, *El desarrollo económico de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1989). On Argentina, see in particular Roberto Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1978). Vera B. Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810–1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), just reaches into the decades under review, but provides a particularly clarifying view of the preparatory period for the *fin-de-siècle* expansion. On Peru, see Heraclio Bonilla, *Gran Bretána y el Perú: Los mecanismos de un control económico* (Lima, 1977); Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978); and Alfonso W. Quiroz, *Domestic and Foreign Finance in Modern Peru, 1850–1950* (Basingstoke, 1992). George E. Carl, *First Among Equals: Britain and Venezuela 1810–1910* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980) shows how foreign interest in Venezuela centered, before the rise of a major export enclave, on the local market for imports and on transport, banking and public utilities.

Although major countries have understandably tended to receive the bulk of scholarly attention, the experience of some of the smaller countries has also been examined. For example, on Central America, see Thomas L. Karnes, *Tropical Enterprise: The Standard Fruit and Steamship Company in Latin America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), which deals mainly with Honduras in years after 1923; Kenneth V. Finney, 'Rosario and the election of 1887; The political economy of mining in Honduras,' *HAHR*, 59/1 (1979), 81–107; David J. McCreery, *Development and the State in Reforma Guatemala, 1871–1885* (Athens, Ohio, 1983); Mitchell A. Seligson, *Peasants of Costa Rica and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism* (Madison, Wis., 1980); Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, *Weak Foundations: The Economy of El Salvador in the 19th Century 1821–1898* (Berkeley, 1990); and Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987). On Uruguay, see Henry Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981), and on Paraguay, Diego Abente, 'Foreign capital, economic elites and the state in Paraguay during the Liberal Republic (1870–1936)', *JLAS*, 21/1 (1989).

The transport sector, and especially railways, which attracted so much foreign capital and entrepreneurship, has not surprisingly been the focus of much research. See, for instance, Paul B. Goodwin, 'The Central Argentine Railway and the economic development of Argentina, 1854–1881', *HAHR*, 57/4 (1977), 613–32; Colin Lewis, *British Railways in Argentina, 1857–1914* (London, 1983); Robert H. Mattoon, Jr., 'Railroads, coffee, and the growth of big business in São Paulo, Brazil',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

HAHR, 57/2 (1977), 273–95; and, most notably, John H. Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (De Kalb, Ill., 1981).

Other sectors, especially export industries, have also attracted the attention of scholars. On the mining sector, see for example Marshall Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (Durham, N.C., 1989); Kenneth V. Finney, *In Quest of El Dorado: Precious Metal Mining and the Modernization of Honduras, 1880–1900* (New York, 1987); and Harry E. Cross, 'The mining economy of Zacatecas, Mexico, in the nineteenth century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1976). The Chilean nitrate experience has been a particularly favoured field of study. See, for example, Markos J. Mamalakis, 'The role of government in the resource transfer and resource allocation process: The Chilean nitrate sector, 1880–1930', in Gustav Ranis (ed.), *Government and Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1971); Thomas F. O'Brien, Jr., *The Nitrate Industry and Chile's Critical Transition, 1870–1891* (New York, 1982), 'The Antofagasta Company: A case study of peripheral imperialism', *HAHR*, 60/1 (1980), 1–31, and 'Chilean elites and foreign investors: Chilean nitrate policy 1880–2', *JLAS*, 11/1 (1979), 101–21; Michael Monteón, *Chile in the Nitrate Era: The Evolution of Economic Dependence, 1880–1930* (Madison, Wis., 1982); and Harold Blakemore, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886–1896* (London, 1974). Pierre Vayssiere, *Un siècle de capitalisme minier au Chile, 1830–1930* (Paris, 1980) is broader in scope but deals with some of the same themes.

On export agriculture, Charles W. Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886–1910* (Durham, N.C., 1978) examines the stresses generated when the export sector is domestically owned. Marco Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia 1850–1970: An Economic, Social, and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980) shows the constant need for disaggregation in analysis by portraying the different impacts on land tenure the coffee boom had in different regions of the same countries. Other inquiries into Latin American export agriculture in the period before the First World War include Hilda Sábato, *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1991); David A. Denslow, Jr., 'Sugar production in Northeastern Brazil and Cuba, 1858–1908' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1974); Thomas H. Holloway, *The Brazilian Coffee Valorization of 1906: Regional Politics and*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Economic Dependence (Madison, Wis., 1975). Also useful are Ivar Erneholm, *Cacao Production of South America: Historical Development and Present Geographical Distribution* (Gothenburg, 1948) and Warren Dean, *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987).

At times almost the same as a sectoral study but often more complex in scope of coverage are a number of regional histories that illuminate the empirical aspects of export expansion theories – and caution against premature or unqualified generalizations. Three such studies which were planned as deliberate parallels have to do with Brazil: Robert M. Levine, *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); and John D. Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1977). No such comparative analyses like these have yet been made at the regional level elsewhere in Latin America, but local and regional histories rich in insight have been done for other parts of the continent: on Mexico, for example, see Mark Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques and Revolution: Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, 1854–1911* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984); Allen Wells, *Yucatan's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen and International Harvester, 1860–1915* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985); and Cross, 'The mining economy of Zacatecas', mentioned above; and, on Colombia, David C. Johnson, 'Social and economic change in nineteenth-century Santander, Colombia' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley, 1975); and Richard P. Hyland, 'A fragile prosperity: Credit and agrarian structure in the Cauca Valley, Colombia, 1851–87, *HAHR*, 62/3 (1982), 369–406.

Still another group of works deals with the widespread changes in labour and working conditions, partly from the effects of immigration and partly attributable to the nature of the new patterns of economic activity. Friedrich Katz, *La servidumbre agraria en México en la época porfiriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977) and 'Labor conditions on haciendas in Porfirian Mexico', *HAHR*, 54/1 (1974), 1–47, are model studies. See also, for example, Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). For a more detailed discussion of the bibliography on rural labour in Spanish America in this period, see essay VI: 4. On Brazil, see in particular Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980). Finally, there are important contributions in Kenneth Duncan and Ian

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America: Essays on the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977).

2. LATIN AMERICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, 1914–1929

This essay concentrates on material concerning Latin America as a whole, and on certain works of particular use from a comparative point of view. The period is one of increasing integration with the world economy, particularly in the 1920s. It is therefore no surprise to find that most of the richest contemporary material is foreign in origin, and produced in English. It is also, typically, only the foreigner who perceived 'Latin America' as a whole. Both factors are reflected in this review of the secondary literature; the material of foreign origin is exceptionally valuable as long as its context is borne in mind.

The outstanding modern book on U.S. expansion in this period is Barbara Stallings, *Banker to the Third World: U.S. Portfolio Investment in Latin America, 1900–1986* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1987). The 'classic' and still invaluable sources are Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (Washington, D.C., 1938), M. Winkler, *Investments of U.S. Capital in Latin America* (Boston, 1929), J. F. Normano, *The Struggle for South America* (Boston, 1931), H. Feis, *The Diplomacy of the Dollar* (Baltimore, 1950) and M. Wilkins, *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974). An excellent comparative study is ECLA, *Foreign Capital in Latin America* (New York, 1955). On the expansion of banking, C. W. Phelps, *The Foreign Expansion of American Banks* (New York, 1927) and David Joslin, *A Century of Banking in Latin America* (London, 1963) are the key secondary sources. A brilliant more recent study is Carlos Marichal, *A Century of Debt Crisis in Latin America: From Independence to the Great Depression 1820–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1989). Excellent sources on Kemmerer's role in several Latin American countries are Paul W. Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923–1933* (Durham, N.C., 1989) and R. N. Seidel, 'American reformers abroad: The Kemmerer missions in South America, 1923–1931', *Journal of Economic History*, 32/2 (1972). M. Marsh, *The Bankers in Bolivia* (New York, 1928) is worth mentioning for the exceptional interest of the work, though it covers only one country.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Underpinning foreign interest was a great expansion in the flow of information from the U.S. Department of Commerce. There are countless handbooks and special studies of this period which are invaluable and, since the same author often studied several different countries, of great comparative use. Special mention should be made of the 'Commercial and Industrial Handbooks' in the 1920s, the various country studies by C. A. McQueen published in the Trade Promotion Series, e.g., *Peruvian Public Finance* (Washington, D.C., 1926), which were followed by various 'Tariff Handbooks'. *Commerce Reports* are less ample in the 1920s than the 1930s but worth using. On the British side, the Department of Overseas Trade Reports ('Economic Conditions in . . .') are one of the best sources of information on economic conditions in individual countries, with a fair amount of statistical information. In many countries the local English-speaking community had a flourishing business periodical in this period, which is worth seeking out (e.g., *Review of the River Plate, West Coast Leader*). The *South American Journal* published in London is an invaluable source of financial and commercial data.

There are two pathbreaking general economic histories of Latin America as a whole which include some discussion of this period: W. P. Glade, *The Latin American Economies* (New York, 1969) and Celso Furtado, *The Economic Development of Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970). An exceptional book for its combination of conceptual framework, interdisciplinary character and empirical content remains F. H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); Eng. trans., *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1979). A useful, brief introduction is Bill Albert, *South America and the World Economy from Independence to 1930* (London, 1983). A series useful for comparative work because of the similar methodology is U.N., *Análisis y proyecciones;* the different country studies were published in the 1950s and early 1960s and contain excellent statistical appendixes. ECLA, *Economic Survey of Latin America 1949* is a particularly useful volume because of its long historical series. J. W. Wilkie, *Statistics and National Policy,* supplement 3, UCLA, *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (1974), also provides a good and uniform data source. Books specifically on industrialization include: U.N., *Process of Industrialisation in Latin America* (1966), G. Wythe, *Industry in Latin America,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1949), D. M. Phelps, *Migration of Industry to South America* (New York, 1936) and F. S. Weaver, *Class, State and Industrial Structure: The Historical Process of South American Industrial Growth* (Westport, Conn.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1980). The impact of the First World War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile has been studied by Bill Albert, *South America and the First World War* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988).

Some studies of the 1929 Depression are worth mentioning for the attention to the years leading up to 1929. R. Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930's: The Role of the Periphery in the World Crisis* (London, 1984) contains much material on the two preceding decades and attempts to combine comparative analysis with detailed country studies by Enrique Cardenas and E. V. K. Fitzgerald on Mexico, Victor Bulmer-Thomas on Central America, Flavio Versiani and Marcelo de Paiva Abreu on Brazil, Arthur O'Connell on Argentina, José Antonio Ocampo, Rosemary Thorp and Carlos Londoño on Colombia and Peru and Gabriel Palma on Chile. B. Eichengreen and P. Lindert (eds.), *The International Debt Crisis in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), contrasts the debt crisis of the 1980s with earlier episodes going back to the 1880s. A. Maddison, *Two Crises: Latin America and Asia 1920–38, 1973–83* (Paris, 1985), is an illuminating comparative study.

A number of macro-economic country studies look at the relationship to the international economy and give enough attention to this period to be particularly useful for a comparative perspective. On Brazil, see Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969); Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959; Eng. trans., *The Economic Growth of Brazil,* Berkeley, 1963); Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); A. V. Villela and W. Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973; Eng. trans. 'Government policy and the economic growth of Brazil 1889–1945', *Brazilian Economic Studies,* 3, IPEA (Rio de Janeiro, 1975)); C. M. Pelaez, 'An economic analysis of the Brazilian coffee support program 1906–1945: Theory, policy and measurement', in C. M. Pelaez (ed.), *Coffee and Economic Development* (São Paulo, 1961); N. Villela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1961); F. R. Versiani and M. T. R. O. Versiani, 'A industrialização brasileira antes de 1930: Uma contribuição', *Estudos Econômicos,* 5/1 (1975); F. R. Versiani, 'Industrial investment in an "export" economy: The Brazilian experience before 1914', *Journal of Development Studies,* 7/3 (1980); A. Fishlow, 'Origins and consequences of import substitution in Brazil', in L. Di Marco (ed.), *International Economics and Development; Essays in Honor of Raul Prebisch* (New York, 1974); Wilson Cano, *Raízes da concentração industrial em São Paulo* (São Paulo,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1977); and W. Fritsch, *External Constraints on Economic Policy in Brazil 1889–1930* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1988).

On Argentina, see C. Díaz-Alejandro, *Essays on the History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970); G. Di Tella and M. Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967); J. Fodor and A. O'Connell, 'La Argentina y la economía atlántica en la primera mitad del siglo XX', *Desarrollo Económico,* 13 (1973), 13–65; E. Gallo, 'Agrarian expansion and industrial development in Argentina 1880–1930' in Raymond Carr (ed.), *Latin American Affairs, St. Antony's Papers,* no. 22 (Oxford, 1970); G. Di Tella and D. C. M Platt (eds.), *The Political Economy of Argentina 1880–1946* (New York, 1985); and D. J. Guy, 'Dependency, the credit market and Argentine industrialization, 1860–1940', *BHR,* 58/4 (1984).

On Mexico, see John Womack, Jr., 'The Mexican economy during the Revolution, 1910–1920: Historiography and analysis', *Marxist Perspectives,* 1/4 (1978), a superb guide and survey article of an extensive literature; Clark W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy: Twentieth Century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), L. Solís, *La realidad mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1970); E. Cárdenas, *La industrialización mexicana durante la gran depresión* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Lorenzo Meyer, *México y los Estados Unidos en el conflicto petrolero, 1917–1942* (Mexico, D.F., 1972; Eng. trans., *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–1942* [Austin, Tex., 1977]).

On Chile, see O. Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile 1914–1965* (Santiago, Chile, 1968); J. G. Palma, 'Growth and structure of Chilean manufacturing industry from 1830 to 1935' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1979); H. W. Kirsch, *Industrial Development in a Traditional Society: The Conflict between Entrepreneurship and Modernisation in Chile* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977).

On Colombia, see L. Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia 1810–1930* (Medellín, 1955); M. Palacios, *El café en Colombia 1850–1970: Una historia económica, social y política* (Bogotá, 1979; Eng. trans., *Coffee in Colombia 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History,* Cambridge, Eng., 1980); J. A. Ocampo and S. Montenegro, 'La crisis mundial de los años treinta en Colombia', *Desarrollo y Sociedad,* 8 (1982); S. Montenegro, 'Historia de la industria textil en Colombia, 1900–1945' (unpublished master's thesis, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, 1982); J. A. Bejarano, 'El fin de la economía exportadora y los orígenes del problema agrario', *Cuadernos Colombianos,* 6–8, (Medellín, 1975); W.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), and R. Thorp, *Economic Management and Economic Development in Peru and Colombia* (London, 1991).

On Peru, see R. Thorp and G. Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Export Economy* (London, 1978); P. Klarén, *Modernisation, Dislocation and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party* (Austin, Tex., 1973); C. Boloña, 'Protectionism and liberalism in Peru, 1880–1980' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1981); R. Miller, 'British business in Peru 1883–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1979); and R. Thorp, *Economic Management and Economic Development*.

On Venezuela, see B. S. McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983). On Cuba, see H. C. Wallich, *Monetary Problems of an Export Economy: The Cuban Experience, 1914–1947* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). On Bolivia, see L. Whitehead, 'El impacto de la Gran Depresión in Bolivia', *Desarrollo Económico,* 12/45 (1972), 49–80. On Uruguay, see M. H. J. Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981). On Ecuador, see Wilson Miño Grijalva, 'La economía ecuatoriana de la gran recesión a la crísis bananera', in E. Ayala (ed.) *Nueva historia del Ecuador,* vol. 10 (Quito, 1990), and Linda Alexander Rodriguez, *The Search for Public Policy: Regional Politics and Government Finances in Ecuador, 1830–1940* (Berkeley, 1985). And on Central America, see Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987) and Ciro F. S. Cardoso and H. Peréz Brignoli, *Centroamérica y la economía occidental (1520–1930)* (San José, C.R., 1977).

A relatively unexplored area is the role of the state. But, on Brazil, see, for example, Steven Topik, 'The evolution of the economic role of the Brazilian state, 1889–1930', *JLAS,* 2/2 (1979), 'State intervention in a liberal regime: Brazil 1889–1939', *HAHR,* 60/4 (1980) and *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1987), and S. Schwartzman, 'Empresários y política en el proceso de industrialización: Argentina, Brazil, Australia', *Desarrollo Económico,* 13/49 (1973), 67–89. Two interesting studies on Mexico are S. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989) and R. Camp, *Entrepreneurs and Politics in Twentieth Century Mexico* (Oxford, 1989).

A similar neglect is typical of many issues concerning Latin America's links with the international economy. There is virtually no material of a comparative or continental basis – partly because the secondary material

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

on individual countries is not yet very strong for this period. The number of solid individual case studies is growing fast, however, as the bibliographical essays for individual countries make clear. On the international economy itself in this period there is a rich secondary literature. See, for example, G. Hardach, *The First World War 1914–1818* (London, 1977); D. H. Aldcroft, *From Versailles to Wall Street 1919–1929* (London, 1977); and C. P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression 1929–1939* (London, 1973). The bibliographical references in each are an excellent source for earlier works. Standard books which have made major contributions are M. T. Copeland, *A Raw Commodity Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938); H. B. Lary, *The United States in the World Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1943); J. F. Rowe, *Primary Commodities in International Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965); and P. L. Yates, *Forty Years of Foreign Trade: A Statistical Handbook with Special Reference to Primary Products and Underdeveloped Countries* (London, 1959). An older study of special value for the 1920s is W. A. Lewis, *Economic Survey 1919–1939* (London, 1949).

3. POPULATION

In the absence of a general analysis, except for the relevant chapters of Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History* (Berkeley, 1974); 2nd Spanish ed., *La población de América Latina: Desde los tiempos precolombinos al año 2000* (Madrid, 1977), the reader should follow the development of the population of Latin America in the period from 1870 to 1930 in books and articles on the individual countries. For Argentina, CELADE (Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía), *Temas de población de la Argentina: Aspectos demográficos* (Santiago, Chile, 1973) and Zulma Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo E. Lattes (eds.), *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975) have compiled parallel studies which provide an overall view of the principal demographic variables since 1889. *La población de Cuba* (Havana, 1976) was conceived in the same way, but is not backed up by such detailed previous research. For Brazil, T. W. Merrick and D. H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979) attempts to achieve a balance between chronological presentation and a diachronic discussion of themes. The Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo in Lima has, for its part, made a notable attempt at historical reconstruction in its *Informe demográfico del Perú: 1970* (Lima, 1972). However, there was not one

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

single census report in Peru between 1876 and 1940, which means that the study can only be of limited use. On Mexico the two volumes by Moisés González Navarro, *Población y sociedad en México (1900–1970)* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), although amply documented, lack the analytical technique used by demographers in the other books already mentioned. On Uruguay, see J. Rial, *Población y desarrollo de un pequeño país: Uruguay 1850–1930* (Montevideo, 1983).

The first population history of a Latin American country, El Salvador, was written as early as 1942: R. Barón Castro, *La población de El Salvador: Estudio acerca de su desenvolvimiento desde la época prehispanica hasta nuestros días* (Madrid, 1942; repr. San Salvador, 1978). Although the work is dated, it has not yet been replaced. Panama has a general study by O. Jaén Suárez, *La población del istmo de Panamá del siglo XVI al XX: Estudio sobre la población y los modos de organización de las economías, las sociedades y los espacios geográficos* (Panama City, 1978). For the other Central American countries, see Ciro F. S. Cardoso and H. Pérez Brignoli, *Centroamérica y la economía occidental (1520–1930)* (San José, C.R., 1977). For Venezuela, J. Paéz Celis, *Ensayo sobre la demografía económica de Venezuela* (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos Nacionales, Caracas, 1974), though dealing specifically with more recent years, contains some retrospective references. F. Moya Pons, 'Nuevas consideraciones sobre la historia de la población dominicana: Curvas, tasas y problemas', in *Seminario sobre problemas de población en la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1975), 37–63, deals briefly with the population growth of Santo Domingo, while A. Averanga Mollinedo, *Aspectos generales de la población boliviana* (La Paz, 1974) does the same for Bolivia. D. M. Rivarola et al., *La población del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1974) provides, somewhat unsystematically, precise data on Paraguay.

The following studies have rectified various previous estimates of the population of Latin America for 1850, 1900 and 1930: R. Barón Castro, 'El desarrollo de la población hispanoamericana (1492–1950)', *Journal of World History,* 5 (1959), 325–43; C. A. Miró, *La población de América Latina en el siglo XX* (Santiago, Chile, 1965); CELADE, 'América Latina: Población total por paises, Año 1970', *Boletín Demográfico,* 6 (1970); see also *Boletín Demográfico,* 32 (1983).

Among the components of demographic change, the factor of international migration has attracted most research. Much of this literature is of a commemorative type and is mostly of marginal interest. A general survey is M. Mörner, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

America (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985). B. Leander, *Europea, Asia y Africa en América latina y el Caribe* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), while offering a broad survey of all overseas migrations, emphasizes the Asian contribution. With regard to the size of the flow, W. F. Willcox, *International Migrations* (New York 1929), though dated, is still useful, but should be complemented by more recent research, such as Z. L. Recchini de Lattes and A. E. Lattes, *La población de Argentina,* for Argentina, and M. S. Ferreira Levi 'O papel da migração internacional na evolução de população brasileira (1872–1972)', *Revista de Saúde Pública,* 8 (suppl.) (1974), 49–90, for Brazil. Giorgio Mortara, 'Pesquisas sôbre populações americanas', *Estudos Brasileiros de Demografia* 1 (1947), 1–227, and Gino Germani, 'Mass immigration and modernization in Argentina', in I. L. Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York, 1970), 289–330, among others, have discussed numerically various aspects of the effect which immigration had on the demography of Latin America. Chiara Vangelista, 'Immigrazione, struttura produttiva e mercato del lavoro in Argentina ed in Brasile (1876–1914)', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi,* 10 (1975), 197–216, and *Le braccia per la fazenda: Immigrati e 'caipiras' nella formazione del mercato del lavoro paulista (1850–1930)* (Milan, 1982), R. Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1979), and S. Baily, 'Marriage patterns and immigrant assimilation in Buenos Aires', *HAHR,* 60/1 (1980), 32–48. also explore the socio-economic conditions which prompted European emigration. Although all three authors rely on information from one country, namely Italy, their approach is a general one. Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), for its part, examines immigration in the specific context of São Paulo.

Migration studies referring to ethnic groups are plentiful, although in an inverse proportion to their importance as a group. A general overview of Spanish migration to Latin America is N. Sánchez-Albornoz (ed.), *Españoles hacia América: La emigración en masa (1880–1930)* (Madrid, 1988). Italian migration has been studied for individual countries: on Brasil, G. F. Rosoli (ed.), *Emigrazione europea e popolo brasiliano* (Rome, 1987) and A. Trento, *Do outro lado de Atlântico: Um século de imigração italiana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1989); on Argentina, F. Devoto and G. F. Rosoli (eds.), *La inmigración italiana en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1985) and *L'Italia nella società argentina* (Rome, 1988). See also S. Beretta, *La colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul (Brasile)* (Pavia, 1976). On German immigration, see J. Roche, *A colonização alemã no Rio Grande do*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sul, 2 vols. (Porto Alegre, 1969) and G. F. W. Young, *The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization* (New York, 1974). On the Welsh to Patagonia, see G. Williams, 'The structure and process of Welsh emigration to Patagonia', *Welsh History Review,* 8 (1976), 42–74; on the Irish to the province of Buenos Aires, see J. C. Korol and H. Sábato, *'The Camps': Inmigrantes irlandeses en la provincia de Buenos Aires, 1870–1890* (Buenos Aires, 1979); and on the French to Uruguay, see M. Marenales Rossi and G. Bourdé, 'L'immigration française et le peuplement de l'Uruguay (1830–1860)', *Cahiers des Amériques Latines,* 16 (1977), 7–32.

Among the migration of non-Europeans, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to the Japanese, above all in Brazil: Hiroshi Saito, *O japonês no Brasil: Estudo de mobilidade e fixação* (São Paulo, 1961), Teiiti Suzuki, *The Japanese Immigrant in Brazil,* 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1969), J. T. Cintra, *La migración japonesa en Brasil (1908–1958)* (Mexico, D.F., 1971), and A. Rocha Nogueira, *A imigração japonêsa para a lavoura cafeira paulista (1908–1922)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). On Japanese immigration to Peru, see A. Morimoto, *Los inmigrantes japoneses en el Perú* (Lima, 1979). Chinese settlement in Latin America has also been the subject of several articles: for example, E. Chang-Rodríguez, 'Chinese labor migration into Latin America in the nineteenth century', *RHA,* 45–6 (1958), 375–97, and J. Pérez de la Riva, 'Demografía de los culíes chinos en Cuba (1853–1874)', *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí,* 57 (1966), 3–22. On immigration from the Middle East, see J. O. Bestene, 'La inmigración sirio–libanesa en la Argentina: Una aproximación', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos,* 9 (1988), 239–67. Although the focus of his work is centered on Santo Domingo, José del Castillo, *La inmigración de braceros azucareros en la República Dominicana, 1900–1930* (Santo Domingo, 1978), offers a general panorama of migration in the Antilles at the beginning of the present century. For Cuba, this should be complemented with J. Pérez de la Riva, 'La inmigración antillana en Cuba durante el primer tercio del siglo XX', *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí,* 66 (1975), 75–88.

With regard to African immigration during the last century, apart from the estimates in Philip D. Curtin, *The African Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969), see Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1970), for Cuba; Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley, 1972), for Brazil; and J. V. Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela 1820–1854* (Westport, Conn., 1971), for Venezuela. In addition, R. W. Slenes, 'The demography and economics of Brazilian slavery:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1850–1888' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1976) has studied internal migration and the demographic characteristics of black slaves in Brazil.

Among the various works on Mexican emigration to the United States, the most detailed study on the period prior to 1930 is Lawrence A. Cardoso, *Mexican Emigration to the United States, 1897–1931: Socio-economic Patterns* (Tucson, Ariz., 1980).

In the absence of figures for internal migration, as precise as those which exist for international flows, scholars need to reconstruct this internal flux. Either one begins by examining the discrepancy between place of birth and residence, as recorded in census forms, or one starts with the tables of survival, or, finally, one compares growth rates between two censuses. All these methods require the existence of census reports, which were not always carried out. So far these methods have been applied to only two countries, Argentina and Brazil; see Z. L. Recchini de Lattes and A. E. Lattes, *Migraciones en la Argentina: Estudio de las migraciones internas e internacionales, basado en datos censales, 1869–1960* (Buenos Aires, 1969) and D. H. Graham and S. Buarque de Hollanda Filho, *Migration, Regional and Urban Growth and Development in Brazil: A Selective Analysis of the Historical Record, 1872–1970* (São Paulo, 1971). Jorge Balán deals with internal migration from a comparative point of view in 'Migrações internas no desenvolvimento capitalista no Brasil: Ensaio histórico-comparativo', in J. Balán (ed.), *Centro e periferia no desenvolvimento brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1974), 100–84, and considers one region in 'Migraciones, mano de obra y formación de un proletariado rural en Tucumán, Argentina, 1870–1914', *Demografía y Economía,* 10/2 (1976), 201–34. On Chile, see Ann Hagerman Johnson, 'Internal migration in Chile to 1920: Its relationship to the labor market, agricultural growth, and urbanisation' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Davis, 1978). M. E. Castellanos de Sjostrand, 'La población de Venezuela: Migraciones internas y distribución espacial, 1908–1935', *Semestre Histórico,* 1 (1975), 5–62, examines the issue in relation to Venezuela.

With respect to the determinants of natural growth, the evolution of life expectancy has permitted Eduardo A. Arriaga, at first with the collaboration of Kingsley Davis and later alone, to follow the course of mortality in Latin America: see E. A. Arriaga and K. Davis, 'The pattern of mortality change in Latin America', *Demography,* 6 (1969), 223–42, and E. A. Arriaga, *Mortality Decline and Its Effects in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1970). Using the same method, Jorge L. Somoza has focussed on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Argentina in *La mortalidad en la Argentina entre 1869 y 1960* (Buenos Aires, 1971). For the great epidemics of cholera and yellow fever, see J. S. Ward, *Yellow Fever in Latin America: A Geographical Study* (Liverpool, 1972), and D. B. Cooper, 'Brazil's long fight against epidemic disease, 1849–1917, with special emphasis on yellow fever', *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine,* 51 (1975), 672–96 and 'The new 'black death': Cholera in Brazil, 1855–1856', *Social Science History,* 10 (1986), 467–88. There is a lack of detailed research on nutrition, as well as on the incidence of the most common diseases and the progress in medicine and sanitation. On fertility, O. Andrew Collver, *Birth Rates in Latin America: New Estimates of Historical Trends and Fluctuations* (Berkeley, 1965), elaborates a general scheme for the twentieth century, but there is nothing on the nineteenth century. On a national level, it is worth noting Maria S. Müller's work on Argentina, *La mortalidad en Buenos Aires entre 1855 y 1960* (Buenos Aires, 1974) and H. Pérez Brignoli, 'Costa Rica, 1866–1973: Tablas de mortalidad', *Siglo XIX,* 7 (1989), 271–314. On a frontier area, see N. Alvarez and E. Míguez, 'Patrones de mortalidad en las tierras nuevas de la provincia de Buenos Aires: Tandil (1860–1895)', *Siglo XIX,* 7 (1989), 9–69.

The interaction of several demographic variables in a specific area has not been studied to any great extent. But see, for example, J. Casey Gaspar, *Limón: 1880–1940: Un estudio de la industria bananera en Costa Rica* (San Jose, C.R., 1979), on the area of Limón in Costa Rica, and Z. L. Recchini de Lattes, *La población de Buenos Aires: Componentes demográficos del crecimiento entre 1855 y 1960* (Buenos Aires, 1971), on the city of Buenos Aires.

4. RURAL SPANISH AMERICA

The study of Spanish American rural history, virtually ignored after a short burst of work in the 1930s, expanded impressively from the 1960s. This was due, in the first instance, to an enthusiasm for the process of modernization and later to laying bare the roots and mechanisms of dependency. Then, as money for field research dried up, there was a certain lull in foreign scholarship, while at the same time a new generation of Latin Americans, many of them trained abroad, brought renewed energy and subtlety to the field. The colonial epoch, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, has attracted the most attention and frequently the best

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

scholars. The post–Second World War period became the scene of intense work by anthropologists, economists and sociologists as well as historians inspired in part by the interest in agrarian reform and peasant movements. In between, the understanding of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century rural history improves but remains relatively undeveloped; it is, however, now on a sufficiently firm footing to permit discussion.

Very few scholars, undoubtedly humbled by the formidable variety and discontinuity of Latin America, have attempted broad, comparative analyses of rural history. Although not of course limited to rural history, Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History 1830–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977) has excellent annotated bibliographies on several countries together with invariably perceptive interpretative essays by a series of distinguished academics. Jeffrey M. Paige, *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World* (New York, 1975) includes discussion of Latin America; David Goodman and Michael Redclift, *From Peasant to Proletarian: Capitalist Development and Agrarian Transitions* (New York, 1982) has case studies of Mexico and Brazil within a broad discussion of theory; and Alain de Janvry, *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1981) focusses on recent years but raises wide-ranging historical questions. Eric Wolf and Sydney Mintz in 'Haciendas and plantations in Middle-America and the Antilles', *Social and Economic Studies,* 6/1 (1957), 380–412, and Cristóbal Kay in 'Comparative development of the European manorial system and the Latin American hacienda system', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* 2/1 (1974), 69–98, are among those who have endeavoured to rise to a level of abstraction above the monograph. Magnus Mörner has been concerned with the broad view and his 'The Spanish American hacienda: A survey of recent research and debate', *HAHR,* 53/2 (1973), 183–216, and 'A comparative study of tenant labor in parts of Europe, Africa and Latin America, 1700–1900', *LARR,* 5/2 (1970), are points of departure. A. J. Bauer, 'Rural workers in Spanish America: Problems of peonage and oppression', *HAHR,* 59/1 (1979), 34–63, and the discussion which follows in the Forum section of *HAHR,* 59/3 (1979), reviews some of the issues and recent work.

Three international congresses have yielded collections of papers with broad coverage: Centre Nacional de la Recherche Scientifique, *Les problèmes agraires des Amériques Latines* (Paris, 1967); Enrique Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); and Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin Amer-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ica (Cambridge, Eng., 1977). Several other conferences have been devoted to individual countries: Reunión de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos, *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., and Tucson, Ariz., 1979) and R. Buve (ed.), *Haciendas in Central Mexico from Late Colonial Times to the Revolution* (Amsterdam, 1984); the excellent collection in F. Katz, (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson and Enrique Tandeter, *La participación indígena en los mercados sur andinos* (La Paz, 1987) and *Proposiciones* (Santiago, Chile), 19 (1990). There is also, of course, a multitude of specialized work on specific regions, much of which is covered in the bibliographies devoted to individual countries in this section of this volume. The following titles represent some of the more innovative and original work on the period 1870–1930 published since *c.* 1960.

In Mexico good work on rural history turned for a long time around the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) in Mexico City; its *Informes Generales* are good guides to publications. *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales,* 91 (1978) is devoted to the Mexican hacienda in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The essays by John Womack, Jr. and Enrique Florescano in *El trabajo y los trabajadores* are valuable. D. A. Brading (ed.), *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980) is an important contribution as is the following sampling of monographs and articles: Arturo Warman, *Y venimos a contradecir: Los campesinos de Morelos y el estado nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), Eng. trans., *We Come to Object: The Peasants of Morelos and the National State* (Baltimore, 1980); Jan Bazant, *Cinco haciendas mexicanas* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1969): Jean Meyer, *La cristiada,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Luis Gonzáles, *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia.* (Mexico, D.F., 1972; Eng. trans, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition,* Austin, Tex., 1974); Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970); Frans J. Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores* (Toronto, 1980); Moisés Gonzáles Navarro, 'La vida social' in Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna de México, el Porfiriato* (Mexico, D.F., 1957); John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Herbert Nickel (ed.), *Paternalismo y economía moral en las haciendas mexicanas del Porfiriato* (Mexico, D.F., 1989) and *Morfología social de la hacienda mexicana,* translated from the German by Angélica Scherp (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Simon Miller, 'Mexican junkers and capitalist haciendas 1810–1910', *JLAS,* 22/

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

2 (1990), 229–63, and 'The Mexican hacienda between the Insurgency and the Revolution', *JLAS*, 16/2 (1984), 309–36. Finally, see a typically insightful and elegant article by Alan Knight, 'Land and society in revolutionary Mexico: The destruction of the great haciendas', *Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos*, 7/1 (1991), 73–104.

Scholarly work on rural Guatemala and Central America is often not possible and understandably not abundant. But see Julio Castellanos Cambranes, *Aspectos del desarrollo económico y social de Guatemala a la luz de fuentes alemanes* (Guatemala City, 1975) and David McCreery, 'Coffee and class: The structure and development in liberal Guatemala', *HAHR*, 56/3 (1976). For El Salvador, see David Browning's excellent *El Salvador: Landscape and Society* (Oxford, 1971) and Hector Lindo-Fuentes, *Weak Foundations, The Economy of El Salvador in the 19th Century, 1821–1898* (Berkeley, 1990). For Costa Rica, see Ciro Cardoso, 'The formation of the coffee estate in nineteenth century Costa Rica', in Duncan and Rutledge, *Land and Labour;* Carolyn Hall, *El café y el desarrollo histórico-geográfico de Costa Rica* (San Jose, C.R., 1976) and *Formación de una hacienda cafetera* (San Jose, C.R., 1978) and the special number of *Revista de Historia* (Heredia, 1985) devoted to 'Historia, problemas y perspectiva agraria en Costa Rica'.

On Colombia, see Catherine LeGrande, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1850–1936* (Albuquerque, N.M. 1986); Marco Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia, 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980); Charles Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886–1910* (Durham, N.C., 1978); W. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); David C. Johnson, 'Economic and social change in nineteenth century Colombia: Santander, 1845–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley, 1977); Michael Taussig, 'The evolution of rural wage labour in the Cauca Valley of Colombia, 1700–1970' and Malcolm Deas, 'A Colombian coffee estate: Santa Bárbara, Cundinamarca, 1870–1912', both in Duncan and Rutledge, *Land and Labour;* D. Fajardo, *Campesinado y capitalismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1981); O. Fals Borda, *Historia de la cuestión agraria en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1975). On Ecuador, see Rafael Baraona, 'Una tipología de haciendas en la sierra ecuatoriana', in Oscar Delgado (ed.), *Las reformas agrarias in la América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1965).

Work on Peru benefited from the creation of the Archivo del Fuero Agrario (AFA) in Lima, a repository of hacienda and plantation records confiscated during the 1969 agrarian reform, and the scholarly leadership

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of Pablo Macera at the University of San Marcos, José Matos Mar at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, and the late Alberto Flores Galindo. Because the best records in the AFA were kept by the north-coast sugarcane plantations, work has tended to concentrate on that zone; but students from France, Britain and the United States and especially from a new generation of Peruvians, have created a rural history where none existed. Among the most useful are: Henri Favre, Colin Delavaud and José Matos Mar, *La hacienda en el Perú* (Lima, 1967); Juan Martínez-Alier, *Haciendas, Plantations and Collective Farms* (London, 1977); B. S. Orlove and Glynn Custred, *Land and Power in Latin America: Agrarian Economies and Social Processes in the Andes* (New York, 1980); Jean Piel, 'A propos d'un soulèvement rural peruvien au dèbut de vingtième siècle: Tocroyoc (1921)', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine,* 14 (1967) and 'The place of the peasantry in the national life of Peru in the nineteenth century', *Past and Present,* 46 (1970), 108–33; Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Los movimientos campesinos en Cerro de Pasco 1880–1963* (Lima, 1972). For the north-coast plantation, see Pablo Macera, *Cayalti 1875–1920: Organización del trabajo en una plantación azucarera del Perú* (Lima, 1975); Michael Gonzalez, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru, 1875–1933* (Austin, Tex., 1984); Bill Albert, *The Peruvian Sugar Industry 1880–1920* (Norwich, Eng., 1976); Peter Klarén, 'The social and economic consequences of modernization in the Peruvian sugar industry, 1870–1930', in Duncan and Rutledge, *Land and Labour;* Peter Blanchard, 'The recruitment of workers in the Peruvian sierra at the turn of the century: The enganche system', *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 33/3 (1980); Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: El valle de Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima, 1976). For the southern highlands, see Nils Jacobsen's massive study of the Department of Puno, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780–1930* (Berkeley, 1992). For the Mantaro valley, an outstanding study is Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1984).

Research on Bolivia is reviewed in the comprehensive bibliography in Herbert Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society* (New York, 1982). Studies specifically on the countryside include: Ramiro Condarco Morales, *Zarate 'El Temible' Wilke: Historia de la rebelión indígena de 1899* (La Paz, 1965); Erwin Greishaber, 'Survival of Indian communities in nineteenth century Bolivia, a regional comparison', *JLAS,* 12/2 (1980); Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, 'La expansión del latifundio en el altiplano

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

boliviano: Elemento para la caracterización de una oligarquía regional', *Avances,* 2 (1978); Andrew Pearse, 'Peasants and revolution: The case of Bolivia', *Economy and Society,* 1/3 (1972); Brooke Larson, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); and Eric D. Langer, *Economic Change and Social Resistance in Southern Bolivia, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

Two good regional studies of rural Chile are Rafael Baraona, Roberto Santana and Ximena Aranda, *Valle de Putaendo* (Santiago, Chile, 1961) and Jean Borde and Mario Góngora, *El valle del Puangue,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1966). Brian Loveman's *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919–1973* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976) emphasizes the later years of that span; landowners, rural workers and agrarian structure are treated in A. J. Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975) and in 'La hacienda "el Huique" ', in E. Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones.* In recent years several important works have appeared to amplify our knowledge of Chilean rural history. Among the best are: Gabriel Salazar, *Labradores, peones y proletarios* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); José Bengoa, *El poder y la subordinación* (Santiago, Chile, 1988) and *Haciendas y campesinos* (Santiago, Chile, 1990); Roberto Santana, *Paysans dominés: Lutte sociale dans les campagnes chiliennes, 1920–1970* (Paris, 1980); Ximena Valdés et al., *Historias testimoniales de mujeres del campo* (Santiago, Chile, 1983).

5. THE GROWTH OF CITIES

By way of introduction, several important studies on Latin American cities, which range beyond the period 1870–1930, are particularly useful: Jorge E. Hardoy and Carlos Tobar (eds.), *La urbanización en la América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1969), especially the essay on Argentina by José Luis Bacigalupo; Jorge E. Hardoy (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America: Approaches and Issues* (New York, 1975), especially the articles by Hardoy himself and by Richard M. Morse; Richard M. Morse (ed.), *Las ciudades latinoamericanas,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973), 1, *Antecedentes,* 2, *Desarrollo histórico;* and José Luis Romero, *Latinoamérica: Las ciudades y las ideas* (Mexico, D.F., 1976). In addition, useful items appear in the following collections: Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, *Villes et régions en Amérique Latine* (Paris, 1970; Spanish trans., Mexico, D.F., 1973), with studies on Cuzco, Medellín, Guadalajara and the cities of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Minas Gerais, Brazil; Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy and Nora Scott Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague, 1978), especially the articles by Alejandro Rofman, Richard M. Morse, James R. Scobie, Roberto Cortés Conde and Nancy López de Nisnovich, Spencer L. Leitman and Jorge Balán; and Francisco de Solano (ed.), *Historia y futuro de la ciudad iberoamericana* (Madrid, 1986), especially the essay by Rolando Mellafe, 'La desruralización de la ciudad hispanoamericana en el siglo XIX', 75–88.

Because of the complex, multidimensional nature of the urban experience, historical scholarship on the problems and issues of urbanization has drawn heavily on the insights of disciplines outside history. The sociologists have been the most productive, starting with early influential studies such as Andrew H. Whiteford, *Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes* (Beloit, Wis., 1960), a stimulating comparison of Popayán, Colombia, and Querétaro, Mexico, which has since been refocused on Popayán alone in *An Andean City at Mid-Century: A Traditional Urban Society* (East Lansing, Mich., 1977); Phillip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (eds.), *The Study of Urbanization* (New York, 1965), especially the chapters by Gideon Sjoberg and by Schnore; and Gerald Breese (ed.), *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969). Other significant work by sociologists includes John Walton, *Elites and Economic Development: Comparative Studies on the Political Economy of Latin American Cities* (Austin, Tex., 1977), and Bryan Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World* (London, 1978), as well as the more specialized studies of José Luis de Imaz, *Estructura social de una ciudad pampeana,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1965) and Mary C. Megee, *Monterrey, Mexico: Internal Patterns and External Relations* (Chicago, 1958). Useful case studies by economists that measure contemporary developments against an historical background include Arthur S. Morris, 'Urban growth patterns in Latin America with illustrations from Caracas', *Urban Studies,* 15/3 (1978), 299–312; Pedro Pinchas Geiger, *Evolução da rede urbana brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963), and Martin T. Katzman's chapter in John D. Wirth and Robert L. Jones (eds.), *Manchester and São Paulo: Problems of Rapid Urban Growth* (Stanford, Calif., 1977). Anthropological insights are effectively summarized in Richard P. Schaedel, 'The anthropological study of Latin American cities in intra- and interdisciplinary perspective', *Urban Anthropology,* 3/2 (1974), 139–70. In an important early work, *Town and Country in Brazil* (New York, 1956), Marvin Harris made interesting use of anthropological field work to produce an historical

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

analysis of society in a small Brazilian town. Similar studies include Ruben Reina's analysis of a provincial capital in *Paraná: Social Boundaries in an Argentine City* (Austin, Tex., 1973) and Eugene A. Hammel, *Power in Ica: The Structural History of a Peruvian Community* (Boston, 1969). Another model case study has been provided by a geographer, Charles S. Sargent, *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, 1870–1930* (Tempe, Ariz., 1974). Studies by architects and city planners naturally contribute valuable information on urban developments. Representative studies include Peter W. Amato, *An Analysis of the Patterns of Elite Residential Areas in Bogotá, Colombia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968); Carlos Altezar and Hugo Barachini, *Historia urbanística y edilicia de la ciudad de Montevideo desde su fundación colonial hasta nuestros días* (Montevideo, 1971); José Xavier Martini and José María Peña, *La ornamentación en la arquitectura de Buenos Aires,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1966–7), vol. 1, *1800–1900,* vol. 2, *1900–1940;* and Carlos Martínez, *Bogotá: Sinopsis sobre su evolución urbana, 1536–1900,* 1 (Bogotá, 1976).

Extremely useful for orientation, both for bibliography and for thematic and methodological suggestions, are the series of articles by Richard M. Morse in *LARR:* 1/1 (1965), 35–74; 6/1 (1971), 3–52; and 6/2 (1971), 19–75. Several other helpful articles by Morse include 'The development of urban systems in the Americas in the nineteenth century', *JIAS,* 17/1 (1975), 4–26; 'Latin American cities; aspects of function and structure', *CSSH,* 4 (1961–2), 473–93, and 'Trends and patterns of Latin American urbanization, 1750–1920', *CSSH,* 16/4 (1974), 416–47; 'Primacia, regionalización, dependencia: Enfoques sobre las ciudades latinoamericanas en el desarrollo nacional', *Desarrollo Económico,* 11/41, (1971), 55–85; 'A prolegomenon to Latin American urban history', *HAHR,* 52/3 (1972), 359–94; ' "Peripheral" cities as cultural arenas (Russia, Austria and Latin America)', *Journal of Urban History,* 10 (1984), 423–52. Eugene F. Sofer and Mark D. Szuchman have added another provocative piece with 'City and society: Their connection in Latin American historical research', *LARR,* 14/2 (1979), 113–29. An important departure point for general bibliographical information is provided by Martin H. Sable, *Latin American Urbanization* (Metuchen, N.J., 1971). The investigator needs to refer to *Latin American Urban Research,* 6 vols. (Beverly Hills, 1971–8) and also to ongoing publications, including *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1974–); *Urbanism Past and Present* (Milwaukee, 1976–); and the *Journal of Urban History* (Beverly Hills, 1974–).

The numbers of definitions for urban populations, as has been sug-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

gested (see *CHLA* IV, chap. 7, note 2), prove exasperatingly elusive. The investigator will first want to consult the following valuable efforts to piece together sources and evaluate materials: the previously mentioned vol. 2 of *Las ciudades latinoamericanas,* edited by Morse, which provides information on the major cities of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela between 1750 and 1920; Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: Statistics and Sources* (Los Angeles, 1973), with data on major cities in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Peru; and Jorge E. Hardoy and María Elena Langdon, 'Análisis estadístico preliminar de la urbanización de América Latina entre 1850 y 1930', *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología,* 42–3 (1978), 115–73, which provides discussion and tables of average national growth rates, growth of major cities and indexes of primacy involving the four largest cities. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History* (Berkeley, 1974) is a thorough analysis by an outstanding historian and demographer of general population trends. Other useful guides to more specialized problems include Alejandro Moreno Toscano, 'Cambios en los patrones de organización en México, 1810–1910', *HM,* 22/2 (1972), 160–87; Richard E. Boyer, 'Las ciudades mexicanas: Perspectivas de estudios en el siglo XIX', appearing in the same issue of *HM,* 22/2 (1972), 142–59; Richard W. Wilkie, 'Urban growth and the transformation of the settlement landscape of Mexico, 1910–1970', in James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (eds.), *Contemporary Mexico* (Berkeley, 1976), 99–134; Keith A. Davies, 'Tendencias demográficas urbanas durante el siglo XIX en México', *HM,* 21/3 (1972), 481–524; and Zulma L. Recchini de Lattes, *Aspectos demográficos de la urbanización en la Argentina, 1869–1960* (Buenos Aires, 1973).

General works on individual Latin American countries often contain considerable information on urbanization patterns. Among works that should be consulted in this regard are William P. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); Rory Miller, Clifford T. Smith and John Fisher (eds.), *Social and Economic Change in Modern Peru* (Liverpool, 1976), especially the articles by Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, and by Bryan Roberts; Carlos F. Díaz-Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970); Ricardo M. Ortiz, *Historia económica de la Argentina, 1850–1930,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1955); James R. Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1971); Manuel Diégues Júnior, *Imigração, urbanisação e industrialização* (São Paulo, 1964); Richard Graham, *Britain*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914 (Cambridge, Eng., 1968); Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1969; Eng. trans., 1993); and T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil, People and Institutions,* 4th ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1972).

A number of urban histories of Latin American cities cover a more extended period than that treated in this essay. Among those that have chapters or sections dealing with the years 1870 to 1930 are Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo* (Gainesville, Fla., 1958; reprint, New York, 1971; Portuguese trans., São Paulo, 1970); Guy Bourdé, *Urbanisation et immigration en Amérique Latine: Buenos Aires* (Paris, 1974); the works by José Luis de Imaz and Ruben Reina, already cited, dealing with the Argentine cities of Río Cuarto and Paraná; Claude Bataillon, *Ville et campagnes dans la région de México* (Paris, 1971; Spanish trans., México, D.F., 1973); Claude Bataillon and Hélène Rivière d'Arc, *Les grandes villes du monde: México* (Paris, 1973; Spanish trans., México, D.F., 1973); Hélène Rivière d'Arc, *Guadalajara et sa région* (Paris, 1971; Spanish trans., Mexico, D.F., 1973); Theodore E. Nicholls, *Tres puertos de Colombia: Estudio sobre el desarrollo de Cartagena, Santa Marta, y Barranquilla* (Bogotá, 1973); and Yves Leloup, *Les villes du Minas Gerais* (Paris, 1970).

Books which deal largely with the years 1870 to 1930 include Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969); Mark D. Szuchman, *Mobility and Integration in Urban Argentina: Córdoba in the Liberal Era* (Austin, Tex., 1980); Richard M. Morse (ed.), *Lima en 1900: Estudio crítico y antología* (Lima, 1973), which focuses on excerpts from Joaquin Capelo's major study, *Sociología de Lima,* 4 vols. (Lima, 1895–1902); and James R. Scobie, *Buenos Aires, Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York, 1974; Spanish trans., Buenos Aires, 1977). See also the following articles: on São Paulo, Gerald M. Greenfield, 'Dependency and the urban experience: São Paulo's public service sector, 1885–1913', *JLAS,* 10/1 (1978), 37–59, 'Privatism and urban development in Latin America: The case of São Paulo, Brazil', *Journal of Urban History,* 8 (August 1982), 397–426, and 'Patterns of enterprise in São Paulo: Preliminary analysis of a late nineteenth century city', *Social Science History,* 8 (Summer 1984), 291–312; on Brazil generally, Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Urbanización en el Brasil del siglo XIX', in Francisco de Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la ciudad iberoamericana* (Madrid, 1975), 399–432, and 'Town and country', in her collection of essays, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985); and on Caracas, E. Jeffrey Stann,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'Transportation and urbanization in Caracas, 1891–1936', *JIAS*, 17/1 (1975), 82–100.

Too frequently research on urban history in Latin America places emphasis on the capital city at the expense of important urban centres in the country's hinterland. Argentine historiography has begun to break away from that mould with publications centred on provincial areas. See, for example, Lilian Betty Romero, 'Córdoba en el decenio anterior a la Revolución del 90', in *Homenaje al Dr. Ceferino Garzón Maceda* (Córdoba, Arg., 1973), 375–92, which depicts the social and labour conditions of Argentina's second largest city during the export-led boom era of mass immigration. It can be profitably read in conjunction with James Scobie, 'Changing urban patterns: The *Porteño* case, 1880–1910', in *El proceso de urbanización en América desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días,* edited by Jorge E. Hardoy and Richard P. Schaedel (Buenos Aires, 1969), 323–38. James Scobie's last research effort specifically addressed the urban development of interior regions. Completed and edited by Samuel L. Baily, it was published posthumously as *Secondary Cities of Argentina: The Social History of Corrientes, Salta and Mendoza, 1850–1910* (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

The involvement of Latin American cities with the regional development of their hinterlands has also formed part of the investigation into secondary cities. On the subject of regionalism, or sub-national development, scholars have been able to trace the often tense relationships between regional centres and the national capitals. Some of these issues are explored in three independent, but coordinated, studies of Brazilian regionalism: Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); John D. Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); and Robert M. Levine, *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978). More recently, the regional fortunes of southern Bolivia and the role performed by the city of Sucre and its elites' calculations in contrast to those of La Paz, are examined in Erick D. Langer, *Economic Change and Rural Resistance in Southern Bolivia, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). Also in the Andean region, we can find the subject of urban and regional development in Clifford Smith's study of the late nineteenth century, 'Patterns of urban and regional development in Peru on the eve of the Pacific War', in *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History,* edited by Rory Miller (Liverpool, 1987).

The Mexican literature offers an exceptionally rich and overarching study of the village of San José de Gracia in the state of Michoacán: Luis

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, Tex., 1972) modelled on the *Annales*-inspired microhistories. Sweeping in thematic scope and temporal framework, *San José de Gracia* has few counterparts in Latin American historiography.

The subject of migration is frequently addressed from both the internal and the transatlantic perspectives. See also essay VI:4. Many of the titles on the period of European mass migration address the cases of Argentina and Brazil. The historical literature on immigrants offers glimpses into the experiences of specific groups. Among them are the following: Samuel L. Baily, 'The adjustment of Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914', *AHR,* 88/2 (1983), 281–305, which gives a rare comparative approach and should be read in conjunction with Herbert S. Klein, 'The integration of Italian immigrants into the United States and Argentina: A comparative analysis', *AHR,* 88/3 (1983), 306–29; Samuel L. Baily, 'Marriage patterns and immigrant assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882–1923', *HAHR,* 60/1 (1980), 32–48; Fernando J. Devoto, 'The origins of an Italian neighbourhood in Buenos Aires in the mid-XIX Century', *Journal of European Economic History,* 18/1 (1989), 37–64. See also Eugene F. Sofer, *From Pale to Pampa: The Jewish Immigrant Experience in Buenos Aires* (New York, 1980).

The evolution of voluntary associations accompanied the growth and development of cities in this period. Michael Conniff explores this phenomenon for Brazil in 'Voluntary associations in Rio, 1870–1945: A new approach to urban social dynamics', *JIAS,* 17/1 (1975). Eugene F. Sofer and Mark D. Szuchman investigate the role of voluntary associations in the socialization process of European immigrants in two Argentine cities in 'Educating immigrants: Voluntary association in the acculturation process', in *Educational Alternatives in Latin America: Social Change and Social Stratification,* edited by Thomas J. La Belle (Los Angeles, 1975), 334–59. For a Mexican view of voluntary associations, see Reynaldo Sordo Cedeno, 'Las sociedades de socorros mútuos, 1867–1880', *HM,* 33 (1983), 72–96.

From the sociological perspective, see Jorge Balán, 'Migrant–native socioeconomic differences in Latin American cities: A structural analysis', *LARR,* 4/1 (1969), 3–51. Lois B. De Fleur analyses the rates and the behavioral components of criminality, particularly among juveniles in an industrial urban environment in *Delinquency in Argentina* (Pullman, Wash., 1970). One of the more probing studies of the historically constant cityward migration in Latin America deals with the social anthropology of urban lower classes in Lima: see Susan Lobo, *A House of My Own:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima (Tucson, Ariz., 1982). The social anthropologist Scott Whiteford applies a historical lens to his work in the context of inter-American migration in *Workers from the North: Plantations, Bolivian Labor, and the City in Northwest Argentina* (Austin, Tex., 1981).

The economic determinants of internal migration are explored in Dennis Conway and Juanita Brown, 'Intra-urban relocation and structure: Low-income migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean', *Current Perspectives in Latin American Urban Research,* edited by Alejandro Portes and Harley L. Browning (Austin, Tex., 1976), 133–50. Larissa Lomnitz has explored the notion of clientage in Mexican cities in 'Horizontal and vertical relations and the social structure of urban Mexico', *LARR,* 17/2 (1982), 51–74, and, with an extensive longitudinal analysis in collaboration with Marisol Pérez-Lizaur, in 'The history of a Mexican urban family', *Journal of Family History,* 3 (1978), 392–409. On the Brazilian Northeast, see Bainbridge Cowell, Jr., 'Cityward migration in the nineteenth century: The case of Recife, Brazil', *JIAS,* 17/1 (1975), 43–63.

The urban experiences in working-class districts, including urban labour conditions and organization, are explored in, for example, Peter De Shazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (Madison, Wis., 1983) which provides excellent depictions of urban living conditions in Santiago at the turn of the century. For comparison, on Rio de Janeiro, see María Eulalia Lahmeyer Lobo, 'Condiciones de vida de los artesanos y de la clase obrera en Río de Janeiro, 1880–1920', *HISLA: Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social,* 5 (1985), 55–90; on Mexico City, John Hart, 'The urban working class and the Mexican Revolution: The case of the *Casa del Obrero Mundial*', *HAHR,* 58 (1978), 1–21 and on Bogotá, David Sowell, 'The 1893 *Bogotazo:* Artisans and public violence in late nineteenth-century Bogotá', *JLAS,* 21/2 (1989), 267–82. Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular: Estudios de historia argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1990) contains essays on housing, artisans, ethnic communities and women and child workers.

The era of export-led growth and modernization in the context of urban and demographic growth led to new considerations by the elites on the historical problematic of social control, especially in major urban areas. The issue of social control focussing on women, morality and crime is analyzed in Donna Guy, 'Prostitution and female criminality in Buenos Aires, 1875–1937', in *The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays on Crime and Policing in Argentina and Uruguay, 1750–1940,* edited

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

by Lyman L. Johnson (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), 89–116. On social control in Mexico, see Pedro Santoni, 'La policía de la Ciudad de México durante el Porfiriato', *HM*, 33 (1983), 97–129. On the urban working class and its living and working conditions, the early labour movements and the attitude of the state to urban workers, see essay VI: 7. Unusual for its attention to a sector of the urban working class that had no organisation or institutional activism is Sandra Lauderdale Graham's *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). It offers a rare glimpse into the interior of households in a city where domestic servants represented the largest single group of labourers in the period 1860–1910. Rio de Janeiro has received a good amount of attention recently. Three studies that focus on the turn of the century are worthy of note: Teresa Meade, ' "Civilizing Rio de Janeiro": The public health campaign and the riot of 1904', *Journal of Social History*, 20 (1986), 301–22 and ' "Living worse and costing more": Resistance and rand in Rio de Janeiro, 1890–1917', *JLAS*, 21 (1989), 241–66; and notably Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988).

6. INDUSTRY

Interest in the early history of industry in Latin America emanates from three distinct approaches, all of which may be depicted as challenges to liberal orthodoxy. The first, promoted by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (Comisión Económica para América Latina), emerged during the 1950s and was consolidated in the 1960s as policies of import-substituting industrialization held sway as the solution to the continent's post-1940s economic problems. The second, associated with the dependency debate of the 1960s and the 1970s, was to some extent provoked by perceived flaws in ECLA (CEPAL) structuralist historical analyses and policy prescriptions. The most recent, most tentative approach is linked to the discussion about late (or rather *very* late) development elaborated from the Gershenkronian concept of institutional substitutability during the early stages of industrialization in backward economies.

Celso Furtado's *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng., 1977) remains the most succinct statement of the *cepalista* hypothesis. Establishing

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the primacy of the 1930s as a departure point in Latin America's process of industrialization, Furtado absorbs part of the revisionist challenge to this chronology and demonstrates the achievements of industry in the larger economies by 1929. This text reflects the centrality of the emphasis upon industrialization in ECLA approaches to development, a focus which also dominates comprehensive national historical studies of the same school: A. Ferrer, *The Argentine Economy* (Berkeley, 1967); C. Furtado, *Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1965); A. Pinto, *Chile: Un caso de desarrollo frustrado* (Santiago, Chile, 1962). An early strident presentation of the dependency perspective is set out in A. G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York, 1969). While he has since modified some of his observations on the subject, Frank long held the view that modern manufacturing could only develop after the crash of 1929, when economic collapse in the metropolitan capitalist economies permitted the emergence in Latin America of a new social formation that shattered the anti-industry bias explicit in the economic and institutional structures forged during the phase of export-led growth. See also the classic study, J. V. Levin, *The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). Orthodox Marxist expressions of this thesis which shaped the dependency approach may be found in J. C. Mariátegui, *Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima, 1928), H. Ramírez Necochea, *Historia del imperialismo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), J. Cadematori, *La economía chilena: Una enfoque marxista* (Santiago, Chile, 1968), and F. Hinkelmert, *El subdesarrollo latinoamericano: Un caso de desarrollo capitalista* (Santiago, Chile, 1970). However, a seminal *dependista* text by F. H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1979) rejects the central thrust of these works and, while in other respects not disputing the importance of 1930, stresses formative developments in manufacturing in distinct national contexts during the phase of export-led growth. Writing within the late development school of industrialization is less continental in scope. To date clearly articulated interpretations based on the analysis of Alexander Gerschenkron have only been elaborated for Brazil and Colombia. See J. M. Cardoso de Mello, *O capitalismo tardío* (São Paulo, 1982) and S. Kalmanovitz, *El desarrollo tardío del capitalismo: Un enfoque crítico de la teoría de la dependencia* (Bogotá, 1983). Perhaps the most complete expression of this approach is associated with the research output of the so-called Campinas School, a great part of which contributes directly to the discussion about pre-1930 industrial expansion

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Brazil. See, in particular, two excellent research monographs, W. Cano, *Raízes da concentração industrial em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1981) and W. Suzigan, *Indústria brasileira: Orígem e desenvolvimento* (São Paulo, 1986), and the narrower but no less challenging Z. M. Cardoso de Mello, *Metamorfoses da riqueza: São Paulo, 1845–1895* (São Paulo, 1990). S. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989) also draws on the Gerschenkron approach.

Much of this scholarship addresses themes far beyond industry and industrialization. However, structuralist and dependency theories provoked a response from all sides. Rooted in classical economics and copiously endowed with statistical data is the *ad hoc* series published at New Haven by the Yale University Press under the auspices of the Economic Growth Centre: W. Baer, *Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), now superseded by *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development* (New York, 1989); T. B. Birnberg and S. A. Resnick, *Colonial Development: An Econometric Study* (New Haven, Conn., 1975), C. F. Diaz Alejandro, *Essays of the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970); M. J. Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy: From Independence to Allende* (New Haven, Conn., 1976); C. W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy: Twentieth-Century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1970). These texts offer detailed sectorally organized historical perspectives of the Latin American economies and include chapters on manufacturing.

The new revisionism in the debate about industry and industrialism in Latin America can be precisely dated with the appearance of the seminal text by Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969). Dean argued plausibly that the pace of pre–Second World War industrialization proceeded most rapidly during periods of export-led growth which, rather than inhibiting the development of manufacturing, fostered the market and institutional basis within which industry flourished and determined also the drift of sectoral diversification. Since 1969 a corpus of literature has evolved from the Dean hypothesis concerned either to elaborate and refine his statement or to vindicate even earlier views. In addition to studies of the Campinas School listed above, notable contributions have been made by A. Fishlow 'Origins and consequences of import substitution in Brazil' in L. E. Di Marco (ed.), *International Economics and Development: Essays in Honor of Raul Prebisch* (New York, 1972), and F. R. Versiani, 'Before the Depression: Brazilian industry in the 1920s', in R. Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Periphery in World Crisis (London, 1984). Also linking the emergence of a manufacturing base to the dynamic coffee export sector are two descriptive studies: A. C. Castro, *As empresas estrangeiras no Brasil, 1860–1913* (São Paulo, 1979) and S. Silva, *Expansão cafeeira e orígens da indústria no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1976). See also F. R. Versiani and J. R. Mendonca de Barros (eds.), *Formação econômica do Brasil: A experiência da industrialização* (São Paulo, 1977). These works represent an advance upon dated but valued examples of an earlier historiography, such as N. Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização do Brasil, 1808 a 1930* (São Paulo, 1961). The new revisionism has produced also some noteworthy industrial case studies, not least that by E. Weid and A. M. Rodrigues Bastos, *O fio da meada: Estratégia de expansão de uma indústria têxtil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), which extends the pioneering work of Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), and A. P. Canabrava, *O desenvolvimento do algodão na provincia de São Paulo, 1861–1875* (São Paulo, 1951).

As will be clear from the above remarks, most early revisionist writing was focussed on Brazil. Only with respect to Chile and Mexico does the quality of the discourse and indeed the length of the bibliography approach that for Brazil. Since the 1960s a number of texts have appeared detailing the pre-1929 antecedents of Chilean manufacturing. Most, though not all, maintain that the First World War was an important watershed: several studies may be described as either neo-structuralist or as 'late' *dependista*. Arguably, the most outstanding text, H. W. Kirsch, *Industrial Development in a Traditional Society: The Conflict of Entrepreneurship and Modernization in Chile* (Gainsville, Fla., 1977), states that the process of industrialization was already well established in Chile before the First World War. Equally provocative are J. G. Palma, 'External disequilibrium and internal industrialization: Chile, 1914–1935', and L. Ortega, 'Economic policy and growth in Chile from independence to the War of the Pacific', in C. Abel and C.M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America, Economic Imperialism and the State: The Political Economy of the External Connection from Independence to the Present* (London, 1985). See also C. Hurtado, *Concentración de la población y desarrollo económico: El caso chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1966); R. Lagos, *La industria en Chile: Antecedentes estructurales* (Santiago, Chile, 1966); O. Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile, 1914–1965* (Santiago, Chile, 1968) and *Proceso de la industrialización chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1972); M. Carmagnani, *Sviluppo industriale e sottosviluppo economico: Il caso chileno, 1860–1930* (Turin, 1971) and R. García, *Incipient Industrial-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ization in an Underdeveloped Society: The Case of Chile, 1845–1879 (Stockholm, 1989).

Some recent writing on Mexico is also directly focussed on the pre-1930 origins of manufacturing. This work has superseded established general studies which contain some discussion about early industrial expansion: W. P. Glade and C. W. Anderson, *The Political Economy of Mexico* (Madison, Wis., 1963); S. Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1950); L. Solis, *La readidad económica mexicana: Retrovisión y perspectivas* (Mexico, D.F., 1970); R. Vernon, *The Dilemma of Mexico's Development: The Roles of the Private and Public Sector* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); and M. S. Wionczek, *El nacionalismo mexicano y la inversión extranjera* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). Probably the best of the new analyses is Haber, cited above. Chapters containing some historical discussion appear in E. H. Laos, *productividad y el desarrollo industrial en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), D. Story, *Industry, the State and Public Policy in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1986) and E. Cárdenas, *La industrialización mexicana durante la Gran Depresión* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). In addition, two excellent collections of essays, written from different perspectives, contain valuable information or manufacturing: C. Cardoso (ed.), *México en el siglo XIX (1821–1910)* (Mexico, D.F., 1980) and E. Cárdenas (ed.), *Historia económica de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), especially vols. 2 and 3. For an earlier period the exemplary studies by R. A. Potash, *Mexican Government and Industrial Development in the Early Republic: El Banco de Avio* (Amherst, Mass., 1983) and G. P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), indicate what may be accomplished. As in Brazil, the textile industry has absorbed scholarly interest, for example, D. Keremetsis, *La industria textil en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) and R. J. Salvucci, *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: An Economic History of the Obrajes, 1539–1840* (Princeton, N.J., 1988). In addition, see S. Haber, 'Industrial concentration and the capital market: A comparative study of Brazil, Mexico and the USA, 1830–1930', *Journal of Economic History*, 51/3 (1991).

Diffusionist precepts permeate much of the fairly recent general work on Argentina, specifically the writing of Diaz Alejandro, cited above; R. Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1979); R. Cortés Conde and E. Gallo, *La formación de la Argentina moderna* (Buenos Aires, 1967); E. Gallo, 'Agrarian Expansion and Industrial Development in Argentina, 1880–1930', in Raymond Carr (ed.), *Latin American Affairs: St Antony's Papers*, No. 22 (Oxford, 1970); V. Vázquez-Presedo, *El caso argentino: Migración de factores, comercio exterior y desarrollo, 1875–1914*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Buenos Aires, 1971) and *Crisis y retraso: Argentina y la economía internacional entre las guerras* (Buenos Aires, 1978); and G. Di Tella and M. Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967). These works locate the modern origins of Argentine industry firmly in the phase of export expansion. Di Tella and Zymelman, drawing upon modernization theories prevalent during the 1950s and early 1960s, attempt to create a revised Rostovian stage theory for Argentina, arguing that the pre-conditions for industrialization already existed by 1914, but that self-sustained development did not take place until after 1930. Although much of this writing only obliquely addresses the subject of industrial growth and the formation of conditions essential for modern manufacturing, as J. C. Korol and Hilda Sabato in 'Incomplete industrialization: An Argentine obsession', *LARR*, 25/1 (1990), 7–30 show for a later period, these debates underpin much of the Argentine development literature. Perhaps the most direct and most extensive discussion is to be encountered in the perceptive study by Paul W. Lewis, *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990). Lewis provides several chapters on industrial growth and structures during the pre-1930 period.

For other countries, the literature is more fragmented and even less explicit. Until recently, and reflecting the small size of the manufacturing sector, there was little specific material on the period in an otherwise excellent collection of monographs about Colombia, for example: R. Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la independencia hasta 1920* (Bogotá, 1977); D. Chu, *The Great Depression and Industrialization in Colombia* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1977); W. P. McGreevey, *Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); M. Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia, 1870–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980); Frank Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite* (Austin, Tex., 1976). Newer publications feature extensive discussion about the theme. See J. A. Ocampo, *Colombia y la economía mundial, 1830–1910* (Bogotá, 1984); S. Kalmanovitz, *Economía y nación: Una breve historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1986); and J. A. Ocampo (ed.), *Historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987). For Uruguay there are several references to manufacturing in multivolume historical studies by José Pedro Barrán and Benjamín Nahum, but the most direct discussion can be found in the carefully researched monograph by L. Bértola, *The Manufacturing Industry of Uruguay, 1913–1961: A Sectoral Approach to Growth, Fluctuations and Crisis* (Göteborg and Stockholm, 1990). Bértola provides a comprehensive survey of the literature and attempts to reconstruct data

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

on pre-1930 industrial production. Disputing the Levin hypothesis, S. J. Hunt, *Growth and Guano in Nineteenth-Century Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1972) presents a more positive analysis of the environment within which manufacturing may have emerged in Peru by the turn of the century. Differing assessments of Peru's industrial potential are available in H. Bonilla, *Guano y burguesía* (Lima, 1973); E. Yepes del Castillo, *Peru 1820–1920: Un siglo de desarrollo capitalista* (Lima 1972) and P. Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Post-Independence Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1989). R. Thorp and G. Bertram, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978) provides, however, the most complete statement on manufacturing in Peru.

Tentative moves to synthesise early approaches constitute a fairly new trend in the historiography. Various authors have sought to integrate structuralist and dependency maxims with post-Dean revisionism and even earlier descriptive accounts of manufacturing and industrialization. Arguably, theories of late industrialization will further invigorate this process. To date F. S. Weaver, *Class, State and Industrial Structure: The Historical Process of South American Industrial Growth* (Westport, Conn., 1980) remains the most successful attempt at a near continent-wide synthesis. See also C. M. Lewis, 'Industry in Latin America', in W. L. Bernecker and H. W. Tobler (eds.), *Development and Underdevelopment in America* (New York, 1993). Equally successful, though less directly focussed on issues of industrialization, is C. F. S. Cardoso and H. Pérez Brignoli, *Historia económica de América Latina:* Vol. II (Barcelona, 1979). Modern revisionist texts have given new prominence to 'contemporary' accounts of manufacturing or works advocating programmes in support of industry – works often ignored or dismissed by those writing from dependency and structuralist positions. A small body of descriptive accounts of industry – individual case studies and national 'surveys' – existed in English by the inter-war years and was supplemented by works which appeared before the creation of ECLA. See, for example, F. L. Bell, *Colombia: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, D.C., 1923); L. J. Hughlett (ed.), *Industrialization of Latin America* (New York, 1946); A. W. Kimber, *Latin American Industrialization* (New York, 1946); W. H. Koebel, *South America: An Industrial and Commercial Field* (London, 1919); D. M. Phelps, *Migration of Industry to South America* (New York, 1936); and G. Wythe, *Industry in Latin America* (New York, 1945). Books such as these were often indebted to official surveys and reports of the period produced by the British Board of Trade and the U.S. Department of Commerce or to commercial guides

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and handbooks that were widely published during the 1900s and again in the mid 1920s. Primarily 'business' oriented, these works were inclined to catalogue either the presence, or opportunities for the establishment, of branch factories of North Atlantic-based corporations in Latin America. Usually this writing displayed little awareness of prescient earlier or parallel studies by Latin American authors which also detailed areas of manufacturing activity or, castigating the export bias of national economies, advocated policies to promote industrialization. Notable examples of such scholarship include A. E. Bunge, *La economía argentina,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1928–30) and *Los problemas económicos del presente* (Buenos Aires, 1920); F. A. Encina, *Nuestra inferioridad económica* (Santiago, Chile, 1912); and A. Molina Enriquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico, D.F., 1909), which commanded continent-wide attention. Of national significance were works such as L. Alayza Paz Soldán, *La industria: Estudio económico, técnico y social* (Lima, 1933); P. L. González, *Chile industrial* (Santiago, Chile, 1919) and, in association with C. Silva Cortez and E. Gajardo Cruzet, *El esfuerzo nacional: Estudio de la política industrial; reseña de las industrias nacionales; rol de industrias* (Santiago, Chile, 1916); A. Garland, *Reseña industrial del Perú* (Lima, 1902); J. Martínez Lamas, *Riqueza y pobreza del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1930); and O. Morato, *La industria manufacturera en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1927). Later publications included A. Dorfman, *Evolución de la economía industrial argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1938) and R. C. Simonsen, *A indústria em face da economia nacional* (São Paulo, 1937). In constructing their analyses, authors like Bunge and Encina drew upon a newly available body of statistical material.

A number of specific themes tend to dominate revisionist or new syncretic approaches to the subject. Much has been written, for example, about the consequences of the First World War. In addition to studies on Brazil and Chile listed above, see R. Miller, 'Latin American manufacturing and the First World War: An exploratory essay', *World Development,* 9/8 (1981) for a preliminary appraisal and B. Albert, *South America and the First World War: The Impact of the First World War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988) for a more extensive discussion. Analyses of the impact of even earlier exogenous shocks on the development of manufacturing are featured in, for example, J. C. Chiaramonte, *Nacionalismo y liberalismo económicos en Argentina, 1860–1880* (Buenos Aires, 1971).

For discussion of official policy and the growth of manufacturing during the period, see contributions in G. Ranis (ed.), *Government and Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1971); Weaver, *Class, State and Industrial*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Structure; and much of the structuralist literature listed above. However, the most outstanding investigation of policy remains A. V. Villela and W. Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1899–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) which offers a model analysis and establishes a framework that has general significance. See also W. Fritsch, *External Constraints on Economic Policy in Brazil, 1889–1930* (Basingstoke, 1988) and S. Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State; 1889–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1987). On Mexico, see P. Arias (ed.), *Industria y estado en la vida de Mexico* (Zamora, 1990). For Argentina, see D. J. Guy, 'Carlos Pellegrini and the politics of early industrialization, 1873–1906', *JLAS,* 11/1 (1979), 123–144, and C. M. Lewis, 'Immigrant entrepreneurs, manufacturing and industrial policy in the Argentine, 1922–28', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 16/4 (1987). Many policy issues are also addressed in several excellent essays in Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s* and in B. Tovar Zambrano, *La intervención económica del estado en Colombia, 1914–1936* (Bogotá, 1984). Some references to policy in the pre-1930 period are also to be found in H. Szlajfer, *Economic Nationalism in East-Central Europe and South America, 1918–1939* (Geneva, 1990) and in C. Anglade and C. Fortín (eds.), *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America,* 2 vols. (Basingstoke, 1985, 1988).

Tariffs, money supply and exchange rates and their impact on manufacturing are areas of policy formation that have received specific attention. Dated, but nevertheless outstanding in the field, is L. Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia 1810–1930* (Medellín, 1955). J. C. Nicolau, *Industria argentina y aduana 1835–54* (Buenos Aires, 1975) is an important study, as are Chiaramonte, *Nacionalismo y liberalismo* and J. Panettieri, *Políticas económicas: Arcanceles y protección industrial, 1862–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1983). On Brazil, besides the work of F. R. Versiani, see M. T. R. O. Versiani, *Proteção tarifaria e o crecimento industrial brasileiro dos anos 1906–1912* (Brasília, 1981). C. M. Pelaez and W. Suzigan, *História monetaria do Brasil: Análise da política, comportamento e instituições monetárias* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976) address the influence of money supply and currency policy upon economic activity. Also useful are J. Pandiá Calógeras, *A política monetária do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1960), and more specific, C. M. Pelaez, *The Economic Consequences of Monetary, Fiscal and Exchange Orthodoxy in Brazil, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971). See also E. Fernández-Hurtado (ed.), *Cincuenta años de Banco Central* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) for some discussion of monetary policy and manufacturing during the 1920s. Conventional currency histories and data on money supply and banking

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

institutions exist for most other republics but are less direct. Brazil is still exceptional in the quality of the material relating to money supply, the exchange and industry.

The formation of industrial entrepreneurs is another theme which has attracted much attention. In the Brazilian historiography, new research by the Campinas school tends to emphasise the importance of national entrepreneurial talent in the manufacturing sector, thereby challenging the stress placed by Dean, *Industrialization of São Paulo,* on the role of foreign merchants and immigrants. A similar focus on the connection between planters and manufacturing for areas other than São Paulo is available in A. M. Vaz, *Cia Cedro e Cachoeira: Historia de una empresa familiar, 1887–1987* (Belo Horizonte, 1990). R. Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968) explores interaction between native and foreign-born industrialists. For Chile, national contributions to early industrial growth are explored by Kirsch, *Industrial Development,* L. Ortega, 'Nitrates, Chilean entrepreneurs and the origins of the War of the Pacific', *JLAS,* 16/2 (1984), 337–380, and A. Bauer, 'Industry and the missing bourgeoisie: Consumption and development in Chile, 1850–1950', *HAHR,* 70/2 (1990), 227–253. For Mexico, see L. Gamboa Ojeda, *Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominante en la industria textil de Puebla, 1906–29* (Puebla, 1985). Accounts of the origin of industrialists may also be found in C. M. Lewis, 'Immigrant entrepreneurs . . . in the Argentine, 1922–8' and J. Schvarzer, *Empresarios del pasado: La Unión Industrial Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1991). Orthodox statements that emphasise the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in early manufacturing are provided by Diaz Alejandro, *Essays,* Vera Blinn Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810–1880* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979), and O. Cornblit, 'Inmigrantes y empresarios en la política argentina', *DE,* 6/24 (1967). On this topic, see also C. Davila, *El empresariado colombiano: Una perspectiva histórica* (Bogotá, 1986).

Newer scholarship on urban labour also touches upon the subject of early industrialization examining, amongst other themes, the supply of industrial workers, wages and working conditions in early factories as well as labour organization and militancy. See essay VI:7.

Finally, innovative approaches to the study of the early history of manufacturing in Latin America have been influenced by such new concepts as proto-industrialization. In addition to the works of Kalmanovitz and Ocampo on Colombia and García on Chile mentioned above, see also J. Batou, *Cent ans de resistance au sous-développement: L'industrialisation de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

l'Amérique Latine et du Moyen-Orient face au défi européen, 1770–1870 (Geneva, 1990); J. Batou (ed.), *Between Development and Underdevelopment: The Precocious Attempts at Industrialization of the Periphery* (Geneva, 1991); F. Mauro (ed.), *La preindustrialization du Brésil: Essais sur une economie en transition, 1830/50 – 1930/50* (Paris, 1984) and D. C. Libby, 'Proto-industrialisation in a slave society: The case of Minas Gerais', *JLAS*, 23/1 (1991), 1–35.

7. THE URBAN WORKING CLASS AND EARLY LABOUR MOVEMENTS

The two modern general histories of the Latin American labour movements that cover the pre-1930 period in some depth are Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., *Organized Labor in Latin America* (New York, 1977), and Ricardo Melgar Bao, *El movimiento obrero latinoamericano* (Madrid, 1988). In Julio Godio, *Historia del movimiento obrero latinoamericano*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980–3), the first volume deals with the movements in Argentina, Mexico and Chile up to 1918, while the second treats communism and nationalism for the region as a whole between 1918 and 1930. Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986) provides four case studies informed by dependency theory. Robert Paris and Madeleine Rebérioux, 'Socialisme et communisme en Amérique latine', in *Histoire générale du socialisme*, Jacques Droz (ed.), (Paris, 1978), vol. 4, is an informative shorter survey. Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina*, 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1984) is composed of chapters on each country in Latin America, including Puerto Rico. The authors are sometimes not very concerned with pre-1930 developments, and the theoretical approaches vary considerably from one chapter to another. Nevertheless, the collection is valuable, particularly in the case of the smaller countries, where the chapters included are sometimes the best or at least most accessible syntheses available.

The most comprehensive bibiliography remains Carlos Rama, *L'Amérique latine: 1492–1936 (Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes)* (Paris, 1959), also available in a later German edition: *Die Arbeiterbewegung in Lateinamerica: Chronologie und bibliographie, 1492–1966* (Bad Homburg, 1967). Additional material can be found in Kenneth Paul Erickson, Patrick V. Peppe and Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., 'Research on the urban working class and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

organized labor in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile: What is left to be done?', *LARR*, 9/2 (1974), 115–42.

The largest collection of the early Latin American labour press is to be found at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam. The holdings for the larger countries are described in Eric Gordon, Michael M. Hall and Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., 'A survey of Brazilian and Argentine materials at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam', *LARR*, 8/3 (1973), and in Raymond Buve and Cunera Holthuis, 'A survey of Mexican materials at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam', *LARR*, 10/1 (1975).

Works on specific topics which deal with Latin America as a whole include Carlos M. Rama (ed.), *Utopismo socialista, 1830–1893* (Caracas, 1977), which reprints several important documents from the early period. Alfredo Gómez attempts a continent-wide survey of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in his *Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en América Latina* (Paris, 1980). Diego Armus (ed.), *Sectores populares y vida urbana* (Buenos Aires, 1984), includes very informative chapters on living conditions during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Rosario and Santiago.

On the history of the Communist International in the region, see Manuel Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). Two older general treatments of the Communist movement include considerable information on the pre-1930 period: Robert J. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), and Boris Goldenberg, *Kommunismus in Lateinamerika* (Stuttgart, 1971). For information concerning the South American Secretariat established in Buenos Aires by the Comintern in 1925, see J. Mothes, 'Zur Geschichte des Secretariado Sudamericano de la Internacional Comunista: Ein Beitrag zu einem noch wenig bekannten Fuehrungsorgan der kommunistischen Bewegung', *Lateinamerika* (Spring, 1982). A number of important documents from the archive of Jules Humbert-Droz, who was in charge of Latin American affairs for the Comintern, are available in Siegfried Bahne (ed.), *Les partis communistes et l'Internationale communiste dans les années 1928–1932* (Archives de Jules Humbert-Droz, 3) (Dordrecht, 1988). Stephen Clissold (ed.), *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1918–1968* (London, 1970), includes several informative documents from the pre-1930 period, as does Michael Lowy, *Le marxisme en Amérique latine: Anthologie* (Paris, 1980).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ARGENTINA

The best introduction in English to the early Argentine labour movement is Ronaldo Munck et al., *Argentina: From Anarchism to Peronism* (London, 1987), with chapters by Ricardo Falcón (to 1910) and Bernardo Galitelli (1911–30). See also Jeremy Adelman (ed.), *Essays in Argentine Labour History, 1870–1930* (Basingstoke, 1992). Several older and sometimes highly partisan works continue to be indispensable. Diego Abad de Santillán describes the anarchist movement in *La FORA: Ideología y trayectoría del movimiento obrero revolucionario en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1933; 2nd ed., 1971). Sebastián Marotta presents a syndicalist view in *El movimiento sindical argentino, su génesis y desarrollo,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960–1). The most influential socialist history is Jacinto Oddone, *El gremialismo proletario argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1949). See also Julio Godio, *El movimiento obrero argentino,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1987–9), vols. 1 (1870–1910) and 2 (1910–30).

Leandro Gutiérrez, *Recopilación bibliográfica y de fuentes para el estudio de la historia y situación actual de la clase obrera argentina* (*Documento de Trabajo*) (Buenos Aires, 1969) remains a helpful bibliography. Hobart A. Spalding, Jr. (ed.), *La clase trabajadora argentina: Documentos para su historia, 1890–1912* (Buenos Aires, 1970), is a valuable collection of documents. Hilda Sábato and Luis Alberto Romero (eds.), *Los trabajadores de Buenos Aires. La experiencia del mercado, 1850–1880* (Buenos Aires, 1992) is a pioneering work. Roberto P. Korzeniewicz, 'Labor unrest in Argentina, 1887–1907', *LARR,* 24/3 (1989), 71–98, demonstrates how changes in the organization of the workplace and the labour market affected forms of action and organization by workers. Ronaldo Munck, 'Cycles of class struggle and the making of the working class in Argentina, 1890–1920', *JLAS,* 19/1 (1987), 19–39, links labour protest to fluctuations in the business cycle. Ofelia Pianetto, 'Mercado de trabajo y acción sindical en la Argentina, 1890–1922', *Desarrollo Económico,* 94 (1984) argues, among other things, that earlier historiography exaggerated the importance of foreign ideologies and immigrants in the labour movement.

The most informative study of the first years of the labour movement is Ricardo Falcón, *Los orígenes del movimiento obrero, 1857–1899* (Buenos Aires, 1984). An important local study is Hilda Iparraguire and Ofelia Pianetto, *La organización de la clase obrera en Córdoba, 1870–1895* (Córdoba, Arg., 1968). On early socialism, see José Ratzer, *Los marxistas*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

argentinos del 90 (Buenos Aires, 1970), and Alfredo Bauer, *La Asociación Vorwärts y la lucha democrática en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1989). An interesting collection of articles from the most important early socialist newspaper is available in Víctor O. García Costa (ed.), *El Obrero: Selección de textos* (Buenos Aires, 1985).

On later phases of Argentine socialism, consult José Ratzer, *El movimiento socialista en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1981), and Richard J. Walter, *The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1977). The life and career of the most important socialist leader can be followed in Dardo Cúneo, *Juan B. Justo y las luchas sociales en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1956), and Alicia Moreau de Justo, *Juan B. Justo y el socialismo* (Buenos Aires, 1984). Writings by various socialist figures are reprinted in Emilio J. Corbière (ed.), *Los socialistas y el movimiento obrero* (Buenos Aires, 1982). There is a collection of articles from the leading socialist newspaper in Roberto Reinoso (ed.), *La Vanguardia: Selección de textos, 1894–1955* (Buenos Aires, 1985).

Early anarchism is treated in Gonzalo Zaragoza Ruvira, 'Anarchisme et mouvement ouvrier en Argentine à la fin du XIXe siècle', *Le Mouvement Social,* 103 (1978). Iaacov Oved provides a very well-documented account of the anarchist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century in *El anarquismo y el movimiento obrero en Argentina* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). See also Edgardo J. Bilsky, *La FORA y el movimiento obrero, 1900–1910,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1985). Among the several works by Osvaldo Bayer on anarchism in Argentina, see especially *Severino Di Giovanni, el idealista de la violencia* (Buenos Aires, 1970; 2nd ed., 1989), and *Los vengadores de la Patagonia trágica,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1972). Ruth Thompson, 'The limitations of ideology in the early Argentine labour movement: Anarchism in the trade unions, 1890–1920', *JLAS,* 16/1 (1984), 81–99, argues that the importance of anarchism has been exaggerated.

On aspects of anarchist culture, see Eva Golluscio de Montoya, 'Círculos anarquistas y circuitos contraculturales en la Argentina del 1900', *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso–Brésilien,* 46 (1986). On feminism and sexuality, see Maxine Molyneux, 'No God, no boss, no husband: Anarchist feminism in nineteenth-century Argentina', *LAP,* 13/1 (1986), and Dora Barrancos, 'Anarquismo y sexualidad', in Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular: Estudios de historia social argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1990). A valuable study of anarchism and education is Dora Barrancos, *Anarquismo, educación y costumbres en la Argentina de principios del siglo* (Buenos Aires, 1990).

For the years after 1917, the most important working-class mobiliza-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tion of the period is studied in Julio Godio, *La semana trágica de 1919* (Buenos Aires, 1971) and Edgardo J. Bilsky, *La semana trágica* (Buenos Aires, 1984). The emergence of the Communist Party is best treated in Emilio J. Corbière, *Orígenes del comunismo argentino (El Partido Socialista Internacional)* (Buenos Aires, 1984), which includes a valuable appendix of documents. A collection of articles from the newspaper of the Unión Sindical Argentina is available in Roberto Reinoso (ed.), *Bandera proletaria: Selección de textos (1922–1930)* (Buenos Aires, 1985). On the Radicals and the labour movement, see David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). There is an informative account of one of the most powerful categories of workers during the 1920s by Joel Horowitz, 'Occupational community and the creation of a self-styled elite: Railroad workers in Argentina', *TA*, 42/1 (1985).

Considerable information on living and working conditions can be found in Guy Bourdé, *Urbanisation et immigration en Amérique Latine: Buenos Aires (XIXe et XXe siècles)* (Paris, 1974), James R. Scobie, *Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York, 1974), and José Panettieri, *Los trabajadores*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1982). See also the articles by Leandro Gutiérrez, 'Condiciones de la vida material de los sectores populares en Buenos Aires, 1880–1914', *Revista de Indias*, 163–4 (1981), and 'Condiciones materiales de vida de los sectores populares urbanos en el Buenos Aires finisecular', in *De historia e historiadores: Homenaje a José Luis Romero* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). There are a number of relevant articles on these matters in Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular*, cited above. Roberto Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1979) argues, against the opinion of earlier writers, that real wages actually rose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the specific question of housing, see Oscar Yujnovsky, 'Políticas de vivienda en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1880–1914', *Desarrollo Económico*, 54 (1974), and Francis Korn and Lidia de la Torre, 'La vivienda en Buenos Aires, 1887–1914', *Desarrollo Económico*, 98 (1985). Documents on housing conditions and the notable rent strike of 1907 are available in Juan Suriano (ed.), *La huelga de inquilinos de 1907* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

Working conditions and practices are dealt with by Ricardo Falcón, *El mundo del trabajo urbano, 1890–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1986). A remarkable series of newspaper articles on 'Workers and Work', originally published in *La Prensa*, has been reprinted: Ricardo González (ed.), *Los obreros y el trabajo: Buenos Aires, 1901* (Buenos Aires, 1984). Donna J. Guy analyses the role of women in 'Women, peonage, and industrialization: Argentina,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1810–1914', *LARR*, 16/3 (1981), 65–89. See also María del Carmen Feijóo, 'Las trabajadoras porteñas a comienzos del siglo', in Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular.* Important insights into working-class culture in the 1920s are provided in Leandro H. Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Romero, 'Sociedades barriales, bibliotecas populares y cultura de los sectores populares: Buenos Aires, 1920–1945', *DE*, 113 (1989), and Ricardo González, 'Lo proprio y lo ajeno: Actividades culturales y fomentismo en una asociación vecinal, Barrio Nazca (1925–1930)', in Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular.*

The question of state policy in regard to labour matters has provoked considerable debate. Roberto P. Korzeniewicz, 'The labour movement and the state in Argentina, 1887–1907', *BLAR*, 8/1 (1989), 25–45, deals with the workers' response to attempts by owners to undermine craft control and argues that all political tendencies sought state mediation of conflicts between capital and labour. A helpful work, which includes much information on the pre-1930 period, is Ernesto A. Isuani, *Los orígenes conflictivos de la seguridad social argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1985). Other useful studies include José Panettieri, *Las primeras leyes obreras* (Buenos Aires, 1984), and Flavio Fiorani, 'Lo stato di fronte alla questione sociale: La legislazione del lavoro in Argentina, 1904–1922', *Movimento operaio e socialista*, 8/2 (1985). Oscar Cornblit, *Sindicatos obreros y asociaciones empresarias hasta la década del centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1984), provides useful information on the relations between industrialists and the labour movement.

BRAZIL

There are several general accounts of the early Brazilian labour movement: Boris Fausto, *Trabalho urbano e conflito social (1890–1920)* (São Paulo, 1976), Francisco Foot Hardman and Victor Leonardi, *História de indústria e do trabalho no Brasil: Dos orígens aos anos vinte*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1991), and Sheldon Maram, *Anarquistas, imigrantes e o movimento operário brasileiro, 1890–1920* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). Maram's work is also available in English in his articles: 'Anarchosyndicalism in Brazil', *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies*, 4 (1975); 'Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890–1921: A movement aborted', *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 254–72; 'The immigrant and the Brazilian labor movement, 1890–1920', in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977); and 'Urban

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

labor and social change in the 1920s', *L-BR*, 16/2 (1979). See also June Hahner, *Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870–1920* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), and the interviews in Angela Castro Gomes (ed.), *Velhos militantes: Depoimentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988).

Several earlier works retain their importance. Everardo Dias, *História das lutas sociais no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1962; 2nd ed., 1977) is a combination of memoir and narrative history by a participant in many of the struggles of the pre-1930 period. Considerable information is also to be found in the various books by Edgar Rodrigues, particularly *Socialismo e sindicalismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969), and *Nacionalismo e cultura social* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972). Azis Simão, *Sindicato e estado: Suas relações na formação do proletariado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1966) remains an influential sociological interpretation of the São Paulo labour movement.

The most extensive bibliography is Ronald Chilcote, *Brazil and Its Radical Left: An Annotated Bibliography of the Communist Movement and the Rise of Marxism, 1922–1972* (Millwood, N.Y., 1980). There are two collections of documents: Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro and Michael M. Hall (eds.), *A classe operária no Brasil, 1889–1930*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1979–81), and Edgard Carone (ed.), *O movimento operário no Brasil, 1877–1944* (São Paulo, 1979). Yara Aun Khoury, *As greves de 1917 em São Paulo e o processo de organização proletária* (São Paulo, 1981) contains an important selection of documents from the 1917 São Paulo general strike. Evaristo de Moraes Filho (ed.), *O socialismo brasileiro* (Brasília, 1981) provides an extensive collection of documents on the often overlooked history of early socialism.

On anarchism in São Paulo, see the well-documented, though highly critical, study by Sílvia Magnani, *O movimento anarquista em São Paulo (1906–1917)* (São Paulo, 1982). There is similarly critical work on anarchism in Rio de Janeiro by Maria Conceição Pinto de Góes, *A formação da classe trabalhadora: Movimento anarquista no Rio de Janeiro, 1888–1911* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). Cristina H. Campos, *O sonhar libertário: Movimento operário nos anos de 1917 a 1921* (Campinas, 1988) reaches more positive conclusions and manages to go beyond the polemics of the period. Eric A. Gordon, 'Anarchism in Brazil: Theory and practice, 1890–1920', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1978) treats the anarchists with sympathy and provides much information unavailable elsewhere. Carlos Addor, *A insurreição anarquista no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986) sheds some light on the murky events of 1918.

Francisco Foot Hardman, *Nem pátria nem patrão: Vida operária e cultura*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

anarquista (São Paulo, 1983) concentrates on working-class culture, as do many of the contributors to Antonio Arnoni Prado (ed.), *Libertários no Brasil: Memória, lutas, cultura* (São Paulo, 1986). Examples of the literature of the period are available in Antonio Arnoni Prado and Francisco Foot Hardman (eds.), *Contos anarquistas* (São Paulo, 1985), and Bernardo Kocher and Eulália Lahmeyer Lobo (eds.), *Ouve meu grito: Antologia de poesia operária (1894–1923)* (São Paulo, 1987). Two important periodicals have been reprinted: *A Voz do Trabalhador* (São Paulo, 1985), newspaper of the Confederação Operária Brasileira, originally published between 1908 and 1915, and *A Vida* (São Paulo, 1988), first published in 1914–15.

The major study of the Brazilian Communist Party is Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, *Estratégias da ilusão: A revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935* (São Paulo, 1991), which is based on extensive research and situates the history of the party in the national and international contexts of the period. Studies more favourable toward the PCB include Michel Zaidan, *PCB (1922–1929): Na busca das orígens de um marxismo nacional* (São Paulo, 1985) and *Comunistas em céu aberto: 1922–1930* (Belo Horizonte, 1990), Dario Canale, 'Zur entstehung der Kommunistischen Partei Brasiliens als sektion der Kommunistischen Internationale, 1917–1922', *Lateinamerika*, 20/2 (1985), and Edgard Carone, *Classes sociais e movimento operário* (São Paulo, 1989) which, despite the broad title, is a history of the PCB up to 1930.

John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–1935* (Austin, Tex., 1973) is a narrative history, with emphasis on the party leadership in the 1920s. Many of the early writings of Astrojildo Pereira have been reprinted in Michel Zaidan (ed.), *Construindo o PCB (1922–24)* (São Paulo, 1980). Edgard Carone (ed.), *O P.C.B. (1922–1934)* (São Paulo, 1982) includes a number of documents from the first years of the party. Memoirs by several important figures in the Communist movement are also available: Octávio Brandão, *Combates e batalhas* (São Paulo, 1978), Heitor Ferreira Lima, *Caminhos percorridos: Memórias de militância* (São Paulo, 1982), and Leôncio Basbaum, *Uma vida em seis tempos (memórias)* (São Paulo, 1976), among others. The journal *Memória e História* devoted numbers 1 and 2 (1981 and 1982) to the early history of the PCB, including previously unpublished material from the Astrojildo Pereira archives. Edgar de Decca, *1930: O silêncio dos vencidos* (São Paulo, 1981) provides an important interpretation of the Bloco Operário e Camponês (BOC).

Information on women workers before 1930 is available in Maria Valéria Junho Pena, *Mulheres e trabalhadoras: Presença feminina na constituição do sistema fabril* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), Rachel Soihet, *Condição*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

feminina e formas de violência: Mulheres pobres e ordem urbana, 1890–1920 (Rio de Janeiro, 1989), and Esmeralda de Moura, *Mulheres e menores no trabalho industrial* (Petrópolis, 1982). See also Maria Valéria Junho Pena and Elça Mendonça Lima, 'Lutas ilusórias: A mulher na política operária da Primeira República', in Carmen Barroso (ed.), *Mulher, mulheres* (São Paulo, 1983). Ethnic divisions among workers are analysed in Michael M. Hall, 'Immigration and the early São Paulo working class', *JGSWGL*, 12 (1975).

Among the considerable number of works on the early bourgeoisie, Angela Castro Gomes, *Burguesia e trabalho: Política e legislação social no Brasil, 1917–1937* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979), provides the best account of policies regarding working conditions and social legislation. Palmira Petratti Teixeira, *A fábrica do sonho: Trajetória do industrial Jorge Street* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990) is the biography of a leading industrialist whose experiments with company housing and proposals for labour legislation provoked considerable controversy in the period and subsequently. His writings on these matters, along with an important interpretation, are available in Evaristo de Moraes Filho (ed.), *Idéias sociais de Jorge Street* (Brasília, 1980).

On factory conditions, see Elisabeth von der Weid and Ana Marta Rodrigues Bastos, *O fio da meada: Estratégia de expansão de uma indústria têxtil, Companhia América Fabril, 1878–1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), Maria Inez Turazzi, *A euforia do progresso e a imposição da ordem: A engenharia, a indústria e a organização do trabalho na virada do século XIX ao XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989), and Maria Alice Rosa Ribeiro, *Condições de trabalho na indústria têxtil paulista (1870–1930)* (São Paulo, 1988). A pioneering study of workers' living conditions and daily life is Maria Auxiliadora Guzzo de Decca, *A vida fora das fábricas: Cotidiano operário em São Paulo, 1920–1934* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987). For Rio de Janeiro, see the innovative work of Sidney Chaloub, *Trabalho, lar e botequim: O cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque* (São Paulo, 1986). Also useful is Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, 'Condições de vida dos artesãos e do operariado no Rio de Janeiro da década de 1880 a 1920', *Nova Americana*, 4 (1981). Housing conditions are treated in Márcia Lúcia Rebello Pinho Dias, *Desenvolvimento urbano e habitação popular em São Paulo, 1870–1914* (São Paulo, 1989) and Eva Alterman Blay, *Eu não tenho onde morar: Vilas operárias na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1985). For Rio de Janeiro, see Eulália Lobo, Lia A. Carvalho and Myrian Stanley, *Questão habitacional e o movimento operário* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989).

On the labour movement in São Paulo, an interpretive survey is Maria

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Célia Paoli, 'Working-class São Paulo and its representations, 1900–1940', *LAP*, 14/2 (1987). For the biography of a leading Socialist, see Alexandre Hecker, *Um socialismo possível: A atuação de Antonio Piccarolo em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1989). The printers receive close study in Leila Maria da Silva Blass, *Imprimindo a própria história: O movimento dos trabalhadores gráficos de São Paulo no final dos anos 20* (São Paulo, 1986). The militant workers in the port of Santos are analysed in two articles by Malu Gitahy: 'Processo de trabalho e greves portuárias, 1889–1910: Um estudo sobre a formação da classe operária no porto de Santos', *Ciências Sociais Hoje* (1987) and 'Porto de Santos, 1888–1908', in Antonio Arnoni Prado (ed.), *Libertários no Brasil,* cited above.

For Rio de Janeiro, Angela de Castro Gomes, *A invenção do trabalhismo* (São Paulo, 1988), though focused primarily on a later period, includes an important interpretation of pre-1930 developments. On the reformist trade unions of that city, see Claudio Batalha, 'Le syndicalisme "amarelo" à Rio de Janeiro (1906–1930)', (thèse de doctorat de l'Université de Paris I, 1986) and 'Uma outra consciência de classe? O sindicalismo reformista na Primeira República', *Ciências Sociais Hoje* (1990). Maria Cecília Velasco e Cruz, 'Portos, relações de produção e sindicato: O caso do Rio de Janeiro na Primeira República', *Ciências Sociais Hoje* (1986) puts the port workers in comparative perspective. For early developments in Rio, see Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo and Eduardo Stotz, 'Formação do operariado e movimento operário no Rio de Janeiro, 1870–1894', *Estudos Econômicos,* 15 (1985). On the role of Portuguese immigrants, there is Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, *Mata galegos: Os portuguêses e os conflitos de trabalho na República Velha* (São Paulo, 1990). Teresa Meade examines the political consciousness of popular protest in ' "Living worse and costing more": Resistance and riot in Rio de Janeiro, 1890–1917', *JLAS,* 21/2 (1989), 241–66.

The labour movement and working class in the state of Minas Gerais can be studied through Sílvia Maria Belfort Vilela de Andrade, *Classe operária em Juiz de Fora: Uma história de lutas (1912–1924)* (Juiz de Fora, 1987), Eliana Dutra, *Caminhos operários nas Minas Gerais: Um estudo das práticas operárias em Juiz de Fora e Belo Horizonte na Primeira República* (São Paulo, 1988), and Yonne de Souza Grossi, *Mina de Morro Velho: A extração do homem* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981). On the labour movement in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, see Sílvia Petersen, 'As greves no Rio Grande do Sul (1890–1919)', in José H. Dacanal and Sergius Gonzaga (eds.), *RS: Economia e política* (Porto Alegre, 1979).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

MEXICO

The series of monographs under the general editorship of Pablo González Casanova, *La clase obrera en la historia de México,* 17 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1979–88), provides a comprehensive survey of the history of the Mexican working class and labour movement. Several of the individual volumes are noted below. Other valuable surveys include Jorge Basurto, *El proletariado industrial en México (1850–1930)* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), and Luiz Araiza, *Historia del movimiento obrero mexicano,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964–5). There is an interesting collection of photographs in *Obreros somos . . . expresiones de la cultura obrera* (Coyoacán, 1984).

The Centro de Estudios Históricos del Movimiento Obrero Mexicano (CEHSMO) published a bibliography, *El movimiento obrero mexicano: Bibliografía* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) as well as the journal *Historia Obrera.* Other bibliographical aids are Leticia Reina, *Bibliografía comentada de movimientos sociales en México durante el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), which provides coverage up to 1910, and Guillermina Bringas and David Mascareño, *La prensa de los obreros mexicanos, 1870–1970: Hemerografía comentada* (Mexico, D.F., 1979).

There is an excellent account of the labour movement during the 1860s and 1870s in Juan Felipe Leal and José Woldenberg, *Del estado liberal a los inicios de la dictadura porfirista* (*La clase obrera en la historia de México,* vol. 2) (Mexico, D.F., 1980). On mutual aid societies in the same period, see Reynaldo Sordo Cedeño, 'Las sociedades de socorros mutuos, 1867–1880', *HM,* 33/1 (1983). There is also an informative collection of studies in Leticia Reina (ed.), *Las luchas populares en México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1983).

The anarchist movement is treated in John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860–1931* (Austin, Tex., 1978). Ciro Cardoso, Francisco González Hermosillo and Salvador Hernández, *De la dictadura porfirista a los tiempos libertarios* (*La clase obrera en la historia de México,* vol. 3) (Mexico, D.F., 1980) provides elements for an understanding of the Porfiriato and includes a valuable study of the PLM. David Walker, 'Porfirian labor politics: Working class organizations in Mexico City and Porfirio Díaz, 1876–1902', *TA,* 37/3 (1981) emphasizes the co-optive rather than the coercive aspects of the Díaz regime. The outstanding study of the working class and labour movement at the end of the Díaz period is Rodney D. Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land: Mexican Industrial Workers, 1906–1911* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976). Anderson is rather sceptical about

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the influence of the PLM among Mexican workers. For another view, see James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1913* (Austin, Tex., 1968), and Salvador Hernández Padilla, *El magonismo: Historia de una pasión libertaria, 1900–1922* (Mexico, D.F., 1984; 2nd ed., 1988). Armando Bartra has republished a selection of articles from the PLM's newspaper in *Regeneración, 1900–1918: La corriente más radical de la revolución mexicana de 1910 a través de su periódico de combate* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Some of Ricardo Flores Magón's writings are available in English in David Poole (ed.), *Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution, Ricardo Flores Magón* (Orkney, 1977). Among the several collections in Spanish, see particularly Ricardo Flores Magón, *Artículos políticos*, 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980–2).

An especially valuable survey of labour covering the revolutionary period and the 1920s is Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–1929*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976; 2nd ed. in 1 vol., 1981). Also very helpful are Ramón E. Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries: Mexico, 1911–1923* (Baltimore, 1976), and Pablo González Casanova, *En el primer gobierno constitucional (1917–1923)* (*La clase obrera en la historia de México*, vol. 6) (Mexico, D.F., 1980). Alan Knight, 'The working class and the Mexican Revolution, 1900–20', *JLAS*, 16/1 (1984), 51–79 is a very informative general survey of a vexed question. Knight emphasizes the relative weakness of workers and the pragmatism displayed by those employed in the most advanced sectors of the economy. Two short case studies are available on the Madero government and the textile workers: David G. LaFrance, 'Labour and the Mexican Revolution: President Francisco I. Madero and the Puebla textile workers', *BELC*, 34 (1983) analyses the ineffectiveness of that government's efforts to defuse conflict, while Carmen Ramos Escandón, 'La política obrera del estado mexicano de Díaz a Madero: El caso de los trabajadores textiles', *Mexican Studies*, 3/1 (1987) traces the failure of the Díaz regime's labour policies and sees those of the Madero government as foreshadowing later interventionist developments.

Marjorie Ruth Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934) remains an informative study on the 1920s. For anarcho-syndicalism in the period, see Guillermina Baena Paz, 'La Confederación General de Trabajadores', *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, 83 (1976), and the same author's 'La Confederación General de Trabajadores (1921–1931): Obreros rojos', in Alejandra Moreno Toscano (ed.), *75 años de sindicalismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). Baena Paz has also edited *La Confederación General de Trabajadores, 1921–1931: Antología* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). Fur-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ther information is available in José Rivera Castro, 'Le syndicalisme officiel et le syndicalisme révolutionnaire au Mexique dans les années 1920', *Le Mouvement Social,* 103 (1978).

The most thorough study of the early history of the Communist Party is Paco Ignacio Taibo, *Los Bolshevikis: Historia narrativa de los orígenes del comunismo en México, 1919–25* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). See also the same author's work, written with Rogelio Vizcaino, *Memoria roja: Luchas sindicales de los años 20* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). In English, there is the very informative article by Barry Carr, 'Marxism and anarchism in the formation of the Mexican Communist Party, 1910–19', *HAHR,* 63/2 (1983), 277–305. For other viewpoints, see Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, *Historia del comunismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), and Manuel Márquez Fuentes and Octavio Rodríguez Araujo, *El Partido Comunista Mexicano (en el período de la Internacional Comunista, 1919–1943)* (Mexico, D.F., 1973).

The Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM) has received critical attention in Favio Barbosa Cano, *La CROM: De Luis N. Morones a Antonio J. Hernández* (Puebla, 1980), Rocío Guadarrama, *Los sindicatos y la política en México: La CROM, 1918–1929* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), and José Rivera Castro, *En la presidencia de Plutarco Elías Calles (1924–1928) (La clase obrera en la historia de México,* vol. 8) (Mexico, D.F., 1983). See also Arnaldo Córdoba, *En una época de crisis (1928–34) (La clase obrera en la historia de México,* vol. 9) (Mexico, D.F., 1980) for an account of the decline of the CROM and the subsequent struggle to co-opt and control labour.

On the church and the labour movement, consult the articles of Manuel Ceballos Ramírez: 'La encíclica *Rerum Novarum* y los trabajadores católicos en la ciudad de México, 1891–1913', *HM,* 33/1 (1983), 'El sindicalismo católico en México, 1919–1931', *HM,* 35/4 (1986), and '*Rerum Novarum* en México: Cuarenta años entre la conciliación y la intransigencia, 1891–1931', *RMS,* 49/3 (1987).

A number of studies concentrate on specific localities or categories of workers during the period. Lorena M. Parlee, 'The impact of United States railroad unions on organized labor and government policy in Mexico, 1880–1911', *HAHR,* 64/3 (1984), 443–75 examines the complex politics of nationalism and class on the railways. There is information on the labour movement in mining before 1930 in Federico Besserer et al., *El sindicalismo minero en México, 1900–1952* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Miguel Rodriguez, *Los tranviarios y el anarquismo en México, 1920–1925* (Puebla, 1980) is an interesting case study of the decline of anarcho-syndicalism

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and the rise of the CROM. Local studies of Acapulco and Tampico illuminate larger issues in Paco Ignacio Taibo and Rogelio Vizcaino, *El socialismo en un solo puerto: Acapulco, 1919–1923* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), and Carlos González Salas, *Acercamiento a la historia del movimiento obrero en Tampico* (Ciudad Victoria, Mex., 1987).

CHILE

Works dealing with broad periods in the history of the Chilean labour movement include Hernán Ramírez Necochea, *Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile, siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile, 1956), Jorge I. Barría Serón, *Los movimientos sociales de Chile desde 1910 hasta 1926* (Santiago, Chile, 1960) and *Breve historia del sindicalismo chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1967), and Luis Vitale, *Génesis y evolución del movimiento obrero chileno hasta el Frente Popular* (Caracas, 1979). See also Crisóstomo Pizarro, *La huelga obrera en Chile, 1890–1970* (Santiago, Chile, 1986), which is broader than the title suggests.

Peter De Shazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (Madison, Wis., 1983) is an important study which provides considerable information on anarcho-syndicalism. See also his article, 'The Valparaíso maritime strike of 1903 and the development of a revolutionary labour movement in Chile', *JLAS,* 11/1 (1979), 145–68. For the background of labour struggles in the north, see Michael Monteón, *Chile in the Nitrate Era: The Evolution of Economic Dependence, 1880–1930* (Madison, Wis., 1982).

The complex figure of Recabarren is treated in Julio César Jobet, *Recabarren: Los orígenes del movimiento obrero y del socialismo chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1965). For his writings, see Julio César Jobet, Jorge I. Barría Serón and Luis Vitale (eds.), *Luis Emilio Recabarren: Obras escogidas* (Santiago, Chile, 1965), and Ximena Cruzat and Eduardo Deves (eds.), *Recabarren, escritos de prensa,* 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1985–7). Another selection worth consulting, which includes articles by Recabarren and others, is Eduardo Deves and Carlos Díaz, *El pensamiento socialista en Chile: Antologia, 1893–1933* (Santiago, Chile, 1987).

On working-class culture, see Pedro Bravo-Elizondo, *Cultura y teatro: obreros en Chile, 1900–1930 (Norte Grande)* (Madrid, 1986). Some information on the activities of the church is provided by Maximiliano Salinas, 'La iglesia y los orígenes del movimiento obrero en Chile (1880–1920)', *RMS,* 49/3 (1987).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

PERU

General accounts of the Peruvian labour movement include Denis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú, 1900–1956* (Lima, 1975), Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883–1919* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1982), and Ricardo Melgar Bao, *Burguesía y proletariado en el Perú, 1820–1930* (Lima, 1980). See also Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Las luchas obreras en el Perú, 1900–1919* (Lima, 1976). The first volume of Carlos Basombrio Iglesias, *El movimiento obrero: Historia gráfica,* 7 vols. (Lima, 1981) is devoted to photographs of the pre-1930 period. An important and innovative collection of studies on working-class life and culture is available in Steve Stein, *Lima obrera, 1900–1930,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986–7). On mining, see Dirk Kruijt and Menno Vellinga, *Estado, clase obrera y empresa transnacional: El caso de la minería peruana, 1900–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Los mineros de la Cerro de Pasco, 1900–1930* (Lima, 1974).

For information on anarchism, consult Piedad Pareja Pflucker, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en el Péru (1904–1929)* (Lima, 1978), and the selection of documents in Manuel Torres (ed.), *Breve antología del pensamiento anarquista en el Perú* (La Molina, Peru, 1979). The immense literature on Mariátegui is perhaps best approached through Aníbal Quijano, *Introducción a Mariátegui* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), and the substantial collection of studies by various authors available in José Aricó (ed.), *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1980). In English, see Jesús Chavarría, *Juan Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890–1930* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1979).

ECUADOR

On Ecuador, there is much information in Patricio Ycaza, *Historia del movimiento obrero ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1984), and Hernán Ibarra, *La formación del movimiento popular, 1925–1936* (Quito, 1984). Alexei Páez (ed.), *El anarquismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1986) includes a selection of documents. In English, Ronn F. Pineo, 'Reinterpreting labor militancy: The collapse of the cacao economy and the general strike of 1922 in Guayaquil, Ecuador', *HAHR,* 68/4 (1988), 707–736 regards this important strike as a case of 'spontaneous democratic insurgency'.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

URUGUAY, PARAGUAY AND BOLIVIA

For Uruguay, see Carlos Zubillaga and Jorge Balbis, *Historia del movimiento sindical uruguayo*, 3 vols. (Montevideo, 1985–8). These volumes cover sources and events up to 1905. See also Fernando López d'Alesandro, *Historia de la izquierda uruguaya: Anarquistas y socialistas, 1838–1910* (Montevideo, 1988). The most useful of the earlier studies are Francisco R. Pintos, *Historia del movimiento obrero del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1960), and Héctor Rodríguez, *Nuestros sindicatos (1865–1965)* (Montevideo, 1965).

On Paraguay, there is Francisco Gaona, *Introducción a la historia gremial y social del Paraguay* (Asunción and Buenos Aires, 1967).

The most helpful work on Bolivia is Guillermo Lora, *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement, 1848–1971*, trans. Christine Whitehead (Cambridge, Eng., 1977).

COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA

Colombian developments are treated in Miguel Urrutia, *The Development of the Colombian Labor Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1969). See also David Sowell, 'The 1893 *bogotazo:* artisans and public violence in late nineteenth-century Bogotá', *JLAS*, 21/2 (1989), 267–82.

For Venezuela, there is Julio Godio, *El movimiento obrero venezolano, 1850–1944* (Caracas, 1980). Morella Barreto, *Un siglo de prensa laboral venezolana: Hemerografía obrero-artesanal, 1846–1937* (Caracas, 1986) is a well-annotated list of the labour press, including 41 titles published before 1930.

CUBA AND PUERTO RICO

On Cuba, see Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History, 1860–1958* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985), which deals with a great deal more than cigar makers. Other books are Evelio Tellería Toca, *Los congresos obreros en Cuba* (Havana, 1973), and the work prepared by the Instituto de Historia del Movimiento Comunista y la Revolución Socialista de Cuba, *El movimiento obrero cubano: Documentos y artículos*, vol. 1 (1865–1925), vol. 2 (1925–35) (Havana, 1975–7).

On Puerto Rico, there is Angel Quintero Rivera, *Workers' Struggle in Puerto Rico: A Documentary History* (New York, 1976), and Yamila Azize, *Luchas de la mujer en Puerto Rico, 1898–1919* (San Juan, 1979).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

CENTRAL AMERICA

There is a growing literature on the early labour movements in Central America. On Guatemala, see two excellent articles by Arturo Teracena Arriola: 'Presencia anarquista en Guatemala entre 1920 y 1932', *Mesoamérica,* 15 (1988), and 'El primer Partido Comunista de Guatemala (1922–1932)', *Araucaria de Chile,* 27 (1984). For Costa Rica, see Vladimir de la Cruz, *Las luchas sociales en Costa Rica, 1870–1930* (San José, C.R., 1984). Mario Posas deals with Honduras in two works: *Luchas del movimiento obrero en Honduras* (San José, C.R., 1981), and 'El surgimiento de la clase obrera hondureña', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 9 (1983). Developments in El Salvador can be followed in Rafael Menjívar, *Formación y lucha del proletariado industrial salvadoreño* (San Salvador, 1979), and Arístides Augusto Larín, 'Historia del movimiento sindical de El Salvador', *La Universidad,* 4 (1971).

Panama is treated in Luis Navas, *El movimiento obrero en Panamá (1880–1914)* (San José, C.R., 1979), and Mario A. Gandásegui et al., *Las luchas obreras en Panama (1850–1978)* (Panama, 1980).

8. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The historiography of the church in Latin America in the period 1830–1930 is variable in coverage and quality and does not compare with the standard of historical writing in other aspects of Latin American history. One of the objects of the Comisión de Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina (CEHILA) is to remedy this situation, and the results of its work will be seen in the multi-volumed *Historia general de la iglesia en América Latina* under the general editorship of E. D. Dussel, individual volumes of which have already begun to appear. CEHILA has published a useful compendium on the sources and methods of church history, *Para una historia de la Iglesia en América Latina: I Encuentro latinoamericano de CEHILA en Quito (1973)* (Barcelona, 1975), which compensates to some extent for the lack of basic bibliographies. Meanwhile, history as well as other disciplines are well served by *JLAS,* 17/2 (1985), a number devoted largely to the church in Latin America.

General histories of the church in Latin America are few in number. Enrique D. Dussel, *Historia de la iglesia en América Latina: Colonizaje y liberación (1492–1973)*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1974; Eng. trans., Grand Rapids,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mich., 1981) provides a framework of the subject, and Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Göttingen, 1978; Sp. trans., Salamanca, 1985), is a substantial history. See also Enrique Dussel (ed.), *The Church in Latin America, 1492–1992* (New York, 1992).

Individual countries have their church histories, often traditional in character but indispensable as sources of information. The following are a selection. Cayetano Bruno, *Historia de la iglesia en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1966–71), vol. 7 onwards for post-1800; Juan Carlos Zuretti, *Historia eclesiástica argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1945); Guillermo Furlong, S.J., 'El catolicismo argentino entre 1860 y 1930', Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Historia Argentina Contemporánea 1862–1930,* II, *Primera Sección* (Buenos Aires, 1964), 251–92; João Fagundes Hauck and others, *História da igreja no Brasil* (*HGIAL,* 2-2, Petrópolis, 1980); Thales de Azevedo, *O catolicismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955); João Alfredo de Sousa Montenegro, *Evolução do catolicismo no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1972); Felipe López Menéndez, *Compendio de historia eclesiástica de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1965). Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la iglesia en el Perú,* 5 vols. (Burgos, 1962) ends in 1900; on the other hand, Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *La Iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde la independencia* (Lima, 1988; Eng. trans., 1992) provides a comprehensive history of the church in republican Peru, with a social dimension and a modern approach. See also Rodolfo Ramón de Roux, *Colombia y Venezuela* (*HGIAL,* 7, Salamanca, 1981); Mary Watters, *A History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810–1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933); Ricardo Blanco Segura, *Historia eclesiástica de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1967); José Gutiérrez Casillas, S.J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). There are a large number of social science studies of the modern church, only a few of which have a historical dimension. See, for example, Henry A. Landsberger (ed.), *The Church and Social Change in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1970), and Thomas C. Bruneau, *The Church in Brazil: The Politics of Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1982).

The post-colonial church can be reconstructed from various studies of particular themes. On economic aspects of the church, see A. Bauer, 'The church in the economy of Spanish America: *Censos* and *Depósitos* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *HAHR,* 63/4 (1983), 707–33. R. F. Schwaller, 'The episcopal succession in Spanish America 1800–1850', *TA,* 24/3 (1968), 207–71, provides data on the bishops, and Antonine Tibesar, 'The Peruvian church at the time of Independence in the light of Vatican II', *TA,* 26/2 (1970), 349–75, on the Peruvian clergy. On the Mexican episcopacy see Fernando Pérez Menem, *El episcopado y la indepen-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dencia de México (1810–1836) (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Michael P. Costeloe deals with two different sources of conflict in Mexico in *Church Wealth in Mexico: A Study of the 'Juzgado de Capellanías' in the Archbishopric of Mexico, 1800–1856* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), and *Church and State in Independent Mexico: A Study of the Patronage Debate, 1821–1857* (London, 1978).

There are hardly any monographs on the clergy and laity and their organizations. Various aspects of clerical thinking and activities can be studied in the following: C. J. Beirne, 'Latin American bishops of the First Vatican Council, 1869–1870', *TA*, 25/1 (1968), 265–80; Josep M. Barnadas, 'Martín Castro: Un clérigo boliviano combatiente combatido', *Estudios Bolivianos en homenaje a Gunnar Mendoza L.* (La Paz, 1978), 169–220; José Gutiérrez Casillas, S. J., *Jesuítas en México durante el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1972); Fredrick B. Pike, 'Heresy, real and alleged in Peru: An aspect of the conservative–liberal struggle, 1830–1875', *HAHR*, 47/1 (1967), 50–74; and the same author's 'Spanish origins of the social-political ideology of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Spanish America', *TA*, 29 (1972), 1–16. See also T. G. Powell, 'Priests and peasants in Central Mexico: Social conflict during "La Reforma" ', *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 296–313.

On religious thought and practice the bibliography is sparse, but what exists is good. Jeffrey L. Klaiber, S.J., *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977), questions the old stereotype of a conservative church and brings out the role of popular religious beliefs. Rodolfo Cardenal, S. J., *El poder eclesiástico en El Salvador* (San Salvador, 1980), covers among other things parish life, confraternities, pastoral visitations and church reform in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Luis González, *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico, D.F., 1972; Eng. trans., 1974), a classic of community history, with insight into the Catholic revival of the late nineteenth century in Mexico and into the Cristero rebellion. Two related studies of messianic movements throw light on the Brazilian church in general: Ralph Della Cava, 'Brazilian messianism and national institutions: A reappraisal of Canudos and Joaseiro', *HAHR*, 48/3 (1968), 402–20; and the same author's *Miracle at Joaseiro* (New York, 1970). On other aspects of the religion of the people in Brazil, see Eduardo Hoornaert, *Verdadeira e falsa religião no Nordeste* (Salvador, 1973), and Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilizations* (Baltimore, 1978).

Modern missionary work is less well known than that of the colonial period; Victor Daniel Bonilla, *Servants of God or Masters of Men? The Story*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of a Capuchin Mission in Amazonia (London, 1972), is essentially polemical. For examples of the available bibliography on Protestantism, see Robert Leonard McIntire, *Portrait of Half a Century: Fifty years of Presbyterianism in Brazil (1859–1910)* (Cuernavaca, 1969); Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith: Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile* (Nashville, Tenn., 1967); and Arnoldo Canclini, *Jorge A. Humble: Médico y misionero patagónico* (Buenos Aires, 1980). On positivism, see essay VIII:1. Sister M. Ancilla O'Neill, *Tristão de Athayde and the Catholic Social Movement in Brazil* (Washington, D.C., 1939) is an example of Catholic reaction against Positivism.

Church and state have been comprehensively studied, perhaps because relations between the two powers are of interest to historians working outside the purely ecclesiastical field. The standard general work is that by J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934, rev. ed. 1966); on regional aspects, see Fredrick B. Pike, 'Church and state in Peru and Chile since 1840: A study in contrasts', *AHR*, 73/1 (1967), 30–50; and Robert J. Knowlton, 'Expropriation of church property in nineteenth-century Mexico and Colombia: A comparison', *TA*, 25/1, 1 (1968), 387–401. Argentina can be studied for the period 1870–1930 in John J. Kennedy, *Catholicism, Nationalism, and Democracy in Argentina* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958), and the Catholic rearguard action in the 1880s in Néstor Tomás Auza, *Católicos y liberales en la generación del ochenta* (Buenos Aires, 1975). Studies of church–state relations in Brazil have concentrated on the last decades of the empire, though the following are of more general interest: Nilo Pereira, *Conflitos entre a igreja e o estado no Brasil* (Recife, 1970); Brasil Gerson, *O regalismo brasileiro* (Brasília, 1978); and Thales de Azevedo, *Igreja e estado em tensão e crise: a conquista espiritual e o padroado na Bahia* (São Paulo, 1978). On the 'religious question' of 1872–5 and its aftermath in Brazil, see Sister Mary Crescentia Thornton, *The Church and Freemasonry in Brazil, 1872–1875, a Study in Regalism* (Washington, D.C., 1948); Roque Spencer M. de Barros, 'A questão religiosa', in *História geral da civilização brasileira*, vol. 6 (São Paulo, 1971), 317–65; David Gueirós Vieira, *O Protestantismo, a maçonaria e a questão religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília, 1980); George C. A. Boehrer, 'The church and the overthrow of the Brazilian monarchy', *HAHR*, 48/3 (1968), 380–401. For a more general account of the church in Brazil during the empire, see George C. A. Boehrer, 'The church in the second reign 1840–1889' in Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (eds.), *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Colum-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bia, S.C., 1969), 113–40. See Oscar Figueiredo Lustosa, *Reformistas na igreja do Brasil-Império* (São Paulo, 1977), for church reform, and Irmã Maria Regina do Santo Rosário, *O Cardeal Leme (1882–1942)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962) for a documented study of the great post-disestablishment churchman. For Chile, Brian H. Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princteon, N.J., 1982), is a political science study, but it gives a good account of church–state relations in the constitution of 1925. Ecuador can be studied in Richard Pattee, *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo* (Quito, 1941), and J. I. Larrea, *La iglesia y el estado en Ecuador* (Seville, 1954). Church and state is a major theme of Colombian history: see, for example, Fernán E. González G., *Partidos políticos y poder eclesiástico* (Bogotá, 1977); Helen Delpar, *Red against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1981); Jane Meyer Loy, 'Primary education during the Colombian Federation: The school reform of 1870', *HAHR*, 51/2 (1971), 275–94. On the anti-clerical liberal caudillo in Guatemala, see Hubert J. Miller, *La iglesia y el estado en tiempo de Justo Rufino Barrios* (Guatemala City, 1976). The conflict of church and state in nineteenth-century Mexico has been exhaustively studied: Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856–1875* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971); Robert J. Knowlton, *Church Property and the Mexican Reform, 1856–1910* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976); Karl M. Schmitt, 'The Diaz conciliation policy on state and local levels, 1876–1911', *HAHR*, 40/4 (1960), 513–32; after Díaz the problem becomes that between the church and the Mexican Revolution.

Catholic social reformism was best exemplified in Mexico; at any rate this is the most fully documented case. Catholic thought is described and interpreted by Jorge Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político y social de los católicos mexicanos, 1867–1914* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution and the Catholic Church 1910–1929* (Bloomington, Ind., 1973) and David C. Bailey, *¡Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church–State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1974), in addition to dealing with their main themes also take account of the Catholic social movement. So, too, does Jean A. Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973–4), a richly detailed study of which there is a shorter English version, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). J. Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos: A Regional Analysis of Mexico's Cristero Rebellion* (Tucson, Ariz., 1982) is a more local study. James W. Wilkie and Edna Monzón de Wilkie, *México visto en el*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

siglo veinte: Entrevistas de historia oral (Mexico, D.F., 1969) contains (411–90) an interview with the veteran Catholic reformist Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra.

9. MEXICO: RESTORED REPUBLIC AND PORFIRIATO, 1867–1910

In 1958 Daniel Cosío Villegas, one of Mexico's greatest historians whose special field was the history of Mexico from 1867 to 1910, stated that, quite apart from the period of the Restored Republic (1867–76), nearly 2,000 books and pamphlets had been written on the Porfirian period (1876–1910) alone. Yet, with a number of significant exceptions, the most important works on this period of Mexican history have appeared since the 1950s. The secondary literature on the period 1867–1910, and especially on the Porfiriato, is assessed in Daniel Cosío Villegas, 'El Porfiriato: Su historiografía o arte histórico', in *Extremos de América* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), 113–82; John Womack, Jr., 'Mexican political historiography, 1959–1969', in *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., and Austin, Tex., 1971); Enrique Florescano, *El poder y la lucha por el poder en la historiografía mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and Thomas Benjamin and Marcial Ocasio-Meléndez, 'Organizing the memory of modern Mexico: Porfirian historiography in perspective, 1880s–1980s', *HAHR*, 64/2 (1984), 323–64. The most important, most comprehensive work on the whole period from 1867 to 1910 is the monumental *Historia moderna de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1958–72), a huge thirteen-volume collective work edited and partly written by Daniel Cosío Villegas. It was written in the 1950s and 1960s under Cosío's direction by a team of historians who collected every available piece of evidence in Mexican, North American and European archives, and examined all aspects of life in Mexico, embracing political, economic and social as well as intellectual history.

The most important general work to have been published on the Díaz period since the history of Cosío Villegas is François-Xavier Guerra, *Le Mexique: De l'ancien regime à la revolution*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985). On the basis of several thousand biographical notes, Guerra examines the structure, ideology, social composition and relationships of the higher and middle-level Porfirian elite. At the same time he posits a fundamental conflict between traditional society, as represented by village communities

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

or the church, on the one hand, and modernizing elites seeking to undermine that society in the name of liberal modernization on the other. He sees this as the main cause leading to the Mexican Revolution.

The Restored Republic has on the whole provoked far less discussion, controvery and literature than the Diáz era that followed it. Most of the controversy on the earlier period has focused on Juárez the man, on the policies of his regime, and on the nature and basis of liberalism. See, for example, Jesús Reyes Heroles, *El liberalismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1957). On the question of whether the Juárez regime was basically different from that of Porfirio Díaz, three very different viewpoints have been expressed: Francisco Bulnes, *El verdadero Juárez y la verdad sobre la intervención y el imperio* (Paris, 1904); Daniel Cosío Villegas (ed.), *Historia moderna,* vol. 1; and Laurens B. Perry, *Juárez and Díaz, Machine Politics in Mexico* (DeKalb, Ill., 1978). The presidency of Lerdo has produced no such controversies and there are no really sharp differences between the interpretations of Cosío Villegas and Frank A. Knapp, *The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823–1899* (Austin, Tex., 1951).

Four contemporary or near-contemporary works are representative of the wide spectrum of opinion on the Porfiriato: *México y su evolución social* (Mexico, D.F., 1901), a three-volume collection of essays edited by Justo Sierra, Porfirio Díaz's best-known intellectual supporter, which constitute a self-portrait and self-justification of the Díaz regime; *El verdadero Díaz y la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1920) by Francisco Bulnes, another of the Díaz regime's most influential intellectual supporters and its most critical and intelligent defender in the period during and after the Mexican Revolution; and John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico,* 2nd ed. (1910; reprint, Austin, Tex., 1969) and Carleton Beals, *Porfirio Díaz, Dictator of Mexico* (New York, 1932), two works by Americans which constitute the strongest indictments of the Díaz regime. José C. Valadés, *El porfirismo: Historia de un régimen,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1941–7) was the first general assessment of the Díaz regime to utilize a large array of hitherto unavailable internal documents of the regime.

One of the most important points of dispute, closely linked to the economic developments of Mexico from 1867 to 1910, is the discussion of the origins of Mexico's economic underdevelopment. Was it primarily the result of the laissez-faire economics of the Díaz regime? Or was Mexico's underdevelopment mainly due to the inheritance of the colonial period and to the ceaseless civil wars of the first 50 years after Mexico gained its independence? Was there a real alternative? What were the effects of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

foreign investment and penetration? Can Mexico's economy in that period be characterized as feudal, capitalist, dependent? What more general theories (imperialism, dependency, etc.) can be applied to the Mexican case? These are some of the issues that are dealt with in very different ways in Ciro Cardoso (ed.), *México en el siglo XIX: Historia económica y de la estructura social* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); John Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (DeKalb, Ill., 1981; 2nd Sp. ed., Mexico, D.F., 1984); Sergio de la Peña, *La formación del capitalismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); and Enrique Semo (ed.), *México bajo la dictadura porfiriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). The most recent and one of the most interesting and original works on the economic history of the Díaz period is Stephen Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989). It examines the process of industrialization in the Monterrey region, one of the major centers of industry in Mexico, and then attempts to draw more general conclusions as to the whole process of industrialization from his micro-economic data.

A second problem which has been the centre of controversy and discussion about the Díaz period could broadly be summarized as the agrarian question. This involves a very different set of problems. How important was the expropriation of the lands of free villages and what were the economic and social consequences of this development? What kind of labour conditions existed on Mexico's large haciendas? Was labour predominantly free or was peonage the dominant form of labour on the estates? Were the hacendados mainly feudal landlords thinking above all in terms of power or prestige or were they 'capitalists' seeking to maximize their profits and taking economically rational decisions? The terms of the discussion of the agrarian issue were set by two authors who wrote in the Porfirian period: Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico, D.F., 1909) and Wistano Luis Orozco, *Legislación y jurisprudencia sobre terrenos baldíos*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1895). From 1910 until today practically all writings on the agrarian issue have in one way or the other either confirmed, refuted or in some way dealt with the theories expounded by these two authors. Some of the very different points of view on the agrarian issue are expressed in Friedrich Katz, 'Labour conditions on haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some trends and tendencies', *HAHR*, 54/1 (1974), 1–47 and Katz (ed.), *La servidumbre agraria en México en la época porfiriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); and Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (Washington, D.C., 1929). The agrarian problem in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Morelos, cradle of the revolutionary movement of Emiliano Zapata, is the subject of two outstanding works: Arturo Warman, *Venimos a contradecir: Los campesinos de Morelos y el estado nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), Eng. trans. *We Come to Object: The Peasants of Morelos and the National State* (Baltimore, 1981), and John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1969). Two works that seek to examine Mexico's agrarian structure from broad and comparative perspectives are John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) and Friedrich Katz (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

A more recent subject of discussion has been the nature and the real power and effectiveness of the Mexican state, which has been examined from differing viewpoints in John H. Coatsworth, 'Los orígenes del autoritarismo moderno en México', *Foro Internacional,* 16 (1975), 205–32, and Juan Felipe Leal, *La burguesía y el estado mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1972). Banditry and the role of the police, above all the rural police, have been assessed by Paul Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police and Mexican Development* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981). The discussion about the nature of the state is closely linked to research about the ideology, above all positivism and social Darwinism, of Mexico's leaders during the Restored Republic and the Porfirian era; for example, Arnaldo Córdova, *La ideología de la Revolución Mexicana: La formación del nuevo régimen* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); William D. Raat, *El positivismo durante el Porfiriato: 1876–1910* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); and Leopoldo Zea, *Positivism in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1974). The most recent work on this subject, which gives the most comprehensive and convincing view of the ideology of Mexico's ruling *científico* elite, is Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late 19th Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

An important corollary to the analysis of the power of the central state is an examination of the importance and influence of regional and local institutions. This is perhaps the field where, both in terms of quality and quantity, some of the most remarkable historical work on the Díaz period has been done. This problem has been examined in recent years not only by historians but also by anthropologists. Two extraordinary works deal with local history in this period, Luis González y González, *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico, D.F., 1972; Eng. trans. *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition,* Austin, Tex., 1974); and Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970). Some of the most important works on regional history are Thomas

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Benjamin, *A Rich Land of Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989); Héctor Aguilar Camín, *La frontera nómada: Sonora y la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); Antonio García de León, *Resistencia y utopia: Memorial de agravios y crónicas de revueltas y profecías acaecidas en la provincia de Chiapas durante los últimos quinientos años de su historia,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1985); G. M. Joseph, *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico and the United States, 1880–1924* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); Jane-Dale Lloyd, *El proceso de modernización capitalista del noroeste de Chihuahua, 1880–1910* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988); Mark Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, 1854–1911* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984); Allen Wells, *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860–1915* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985). Also important for regional history is a remarkable series of books edited by Eugenia Meyer of the Instituto Maria Luis Mora on the history of most Mexican states, illustrated by edited documents.

These local studies are inextricably linked to attempts to analyse the different social classes that developed during the Porfirian period at the local, regional and national level. Apart from the peasantry, increasing attention has focused on the working class: see Rodney Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land: Mexican Industrial Workers, 1906–1911* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976); Ciro F. S. Cardoso, Francisco G. Hermosillo and Salvador Hernández, *La clase obrera en la historia de México, de la dictadura porfirista a los tiempos libertarios* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860–1931* (Austin, Tex., 1978); Juan Felipe Leal and José Woldenberg, *La clase obrera en la historia de México: Del estado liberal a los inicios de la dictadura porfirista* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and David Walker, 'Porfirian labor politics: Working class organizations in Mexico City and Porfirio Díaz, 1876–1902', *TA,* 37 (1981), 257–87. On intellectuals, see Jesús Silva Herzog, *El agrarismo mexicano y la reforma agraria* (Mexico, D.F., 1964) and James Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1913* (Austin, Tex., 1968). The most comprehensive work on Porfirian education and educational policy is Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb, Ill., 1982).

One field that has been the subject of long and varied discussion has been that of the relations of Mexico with other countries during the Porfirian era. For a long time, the only major archives available for this

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

period were the U.S. State Department files, and both Mexican and U.S. historians concentrated on Mexico's relations with the United States to the exclusion of other countries. This situation changed in the 1950s when Daniel Cosío Villegas was able to consult not only U.S. but hitherto inaccessible Mexican records as well. As a result, he wrote a detailed analysis of Mexican–U.S. relations between 1867 and 1910: *The United States versus Porfirio Díaz* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1963). U.S.–Mexican relations, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, are examined by John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, 1987). On the relations between Mexico and the major European powers in the Díaz period, see Alfred Tischendorf, *Great Britain and Mexico in the Era of Porfirio Díaz* (Durham, N.C., 1961); and Friedrich Katz, *Deutschland, Diaz und die mexikanische Revolution: Die deutsche Politik in Mexiko, 1870–1920* (Berlin, 1964).

10. THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910–1920

PRINTED SOURCES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The most inclusive and best organized guide to the literature on the Mexican Revolution is W. D. Raat, *The Mexican Revolution: An Annotated Guide to Recent Scholarship* (Boston, 1982). Indispensable guides to official documents, pamphlets, newspapers, manifestos, and published correspondence are L. González y González (ed.), *Fuentes de la historia contemporánea de México: Libros y folletos,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1962–3) and S. R. Ross (ed.), *Fuentes de la historia contemporánea de México: Periódicos y revistas,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1965–76). The most important body of printed materials is I. Fabela and J. E. de Fabela (eds.), *Documentos históricos de la revolución mexicana,* 27 vols. and index (Mexico, D.F., 1960–76). Useful reprints from the Mexican press appear in M. González Ramírez (ed.), *Fuentes para la historia de la revolución mexicana,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1954–7).

Bibliographies and historiographic articles with analysis of the main currents in the literature on the Revolution include: D. M. Bailey, 'Revisionism and the recent historiography of the Mexican Revolution', *HAHR,* 58/1 (1978), 62–79; G. Bringas and D. Mascareño, *La prensa de los obreros mexicanos, 1870–1970: Hemerografía comentada* (Mexico, D.F.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1979); C. W. Reynolds, 'The economic historiography of twentieth-century Mexico', in *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre la historia de México: Memorias de la tercera reunión de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos* (Mexico, D.F., and Austin, Tex., 1971), 339–57; J. D. Rutherford, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Novels of the Mexican Revolution* (Troy, N.Y., 1972); E. Suárez Gaona (ed.), *El movimiento obrero mexicano: Bibliografía* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); H. W. Tobler, 'Zur Historiographie der mexikanischen Revolution, 1910–1940', *JGSWGL*, 12 (1975), 286–331; and J. Womack, Jr., 'Mexican political historiography, 1959–1969', in *Investigaciones contemporáneas*, 478–92, 'The historiography of Mexican labor', in *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México: Ponencias y comentarios presentados en la V reunión de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos* (Mexico, D.F., and Tucson, Ariz., 1979), 739–56, and 'The Mexican economy during the Revolution, 1910–1920: historiography and analysis', *Marxist Perspectives*, 1/4 (1978), 80–123.

Notable new guides to old and new scholarship are D. G. López Rosado, *Bibliografía de la historia económica y social de México* 12 vols., plus index (Mexico, D.F., 1979–82) and *Bibliografía económica de la Revolución Mexicana, 1910–1930* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); E. Florescano, *Bibliografía general del desarrollo económico de México, 1500–1976*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980); M. de la L. Parcero, *Introducción bibliográfica a la historiografía política de México, siglos XIX y XX* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); W. D. Raat, 'La revolución global de México: Tendencias recientes de los estudios sobre la revolución mexicana en Japón, el Reino Unido y Europa continental', *HM*, 32/3 (1983), 422–48; R. L. Delorme, *Latin America, 1979–1983: A Social Science Bibliography* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1984); E. Aguilar Cerrillo and P. Salcido Cañedo, 'Desde la microhistoria, referencias bibliográficas en torno a la Revolución Mexicana', *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, 122 (1985), 167–77; H. V. Nelles, 'Latin American business history since 1965: A view from north of the border', *BHR*, 59/4 (1985), 543–62; W. A. Cornelius and J. A. Bustamante (eds.), *International Guide to Research on Mexico* (San Diego, Calif., 1986); T. Benjamin, 'Regionalizing the Revolution: The many Mexicos in revolutionary historiography', in T. Benjamin and M. Wasserman (eds.), *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1910–1929* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), 319–57; and 'Appendix: Provincial historiographies and bibliographies', in *Provinces of the revolution*, 359–62.

Guides to primary sources include *Boletín de Investigación del Movimiento Obrero* (Puebla), 1 (1981); V. B. Reber, 'Archival sources for Latin Ameri-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

can business history', *BHR*, 59/4 (1985), 670–79; H. C. Hernández Silva, 'El archivo histórico militar de México', *HM*, 38/1 (1988), 127–42; and *Boletín de fuentes para la historia económica de México* (México), 1 (1990).

The main newer collections of printed materials are G. Bonfil Batalla (ed.), *Mi pueblo durante la revolución*, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1985); Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, *Estadísticas históricas de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1985); Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto, *Antología de la planeación en México (1917–1985)*, 17 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1985), vol. I, *Primeros intentos de planeación en México (1917–1946)*; and D. E. Lorey (ed.), *United States–Mexico Border Statistics since 1900* (Los Angeles, 1990).

GENERAL AND INTERPRETIVE

The fullest and still the best chronicle of the Mexican Revolution is J. C. Valadés, *Historia general de la revolución mexicana*, 10 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1963–7), vols. 1–7.

Notable as old standards which are more or less in defence of the Revolution as a great popular victory are M. S. Alperovich, B. T. Rudenko and N. M. Lavrov, *La revolución mexicana: Cuatro estudios soviéticos* (Mexico, D.F., 1960); A. Brenner, *The Wind That Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1971); M. González Ramírez, *La revolución social de México*, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1960–6); J. Silva Herzog, *Breve historia de la revolución mexicana*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1960); F. Tannenbaum, *Peace by Revolution: An Interpretation of Mexico* (New York, 1933); E. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969).

Notable as old standards more or less hostile to the Revolution are F. Bulnes, *El verdadero Díaz y la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1920); E. Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928); W. Thompson, *The People of Mexico: Who They Are and How They Live* (New York, 1921); E. D. Trowbridge, *Mexico To-day and To-morrow* (New York, 1919); J. Vera Estañol, *Historia de la revolución mexicana: Orígenes y resultados* (Mexico, D.F., 1957).

Among newer works, the most suggestive essays are Peter Calvert, 'The Mexican Revolution: Theory or fact?' *JLAS*, 1/1 (1969), 51–68; Barry Carr, 'Las peculiaridades del norte mexicano, 1880–1927: Ensayo de interpretación', *HM*, 22/3 (1973), 320–46; François-X. Guerra, 'La révolution mexicaine: D'abord une révolution minière?' *AESC*, 36/5 (1981), 785–814; Jean A. Meyer, 'Periodización e ideología', in James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (eds.), *Contemporary Mex-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ico: Papers of the IV International Congress of Mexican History (Los Angeles and Mexico, D.F., 1976), 711–22; Albert L. Michaels and Marvin D. Bernstein, 'The modernization of the old order: Organization and periodization of twentieth-century Mexican history', in *Contemporary Mexico,* 687–710; and Enrique Semo, 'Las revoluciones en la historia de México', *Historia y Sociedad,* 2nd ser., 8 (1975), 49–61.

The main revisionist works are J. D. Cockcroft, *Mexico: Class Formation, Capital Accumulation, and the State* (New York, 1983); A. Córdova, *La ideología de la revolución mexicana: La formación del nuevo régimen* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); A. Gilly, *The Mexican Revolution* (London, 1983); N. M. Lavrov, *La revolución mexicana, 1910–1917* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Jean Meyer, *La révolution mexicaine* (Paris, 1973); R. E. Ruiz, *The Great Rebellion: Mexico, 1905–1924* (New York, 1980).

New interpretive essays are numerous on questions of class, nationalism, provinciality, continuations and change. The most considerable are J. W. Wilkie and P. D. Wilkins, 'Quantifying the class structure of Mexico', *SALA,* 21 (1981), 577–90; A. Knight, 'La révolution mexicaine: Révolution minière ou révolution serrano?', *AESC,* 38/2 (1983), 449–59, 'The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? Or just a "Great Rebellion"?', *BLAR,* 4/2 (1985), 1–37, and 'Revolutionary project, recalcitrant people: Mexico, 1910–1940', in J. E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *The Revolutionary Process in Mexico: Essays on Political and Social Change* (Los Angeles, 1990), 227–64; F.-X. Guerra, 'Réponse de Francois-Xavier Guerra', *AESC,* 38/2 (1983), 460–9 and 'Teoría y método en el análisis de la Revolución Mexicana', *RMS,* 51/2 (1989), 3–24; W. H. Beezley, 'In search of everyday Mexicans in the Revolution', *RIB,* 33/3 (1983), 366–82; J. M. Hart, 'The dynamics of the Mexican Revolution: Historiographical perspectives', *LARR,* 19/3 (1984), 223–31; L. González y González, 'La Revolución Mexicana desde el punto de vista de los revolucionados', *Historias,* 8–9 (1985), 5–14; J. Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); P. J. Vanderwood, 'Building blocks but yet no building', *Mexican Studies,* 3/2 (1987), 421–32 and 'Explaining the Mexican Revolution', in *The Revolutionary Process,* 97–114; J. H. Coatsworth, 'La historiografía económica de México', *Revista de Historia Económica* (Madrid), 6/2 (1988), 277–91; F. Katz, 'Rural rebellions after 1810', in F. Katz (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 521–60; H. W. Tobler, 'Die mexikanische Revolution in vergleichender Perspektive: Einige Faktoren revolutionären Wandels in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mexiko, Russland und China im 20: Jahrhundert', *I-AA*, 14/4 (1988), 453–71; M. Wasserman, 'Provinces of the Revolution', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 1–14; and S. F. Voss, 'Nationalizing the Revolution: Culmination and circumstance', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 273–317.

To stand with the older chronicles and syntheses, standard and revisionist, although not to replace any of them, there are four major more recent general works. Most solidly based on archival research and analytically the most balanced and interesting is H. W. Tobler, *Die mexikanische Revolution: Gesellschaftlicher Wandel und politischer Umbruch, 1876–1940* (Frankfurt, 1984). Most original in theory and richest in biography is F.-X. Guerra, *Le Mexique, de l'ancien régime à la révolution*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985). Most comprehensive, traditional, and interrogatory is A. Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). Most intriguing in detail is J. M. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, 1987).

FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICS AND WAR

The literature about these subjects is most abundant. One outstanding book treats all three together: Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago, 1981). The other notable studies in this category focus on specific or particular questions of state. The most significant such question is foreign relations. The literature on it is almost exclusively about Mexico's relations with the United States. Indispensable as a background is the work of Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton, N.J., 1956), *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914–1915* (Princeton, N.J., 1960), *Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915–1916* (Princeton, N.J., 1960), and *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1965).

The two most comprehensive treatments, from very different perspectives, are M. S. Alperovich and B. T. Rudenko, *La revolución mexicana de 1910–1917 y la política de los Estados Unidos* (Mexico, D.F., 1960) and P. E. Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910–1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970). The view is at least as broad, but the chronological focus is closer, in P. Calvert, *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1914: The Diplomacy of the Anglo–American Conflict* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968); M. T. Gilderhus, *Diplomacy and Revolution: U.S.–Mexican Relations under Wilson and Carranza* (Tucson, Ariz., 1977); K. J. Grieb, *The United States and Huerta* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1969); R. F. Smith,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916–1932 (Chicago, 1972); and B. Ulloa, *La revolución intervenida: Relaciones diplomáticas entre México y Estados Unidos, 1910–1914* (Mexico, D.F., 1971).

The particular questions that caused the worst problems in Mexican–U.S. relations were oil and Francisco Villa. On oil, see Lorenzo Meyer, *México y los Estados Unidos en el conflicto petrolero (1917–1942)* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Eng. trans., *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–1942* (Austin, Tex., 1977); Dennis J. O'Brien, 'Petróleo e intervención: Relaciones entre Estados Unidos y México, 1917–1918', *HM*, 27/1 (1977), 103–40; and Emily S. Rosenberg, 'Economic pressure in Anglo–American diplomacy in Mexico, 1917–1918', *JIAS*, 17/2 (1975), 123–52. On Villa, see Clarence C. Clendenen, *The United States and Pancho Villa: A Study in Unconventional Diplomacy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); and Alberto Salinas Carranza, *La expedición punitiva*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1957). Less important but still considerable among Mexico's foreign problems during the Revolution are the topics studied by Larry D. Hill, *Emissaries to a Revolution: Woodrow Wilson's Executive Agents in Mexico* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973); and W. Dirk Raat, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903–1923* (College Station, Tex., 1981).

On politics, which in this literature means the struggle to dominate and manage the federal government, the books and articles are most numerous. Particularly interesting are contemporary reports: H. Baerlein, *Mexico: The Land of Unrest*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1914); E. I. Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico* (New York, 1914); J. L. De Becker, *De cómo vino Huerta, y cómo se fue: Apuntes para la historia de un régimen militar* (Mexico, D.F., 1914); R. Prida, *De la dictadura a la anarquía*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1958). Biased but nevertheless revealing are certain memoirs: A. Breceda, *México revolucionario, 1913–1917*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1920, and Mexico, D.F., 1914); F. González Garza, *La revolución mexicana: Mi contribución político-literaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1936); F. F. Palavicini, *Los diputados*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1976), *Historia de la constitución de 1917*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1938), and *Mi vida revolucionaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1937); A. J. Pani, *Apuntes autobiográficos*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1950), and *Mi contribución al nuevo régimen, 1910–1933* (Mexico, D.F., 1936).

The first professional histories of the initial and middle phases of revolutionary politics remain the best surveys, despite their mistakes, errors, and omissions: C. C. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution: Genesis under Madero* (Austin, Tex., 1952), and *Mexican Revolution: The Constitutionalist Years*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Austin, Tex., 1972). The latest surveys of the political history of the period are B. Ulloa, *Historia de la revolución mexicana, período 1914–1917*, vol. 4, *La revolución escondida* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), vol. 5, *La encrucijada de 1915* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), and vol. 6, *La constitución de 1917* (Mexico, D.F., 1983).

Political monographs typically have a biographical focus. The standard work on the Maderista government remains Stanley R. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero, Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York, 1955). On Madero's main military lieutenant and nemesis, see Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel, Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1915* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1967). The most intriguing book about Madero's conservative opposition remains Luis Liceaga, *Félix Díaz* (Mexico, D.F., 1958). And the standard work on the general who overthrew Madero and provoked the Constitutionalist movement is Michael C. Meyer, *Huerta, A Political Portrait* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1972). Manifestly partisan and faulty but still the most informative treatments of the Villista movement are Federico Cervantes, *Francisco Villa y la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1960), and *Felipe Ángeles en la revolución*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1964). On Carranza and *carrancismo*, see Álvaro Matute, *Historia de la revolución mexicana, período 1917–1924*, vol. 8, *La carrera del caudillo* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and Douglas W. Richmond, *Venustiano Carranza's Nationalist Struggle, 1893–1920* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984). Pablo González, Jr. compiled a useful hagiography of his father, *El centinela fiel del constitucionalismo* (Monterrey, 1971). On Carranza's other, more fortunate lieutenant, see Linda Hall, *Álvaro Obregón, Power and Revolution in Mexico, 1911–1920* (College Station, Tex., 1981).

The first monograph on a collective political exercise is Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution, 1914–1915: The Convention of Aguascalientes* (Bloomington, Ind., 1960). It is still commendable. But preferable on the same topic is Luis F. Amaya C., *La soberana convención revolucionaria, 1914–1916* (Mexico, D.F., 1966). The most accurate account of the *congreso* that delivered the new constitution is E. Victor Niemeyer, Jr., *Revolution at Querétaro: The Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916–1917* (Austin, Tex., 1974). For an instructive comparison of the two conclaves, see Richard Roman, *Ideología y clase en la revolución mexicana: La convención y el congreso constituyente* (Mexico, D.F., 1976).

On the army in politics, the most substantial and interesting study is Alicia Hernández Chávez, 'Militares y negocios en la revolución mexicana', *HM*, 34/2 (1984). Another considerable analysis of the military is Jean A. Meyer, 'Grandes campañas, ejércitos populares y ejército estatal en

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

la revolución mexicana (1910–1930)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 31 (1974), 1005–30.

On the church, the best guide to the early years is Jean A. Meyer, 'Le catholicisme social au Mexique jusqu'en 1913', *Revue Historique*, 260 (1978), 143–59. For the middle and later years, see, despite its principled bias, Antonio Rius Facius, *La juventud católica y la revolución mejicana, 1910–1925* (Mexico, D.F., 1963).

The only serious treatment of political ideas is James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1913* (Austin, Tex., 1968). The only substantial study of an institution is Marte R. Gómez, *Historia de la Comisión Nacional Agraria* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). And the only account of governments' budgetary policies and practices is in James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution, Federal Expenditures and Social Change since 1910* (Berkeley, 1967).

Politics in the provinces has provided the material for many contemporary reports and professional histories. Outstanding is H. Aguilar Camín, *La frontera nómada: Sonora y la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Also useful on Sonora are Francisco Almada, *Historia de la revolución en el estado de Sonora* (Mexico, D.F., 1971), and Clodoveo Valenzuela and A. Chaverri Matamoros, *Sonora y Carranza* (Mexico, D.F., 1921). A lively and detailed narrative of the Magonista struggle on the California border during the Maderista insurrection is Lowell L. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution, Baja California, 1911* (Madison, Wis., 1962). The most useful treatments of Chihuahua are Francisco Almada, *Historia de la revolución en el estado de Chihuahua*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964–5), and William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor, Abraham González and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1973). The only commendable book on a northeastern state is Ildefonso Villarello Vélez, *Historia de la revolución mexicana en Coahuila* (Mexico, D.F., 1970).

Among the studies of politics in other regions of the country, the best are Romana Falcón, *Revolución y caciquismo: San Luis Potosí, 1910–1938* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Alicia Hernández Chávez, 'La defensa de los finqueros en Chiapas, 1914–1920', *HM*, 28/3 (1979), 335–69; Ian Jacobs, *Ranchero Revolt: The Mexican Revolution in Guerrero* (Austin, Tex., 1983); and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico and the United States, 1880–1924* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982). See also the essays in David A. Brading (ed.), *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980).

On war in Mexico between 1910 and 1920, the most important book is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

still J. Barragán, *Historia del ejército y de la revolución constitucionalista,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1946). Also valuable is Miguel A. Sánchez Lamego, *Historia militar de la revolución constitucionalista,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1956–7). On particular Constitutionalist and Carrancista campaigns, see the memoirs of Manuel W. González, *Con Carranza: Episodios de la revolución constitucionalista, 1913–1914* (Monterrey, 1933), and *Contra Villa: Relato de la campaña, 1914–1915* (Mexico, D.F., 1935); and Álvaro Obregón, *Ocho mil kilómetros en campaña,* 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1959). For details on Villista campaigns, see Alberto Calzadíaz Barrera, *Hechos reales de la revolución,* 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1967–8).

Notable additions to the literature on external interests in Mexico during the Revolution are E. S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1895–1945* (New York, 1982) and *World War I and the Growth of United States Predominance in Latin America* (New York, 1987); P. V. N. Henderson, 'Woodrow Wilson, Victoriano Huerta, and the recognition issue in Mexico', *TA,* 41/2 (1984), 151–72; L. Meyer, 'La Revolución Mexicana y las potencias anglosajones', *HM,* 34/2 (1984), 300–52; D. M. Coerver and L. B. Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution: A Study in State and National Border Policy, 1910–1920* (San Antonio, Tex., 1984) and *Revolution on the Border: The United States and Mexico, 1910–1920* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989); C. Illades, ed., *México y España durante la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); and B. Ulloa, ed., *Revolución Mexicana, 1910–1920,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1985).

On national political and military institutions, policies, problems, struggles, and issues, the new literature is less abundant. One addition, a survey of the last two years of the period, is A. Matute, *Historia de la revolución mexicana, período 1917–1924,* vol. 8, *La carrera del caudillo* (Mexico, D.F., 1980). (It now seems that vols. 1, 2, 3, and 7 of this series will never appear). Another survey, useful for its breadth and long perspective, is R. R. Flores Caballero, *Administración y política en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). The most significant monograph is M. González Navarro, *La pobreza en México* (México, D.F., 1985). On Porfirian resistance and counter-revolutionaries, commendable studies are P. V. N. Henderson, *Mexican Exiles in the Borderlands, 1910–1913* (El Paso, Tex., 1979) and *Felix Diaz, the Porfirians, and the Mexican Revolution* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981); Mario Ramírez Rancaño, 'Los hacendados y el huertismo', *RMS,* 48/1 (1986), 167–200; and A. Hernández Chávez, 'Origen y ocaso del ejército porfiriano', *HM,* 39/1 (1989), 257–96. On various national

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

revolutionary questions the most commendable studies are E. Zavala, 'Los impuestos y los problemas financieros de los primeros años de la revolución', *HM*, 31/3 (1982), 325–60; L. Meyer, 'La Revolución Mexicana y sus elecciones presidenciales: Una interpretación (1911–1940)', *HM*, 32/2 (1982), 143–97; D. W. Richmond, 'Mexican immigration and border strategy during the Revolution, 1910–1920', *New Mexico Historical Review*, 57/3 (1982), 269–88, 'Confrontation and reconciliation: Mexicans and Spaniards during the Revolution, 1910–1920', *TA*, 41/2 (1984), 215–28 and 'Nationalism and class conflict in Mexico, 1910–1920', *TA*, 43/3 (1987), 279–303; A. Hernández Chávez, 'Militares y negocios en la Revolución Mexicana,' *HM*, 34/2 (1984), 181–212; H. W. Tobler, 'La burguesía revolucionaria en México: Su origen y su papel 1915–1935', *HM*, 34/2 (1984), 213–37; J. W. Wilkie, 'Changes in Mexico since 1895: Central government revenue, public sector expenditure and national economic growth', *SALA*, 24 (1985), 861–80; J. MacGregor, 'La VI legislatura frente a Victoriano Huerta: ¿Un caso de parlamentarismo?', *Secuencia*, 4 (1986), 10–23; L. D. Taylor, 'The great adventure: Mercenaries in the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920', *TA*, 43/1 (1986), 25–45; B. Ulloa, *Veracruz, capital de la nación, 1914–15* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); H. Sánchez Martínez, 'La política bancaria de los primeros gobiernos constitucionalistas, antecedentes inmediatos para la fundación del Banco de México (1917–1925)', in L. Ludlow and C. Marichal (eds.), *Banca y poder en México (1800–1925)* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), 375–407; M. González Navarro, 'El maderismo y la revolución agraria', *HM*, 37/1 (1987), 5–27; E. Azuela Bernal, 'La cuestión local en el Congreso Constituyente de 1917', *Secuencia*, 19 (1987), 12–22; D. LaFrance, 'Many causes, movements, failures, 1910–1913: The regional nature of maderismo', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 17–40; and J. Tutino, 'Revolutionary confrontation, 1913–1917: Regional factions, class conflicts, and the new national state', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 41–70. See also two excellent autobiographies: G. N. Santos, *Memorias* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and L. L. León, *Crónica del poder: En los recuerdos de un político en el México revolucionario* (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

On the Catholic Church, the best guide is now J. Adame Goddard, *El pensamiento político y social de los católicos mexicanos, 1867–1914* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). Other notable additions are J. Gutiérrez Casillas, *Jesuitas en México durante el siglo XX* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); M. Ceballos Ramírez, 'La encíclica 'Rerum Novarum' y los trabajadores católicos en la Ciudad de México (1981–1913)', *HM*, 33/1 (1983), 3–38 and 'El sindicalismo

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

católico en Mexico, 1919–1931', *HM*, 35/4 (1986), 621–74. On Catholics' religious rivals, the first serious and commendable studies in print are J.-P. Bastian, *Protestantismo y sociedad en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), 'Los propagandistas del constitucionalismo en México (1910–1920)', *RMS*, 45/2 (1983), 321–51 and *Los disidentes: Sociedades protestantes y revolución en México, 1872–1911* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); and D. J. Baldwin, *Protestants in the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change* (Champaign, Ill., 1990).

On political intellectuals, the most notable new studies are M. K. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb, Ill., 1982); G. DeBeer, *Luis Cabrera, un intelectual de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); J. MacGregor, 'La universidad y la revolución, 1910–1914', in J. L. Peset (ed.), *La ciencia moderna y el nuevo mundo* (Madrid, 1985), 192–213; A. Knight, 'Los intelectuales en la Revolución mexicana', *RMS*, 51/2 (1989), 25–65; and J. Garciadiego Dantan, 'Movimientos estudiantiles durante la revolución mexicana', in *The Revolutionary Process*, 115–160.

PEASANT AND LABOUR MOVEMENTS

References in the literature to *campesinos* and *obreros* are innumerable. In fact virtually all of the revolutionary, counter-revolutionary, independent, and neutralist movements in Mexico from 1910 to 1920 were of 'country people' and 'workers'. But movements by country people for country people, or by workers for workers, that is peasant or labour movements, were the exception, not the rule.

The surest and most suggestive guide to the agrarian history of these years, since there is still no book on the subject, is F. Katz, 'Peasants in the Mexican Revolution of 1910', in J. Spielberg and S. Whiteford (eds.), *Forging Nations: A Comparative View of Rural Ferment and Revolt* (Lansing, Mich., 1976), 61–85.

Also considerable in Hans W. Tobler, 'Bauernerhebungen und Agrarreform in der mexikanischen Revolution', in Manfred Mols and Hans W. Tobler, *Mexiko, die institutionalisierte Revolution* (Cologne, 1976), 115–70. For indications of how little the distribution of agricultural and ranching property in 1910 changed until the 1920s, see Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (Washington, D.C., 1929), a classic.

The most interesting monographs on peasant movements have properly

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

had a provincial focus, On the north, see Friedrich Katz, 'Agrarian changes in northern Mexico in the Period of Villista rule, 1913–1915', in *Contemporary Mexico,* cited above, 259–73. On the midwest, Michoacán, see Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970). And on Mexico's mideast, see Raymond Th. J. Buve, 'Peasant movements, caudillos, and landreform [*sic*] during the revolution (1910–1917) in Tlaxcala, Mexico', *BELC,* 18 (1975), 112–52, and 'Movilización campesina y reforma agraria en los valles de Nativitas, Tlaxcala (1917–1923)', in *El trabajo y los trabajadores,* cited above, 533–64. The south, in particular Morelos, was the home of Mexico's most famous, exceptional, and significant peasant movement, that of the Zapatistas. Among several articles and books about their struggle, the best are François Chevalier, 'Un facteur décisif de la révolution agraire au Mexique: Le soulèvement de Zapata, 1911–1919', *AESC,* 16/1 (1961), 66–82; Gildardo Magaña, *Emiliano Zapata y el agrarismo en México,* 5 vols., 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1951–2); Jesús Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y razón de Zapata,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1970); and John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1968). For an important and illustrative comparison, see Ronald Waterbury, 'Non-revolutionary peasants: Oaxaca compared to Morelos in the Mexican Revolution', *CSSH,* 17/4 (1975), 410–42.

The first survey of labour movements during the revolutionary years is still useful: V. Lombardo Toledano, *La libertad sindical en México,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1974), as are two other old labour histories: M. R. Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934), and A. López Aparicio, *El movimiento obrero en México: Antecedentes, desarrollo y tendencias,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1952).

An important essay suggesting the lines of a major revision of this history is Marcela de Neymet, 'El movimiento obrero y la revolución mexicana', *Historia y Sociedad,* 1st ser., 9 (1967), 56–73. Two different revisionist labour histories are Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–1929,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976), and Ramón E. Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries, Mexico, 1911–1923* (Baltimore, 1976). A later notable survey is Sergio de la Peña, *La clase obrera en la historia de México,* vol. 4, *Trabajadores y sociedad en el siglo XX* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

The particular problems in labour history that have attracted most attention are ideologies and putative or real national federations. On ideologies,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

see Barry Carr, 'Marxism and anarchism in the formation of the Mexican Communist party, 1910–19', *HAHR*, 63/2 (1983), 277–305; François-X. Guerra, 'De l'Espagne au Mexique: Le milieu anarchiste et la révolution mexicaine (1910–1915)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 9 (1973), 653–87; and John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860–1931* (Austin, Tex., 1978). On the famous proto-federation of 1914–15 and its 'red battalions', see Barry Carr, 'The Casa del Obrero Mundial: Constitutionalism and the pact of February, 1915', *El trabajo y los trabajadores*, 603–32; John M. Hart, 'The urban working class and the Mexican Revolution: The case of the Casa del Obrero Mundial', *HAHR*, 58/1 (1978), 1–20; Alicia Hernández Chávez, 'Los Batallones Rojos y Obregón: Un pacto inestable', unpublished manuscript, 1979; and Jean A. Meyer, 'Les Ouvriers dans la révolution mexicaine: Les bataillons rouges', *AESC*, 25/1 (1970), 30–55. On this first serious federation, see Rocío Guadarrama, *Los sindicatos y la política en México: La CROM, 1918–1928* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), Pablo González Casanova, *La clase obrera en la historia de México*, vol. 6, *En el primer gobierno constitucional (1917–1920)* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and Harry A. Levenstein, *Labor Organizations in the United States and Mexico, a History of Their Relations* (Westport, Conn., 1971).

There are only two notable books on unions in a particular industry, which, as it happens, was the most strategic of all industries in the country. Neither is so much a study as a memoir: Servando A. Alzati, *Historia de la mexicanización de los Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1946); and Marcelo N. Rodea, *Historia del movimiento obrero ferrocarrilero, 1890–1943* (Mexico, D.F., 1944). And there are only two notable treatments of unions in a particular place: S. Lief Adleson, 'La adolescencia del poder: La lucha de los obreros de Tampico para definir los derechos del trabajo, 1910–1920', *Historias*, 2 (1982), 85–101; and Francisco Ramírez Plancarte, *La ciudad de México durante la revolución constitucionalista*, 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1941).

Broadly framed modern studies on *campesinos*, peasants, or 'country people' in the Revolution are mostly very repetitive. Only a few are commendable. The best are Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, and Katz, 'Rural rebellions after 1810', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*. Also considerable are S. R. W. Sanderson, *Land Reform in Mexico, 1910–1980* (Orlando, Fla., 1984); J. F. Leal, 'Campesinado, hacienda y estado en México, 1856–1914', in R. T. J. Buve, ed., *Haciendas in Central Mexico from Late Colonial Times to the Revolution: Labour Conditions, Hacienda Management,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and its Relation to the State (Amsterdam, 1984), 161–98; and Pedro González, 'Los primeros pactos y la construcción de la legalidad: 1913–1917', in O. Betanzos (ed.), *Historia de la cuestión agraria mexicana*, 9 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988), vol. 3, *Campesinos, terratenientes y revolucionarios, 1910–1920*, 136–206.

Another volume in Pablo González Casanova's *La clase obrera en la historia de México* has appeared: J. F. Leal and J. Villaseñor, *En la revolución, 1910–1917* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). New broadly framed interpretive studies on workers and the labour movement in the Revolution include A. Knight, 'The working class and the Mexican Revolution, *c.* 1900–1920', *JLAS*, 16/1 (1984), 51–79; M. Camareno and S. L. Adleson, 'Historia social de los obreros industriales mexicanos, 1918–1929', *Historias*, 8–9 (1985), 69–90; and J. M. Calderón, 'Historia social y fuerza de trabajo durante la Revolución', *Historias*, 8–9 (1985), 125–38. The other additions are specific or particular: P. Farrua, *Gli anarchici nella rivoluzione messicana: Praxedis G. Guerrero* (Ragusa, 1976); E. Tuñón Pablos, *Huerta y el movimiento obrero* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); articles by Ceballos Ramírez, *HM*, 33/1 (1983), and *HM*, 35/4 (1986); S. Hernández Padilla, *El magonismo: Historia de una pasión libertaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); the articles in V. Novelo (ed.), *Arqueología de la industria en México* (Mexico, D.F., n.d., *c.* 1985); Paco Ignacio Taibo, *Bolshevikis: Historia narrativa de los orígenes del comunismo en México (1919–1925)* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); N. Cárdenas García, 'Trabajadores y lucha por el poder político en el gobierno de Carranza: Los orígenes de la acción multiple (1917–1920)', *Secuencia*, 6 (1986), 11–32; and E. Rajchenberg, 'La respuesta social al trabajo: Indemnización a las actividades laborales en México, 1910–1920', *Secuencia*, 7 (1987), 24–47.

Interesting studies of other sorts of movements, e.g., urban riots, can be found in M. González Navarro, *Cinco crisis mexicanas* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Two commendable but quite different studies of women and their struggles through the Revolution are A. Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (London, 1982); and D. Keremetsis, 'Del metate al molino: La mujer mexicana de 1910 a 1940', *HM*, 33/2 (1983), 285–302.

BUSINESS, ECONOMY AND DEMOGRAPHY

For a comprehensive and annotated bibliography of most of the old and a large part of the new literature on these subjects, see J. Womack, Jr.'s

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

article in *Marxist Perspectives,* cited above. Though somewhat frustrating, D. G. López Rosado, *Historia y pensamiento económico de México,* 6 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1968–74) is indispensable.

The history of business in Mexico, in any period, is timid, meagre and obscure. It is possible, however, to draw reasonable inferences and to find significant details in studies done for other purposes. On industries important during the Revolution, see Fred W. Powell, *The Railroads of Mexico* (Boston, 1921); Marvin D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890–1950: A Study of the Interaction of Politics, Economics, and Technology* (Albany, N.Y., 1964); Manuel G. Machado, Jr., *The North Mexican Cattle Industry, 1910–1975: Ideology, Conflict, and Change* (College Station, Tex., 1980); Gonzalo Cámara Zavala, 'Historia de la industria henequenera hasta 1919', *Enciclopedia Yucatanense,* 8 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1947), 3, 657–725; and Enrique Aznar Mendoza, 'Historia de la industria henequenera desde 1919 hasta nuestros días', *Enciclopedia Yucatanense,* 3, 727–87. On banking, the most useful treatments are Antonio Manero, *La revolución bancaria en México, 1865–1955* (Mexico, D.F., 1957); Walter F. McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking in Mexico* (New York, 1920), and *The Public Finances of Mexico* (New York, 1921); and Edgar Turlington, *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors* (New York, 1930). On companies and entrepreneurs, see Benjamin T. Harrison, 'Chandler Anderson and business interests in Mexico, 1913–1920: When economic interests failed to alter U.S. foreign policy', *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* 33/3 (1979), 3–23; J. C. M. Oglesby, *Gringos from the Far North: Essays in the History of Canadian–Latin American Relations, 1866–1968* (Toronto, 1976); and Julio Riquelme Inda, *Cuatro décadas de vida, 1917–1957* (Mexico, D.F., 1957).

The most suggestive books about the structure and operation of the economy during the Revolution remain C. L. Jones, *Mexico and Its Reconstruction* (New York, 1921), and W. Thompson, *Trading with Mexico* (New York, 1921). Among notable studies in economic history are Donald B. Keesing, 'Structural change early in development: Mexico's changing industrial and occupational structure from 1895 to 1950', *Journal of Economic History,* 29/4 (1969), 716–38; and Edwin W. Kemmerer, *Inflation and Revolution: Mexico's Experience of 1912–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1940). See also Frédéric Mauro, 'Le développement économique de Monterrey, 1890–1960', *Caravelle: Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien,* 2 (1964), 35–126; and Isidro Vizcaya Canales, *Los orígenes de la industrialización de Monterrey: Una historia económica y social desde la caída del segundo imperio hasta el fin de la revolución, 1867–1920* (Monterrey, 1969).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The most important work on demography is Moisés González Navarro, *Población y sociedad en México (1900–1970)*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1974). See also Robert G. Greer, 'The demographic impact of the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1921', unpublished manuscript (1966).

New additions on demographic movements are L. B. Hall, 'El refugio: Migración mexicana a los Estados Unidos, 1910–1920', *Históricas*, 8 (1982), 23–38; and A. Fujigaki and A. González Galván, 'Epidemias conocidas en México durante el siglo xx', in E. Florescano and E. Malvido, eds., *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México*, 2 vol. (Mexico, D.F., 1982), vol. 2, 699–723.

In the new literature on the economy, before, during, and after the Revolution, the indispensable works are S. de la Peña, 'Acumulación originaria y la nación capitalista en México: Ensayo de interpretación', *TE*, 50/2 (1983), 713–32; F. Rosenzweig, 'La evolución económica de México, 1870–1940', *TE*, 56/1 (1989), 11–56; and S. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989). Also notable are J. Márquez, 'La banca en México: 1830–1983', *TE*, 50/4 (1983), 1873–1914; and E. Cárdenas and C. Manns, 'Inflación y estabilización monetaria en México durante la revolución', *TE*, 56/1 (1989), 57–79. Commendable on particular industries are D. M. Coerver and L. B. Hall, 'La frontera y las minas en la revolución mexicana (1910–1920)', *HM*, 32/3 (1983), 389–421 and 'Oil and the Mexican Revolution: The southwestern connection', *TA*, 41/2 (1984), 229–44; J. Brown, 'Domestic politics and foreign investment: British development of Mexican petroleum, 1889–1911', *BHR*, 61/3 (1987), 471–96; and A. L. Parra, 'Los orígenes de la industria eléctrica en México: Las compañías británicas de electricidad (1900–1929)', *Historias*, 19 (1988), 137–58.

On businesses and businessmen, the most notable additions are H. J. Nickel, 'Die Hacienda im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Forschungsbericht zum Fall Mexiko', in G. Siebenmann (ed.), *Die lateinamerikanische Hacienda: Ihre Rolle in der Geschichte von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Diessenhofen, 1979), 61–98; A. Alonso, *Los libaneses y la industria textil en Puebla* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); C. González Pacheco, *Capital extranjero en la selva de Chiapas, 1863–1982* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); the articles by A. Hernández Chávez and H. W. Tobler in *HM*, 34/2 (1984); L. Gamboa, *Los empresarios de ayer: El grupo dominante de la industria textil de Puebla, 1906–1929* (Puebla, 1985); M. Wasserman, 'Enrique C. Creel: Business and politics in Mexico, 1880–1930', *BHR*, 59/4 (1985), 645–662; N. Cárdenas García, 'La revolución mexicana y los inicios de la organización

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

empresarial (1917–1918)', *Secuencia,* 4 (1986), 10–23; M. del C. Collado, *La burguesía mexicana: El emporio Braniff y su participación política, 1865–1920* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Mario Ramírez Rancaño, *Burguesía textil y política en la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); H. Carton de Grammont, 'La presencia norteamericana en el agro sinaloense en la primera mitad del siglo xx', *Secuencia,* 7 (1987), 5–23; H. W. Konrad, 'Capitalismo y trabajo en los bosques de las tierras bajas tropicales mexicanas: El caso de la industria del chicle', *HM,* 36/3 (1987), 465–506; A. M. Saragoza, *The Monterrey Elite and the Mexican State, 1880–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1988); B. von Mentz, 'Empresas y empresarios alemanes en México, 1821–1945', *JGSWGL,* 25 (1988), 1–31.

THE PROVINCES

Contemporary scholarly literature on the provinces between 1910 and 1920 is abundant. Most of these studies are at once economic, social and political, whatever their particular subject. Many are good. Some are excellent.

On the Northeast, see S. L. Adleson, 'Identidad comunitaria y transformación social: Estibadores y petroleros en Tampico (1900–1925)', *Historias,* 7 (1984), 29–44; M. Cerutti (ed.), *Monterrey, Nuevo León, El Noreste: Siete estudios históricos* (Monterrey, 1987); D. E. Lorey, 'Monterrey, Mexico, during the Porfiriato and the Revolution: Population and migration trends in regional evolution', *SALA,* 28 (1990), 1183–1203; and H. F. Salamini, 'Tamaulipas: Land reform and the state', in *Provinces of the Revolution,* 185–217.

On the North the premier expert is Friedrich Katz. See his 'Villa: Reform governor of Chihuahua', in G. Wolfskill and D. W. Richmond (eds.), *Essays on the Mexican Revolution: Revisionist Views of the Leaders* (Austin, Tex., 1979), 25–45; 'Pancho Villa, peasant movements and agrarian reform in northern Mexico', in D. Brading, ed., *Peasant and Caudillo in the Mexican Revolution,* cited above, 59–75; and 'Pancho Villa y la Revolución mexicana', *RMS,* 51/2 (1989), 87–113. See also G. E. Paulsen, 'The legal battle for the Candelaria mine in Durango, Mexico, 1890–1917', *Arizona and the West,* 23/3 (1981), 243–66, and his 'Reaping the whirlwind in Chihuahua: The destruction of the Minas de Corralitos, 1911–1917', *New Mexico Historical Review,* 58/3 (1983), 253–70; C. H. Harris, III and L. R. Sadler, 'The 'underside' of the Mexican Revolution: El Paso, 1912', *TA,* 39/1 (1982), 69–83; O. Martínez (ed.), *Fragments of the Mexican Revolu-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tion: Personal Accounts from the Border (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); W. K. Meyers, 'La Comarca Lagunera: Work, protest, and popular mobilization in north central Mexico', in T. Benjamin and W. McNellie (eds.), *Other Mexicos: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1876–1911* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1984), 243–74, and his 'Second division of the North: Formation and fragmentation of the Laguna's Popular Movement, 1910–11', in Katz (ed.), *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution,* 448–86; M. Vargas Lobsinger, *La hacienda de 'La Concha,' una empresa algodonera de la Laguna, 1883–1917* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); J. A. Sandos, 'Northern separatism during the Mexican Revolution: An inquiry into the role of drug trafficking, 1919–1920', *TA,* 41/2 (1984), 191–214; J. L. Sariego, 'Anarquismo e historia social minera en el norte de México, 1906–1918', *Historias,* 8–9 (1985), 111–24; S. Terrazas, *El verdadero Pancho Villa: El Centauro del Norte, sus heróicas batallas y acciones revolucionarias* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); and M. E. Rocha Islas, *Las defensas sociales en Chihuahua* (Mexico, D.F., 1988).

On the Northwest, see S. E. Sanderson, *Agrarian Populism and the Mexican State: The Struggle for Land in Sonora* (Berkeley, 1981); C. Radding de Murrieta (ed.), *Historia general de Sonora,* 5 vols. (1979–85), vol. 4, *Sonora moderno: 1880–1929* (Hermosillo, 1985), 'Sonora y los sonorenses: El progreso social de la Revolución de 1910', *Secuencia,* 3 (1985), 17–28 and 'Las estructuras formativas del capitalismo en Sonora (1900–1930)', in M. Cerutti (ed.), *De los Borbones a la revolución: Ocho estudios regionales* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), 229–65; E. Hu-DeHart, 'The Chinese of Baja California, 1910–1934', *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies,* 12 (1985–6), 9–30; and 'Peasant rebellion in the Northwest: The Yaqui Indians of Sonora, 1740–1976', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution,* 141–76; and L. H. Hernández Sáenz, 'Smuggling for the Revolution: Illegal traffic of arms on the Arizona–Sonora border, 1912–1914', *Arizona and the West,* 28/4 (1986), 357–377.

On the West, see B. Rojas, *La destrucción de la hacienda en Aguascalientes, 1910–1931* (Zamora, 1981); A. L. Craig, *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Agrarian Reform Movement* (Berkeley, 1983); C. B. Gil, *Life in Provincial Mexico: National and Regional History Seen from Mascota, Jalisco, 1867–1972* (Los Angeles, 1983); J. Meyer, 'Historia del reparto agrario en Nayarit, 1915–1934', *Encuentro,* 3 (1986), 43–56; and M. Aldana Rendón, *Jalisco desde la revolución,* vol. 1, *Del reyismo al nuevo orden constitucional;* J. Tamayo, *Jalisco desde la revolución,* vol. 2, *La conformación del estado moderno y los conflictos políticos, 1917–1929;* L. P. Romero, *Jalisco*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

desde la revolución, vol. 3, *La consolidación del estado y los conflictos políticos;* and J. Tamayo, *Jalisco desde la revolución*, vol. 4, *Los movimientos sociales, 1917–1929* (Guadalajara, 1987–9).

On Michoacán, the march between the West, the Bajío, the Center, and the South, see H. Moreno García, *Guaracha: Tiempos viejos, tiempos nuevos* (Zamora, 1980); H. Moreno García (ed.), *Después de los latifundios: La desintegración de los grandes latifundios en México* (Zamora, 1982); A. Ochoa, 'Miguel de la Trinidad Regalado y la lucha por la tierra', *Relaciones*, 15 (1983), 109–19; and J. Uribe Salas, 'Minería y poder empresarial en Michoacán: La contrarevolución en Tlalpujahua', *Relaciones*, 32 (1987), 76–97.

On San Luis Postosí, see B. Rojas, *La pequeña guerra: Los Carrera Torres y los Cedillo* (Zamora, 1983); D. Ankerson, *Agrarian Warlord: Saturnino Cedillo and the Mexican Revolution in San Luis Potosí* (DeKalb, Ill., 1984); V. Lerner, 'Las zozobras de los hacendados de algunos municipios del oriente de San Luis Potosí (1910–1920)', *HM*, 36/2 (1986), 323–62, and 'La suerte de las haciendas: Decadencia y cambio de propietarios (1910–1920)', *HM*, 36/4 (1987), 661–98; R. Falcón, 'Charisma, tradition, and caciquismo: Revolution in San Luis Potosí', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*, 417–47, and 'San Luis Potosí: Confiscated estates–Revolutionary conquests or spoils?', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 133–62.

On Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, and Puebla, see M. Bellingeri, 'L'economia del latifondo in Messico: L'hacienda San Antonio Tochatlaco dal 1880 al 1920', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, 10 (1976), 287–428; H. J. Nickel, 'Zur Immobilität und Schuldknechtschaft mexikanischer Landarbeiter vor 1915', *Saeculum*, 27/3 (1976), 289–328, *Soziale Morphologie der mexikanischen Hacienda* (Wiesbaden, 1978; Sp. trans., 1988), and 'Agricultural laborers in the Mexican Revolution (1910–1940): Some hypotheses and facts about participation and restraint in the highlands of Puebla-Tlaxcala', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*, 376–416; R. T. J. Buve, *Boerenmobilisatie en landhervorming tijdens en na de Mexicaanse revolutie: De vallei van Nativitas, Tlaxcala, tussen 1910 en 1940* (Amsterdam, 1977), 'El movimiento revolucionario de Tlaxcala (1910–1914): Sus orígenes y desarrollo antes de la gran crisis del año 1914 (la rebelión arenista)', *Anuario de Humanidades*, 8 (1984), 141–83, 'Agricultores, dominación política y estructura agraria en la revolución: El caso de Tlaxcala (1910–1918)', in *Haciendas in Central Mexico*, 199–271, and ' "Neither Carranza nor Zapata": The rise and fall of a peasant movement that tried to challenge both, Tlaxcala, 1910–1918', in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution*, 338–75;

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

F. J. Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Toronto, 1980); M. Menegus Bornemann and J. F. Leal, 'Las haciendas de Mazaquiahuac y El Rosario en los albores de la revolución agraria, 1910–1914', *HM*, 31/2 (1981), 233–77, and 'La violencia armada y su impacto en la economía agrícola del estado de Tlaxcala, 1915–1920', *HM*, 36/4 (1987), 595–642; H. G. Mertens, *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Strukturen Zentralmexikanischen Weizenhaciendas aus dem Tal von Atlixco (1890–1912)* (Wiesbaden, 1983); L. Rubluo, *Historia de la revolución en el estado de Hidalgo*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1983–5); R. Rendón Garnici, 'La revolución armada, vista por el administrador de dos haciendas tlaxcaltecas (1910–1920)', in *Haciendas in Central Mexico*, 273–307; I. Laviada, *Vida y muerte de un latifundio* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and D. LaFrance, *The Mexican Revolution in Puebla, 1908–1913: The Maderista Movement and the Failure of Liberal Reform* (Wilmington, Del., 1989).

On Mexico (the state), the Federal District, Morelos, and Guerrero, i.e., Zapatista country, see M. Rosovsky (ed.), *Documentos inéditos sobre Emiliano Zapata y el cuartel general* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); V. López González, *Los compañeros de Zapata* (Cuernavaca, 1980); A. Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México: Tenochtitlán y Tlatelolco, sus pueblos y barrios, 1812–1919* (Zamora, 1983); G. Peña Roja et al. (eds.), *El ejército campesino del sur: Ideología, organización y programa* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); A. Mendieta Alatorre (ed.), *Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza, 1873–1942: Extraordinaria precursora de la Revolución mexicana* (Cuernavaca, 1983); N. Percheron, *Problèmes agraires de l'Ajusco: Sept communautés de banlieue de Mexico, XVIe–XXe siècles* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); L. Espejel, 'El cuartel general: Órgano rector de la revolución zapatista, 1914 y 1915', in H. Crespo (ed.), *Morelos: Cinco siglos de historia regional* (Cuernavaca, 1984), 251–60; C. González Herrera and A. Embriz Osorio, 'La reforma agraria y la desaparición de latifundio en el estado de Morelos, 1916–1927', in *Morelos*, 285–98; J. M. López Victoria, *Historia de la revolución en Guerrero*, 3 vols. (Chilpancingo, 1985); D. Dahlmann, *Land und Freiheit: Machnovščina und Zapatismo als Beispiele agrarrevolutionärer Bewegungen* (Stuttgart, 1986); and R. Avila Palafox, *¿Revolución en el Estado de México?* (Toluca, 1988).

On Oaxaca, see V. R. Martínez Vásquez (ed.), *La revolución en Oaxaca, 1900–1930* (Oaxaca, 1985); F. J. Ruiz Cervantes, *La revolución en Oaxaca: El movimiento de la soberanía (1915–1920)* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); V. de la Cruz, 'La rebelión de los juchitecos y uno de sus líderes: Che Gómez', *Historias*, 17 (1987), 57–72; P. Garner, *La revolución en la provincia: So-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

berania estatal y caudillismo en las montañas de Oaxaca (Mexico, D.F., 1988), and 'Oaxaca: The rise and fall of state sovereignty', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 163–83.

On Veracruz, see S. González Marín, *Heriberto Jara: Un luchador obrero en la revolución mexicana, 1879–1917* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); J. González Sierra, 'Revolución y derecho obrero: Veracruz 1914–1916', *Anuario* (Universidad Veracruzana), 4 (1986), 117–40; L. Alafita Méndez, 'Trabajo y condición obrera en los campamentos petroleros de la Huasteca, 1900–1935', *Anuario*, 4 (1986), 169–207; R. Corzo Ramírez et al., . . . *nunca un desleal: Cándido Aguilar, 1889–1960* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); R. Falcón and S. García, *La semilla en el surco: Adalberto Tejeda y el radicalismo en Veracruz, 1883–1960* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); L. Alafita Méndez et al., *Historia gráfica de la industria petrolera y sus trabajadores (1900–1938)* (Xalapa, 1988); and B. García Díaz, *Textiles del Valle de Orizaba (1880–1925): Cinco ensayos de historia sindical y social* (Xalapa, 1990).

On Chiapas, see R. Wasserstrom, *Class and Society in Central Chiapas* (Berkeley, 1983); A. García de León, *Resistencia y utopía: Memorial de agravios y crónica de revueltas y profecías acaecidas en la provincia de Chiapas durante los últimos quinientos años de su historia*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1985), vol. 2; J. de Vos, *Oro verde: La conquista de la selva lacandona por los madereros tabasqueños, 1822–1949* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); T. Benjamin, *A Rich Land, a Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989).

On Yucatan, see L. Aboites, *Le revolución en Espita, 1910–1940: Microhistoria de la formación del estado de la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); H. D. Chacón, 'Rural educational reform in Yucatan: From the Porfiriato to the era of Salvador Alvarado, 1910–1918', *TA*, 42/2 (1985), 207–28; A. Wells, *Yucatan's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860–1915* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985); M. Bellingeri, 'Formación y circulación de la mercancía tierra-hombre en Yucatán (1880–1914)', *Historias*, 19 (1988), 109–18; G. M. Joseph and A. Wells, 'Yucatan: Elite politics and rural insurgency', in *Provinces of the Revolution*, 93–131, and 'Seasons of upheaval: The crisis of oligarchical rule in Yucatan, 1909–1915', in *The Revolutionary Process*, 161–85.

CULTURE AND IMAGES

There is a large body of literature on the novel and the mural of the Revolution. But these figments are almost entirely post-revolutionary phenomena. Three novelists actually lived through the Revolution and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

wrote memorably about it: M. Azuela, *Obras completas,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1958–60); M. L. Guzmán, *El águila y la serpiente* (Madrid, 1928), and *Memorias de Pancho Villa,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1938–40); and J. Vasconcelos, *Ulíses criollo* (Mexico, D.F., 1935), and *La tormenta* (Mexico, D.F., 1936). Another useful contemporary account is John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York, 1914). See also John D. Rutherford, *Mexican Society during the Revolution: A Literary Approach* (Oxford, 1971), and Merle E. Simmons, *The Mexican Corrido as a Source of Interpretive Study of Modern Mexico (1870–1950)* (Bloomington, Ind., 1957). The images are clearest in the great photographic collection: Gustavo Casasola, *Historia gráfica de la revolución mexicana, 1900–1970,* 10 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973), vols. 2–5. A highly significant study of the creation and absorption of images is A. de los Reyes, *Cine y sociedad en México, 1896–1930* (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

On the intelligentsia, the richest and most pointed, interesting, and suggestive contemporary study is an essay by C. Monsivais, 'La aparición del subsuelo: Sobre la cultura de la Revolución Mexicana', *Historias,* 8–9 (1985), 159–78. Also notable are H. C. Schmidt, *The Roots of Lo Mexicano: Self and Society in Mexican Thought, 1900–1934* (College Station, Tex., 1978), and 'Los intelectuales de la revolución desde otra perspectiva', *RMS,* 51/2 (1989), 67–86. Most interesting on official cultivations and cults are I. V. O'Malley, *The Myth of the Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State* (West Haven, N.Y., 1986); and D. Brading, 'Manuel Gamio y el indigenismo oficial en México', *RMS,* 51/2 (1989), 267–84. On the production and uses of images, the most commendable modern work is A. de los Reyes, *Con Villa en México: Testimonios de camarógrafos norteamericanos en la revolución, 1911–1916* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). Other additions along this line include P. J. Vanderwood and F. N. Samponaro, *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico's Revolution and U. S. War Preparedness, 1910–1917* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988); and J. Ruffinelli, 'Trenes revolucionarios: La mitología del tren en el imaginario de la revolución', *RMS,* 51/2 (1989), 285–303.

11. MEXICO: REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE 1920s

R. Potash, 'The historiography of Mexico since 1821', *HAHR,* 40/3 (1960) remains useful though it is now out of date. David M. Bailey, 'Revisionism

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and the recent historiography of the Mexican Revolution', *HAHR*, 58/1 (1978) is an excellent recent survey of the literature on the Revolution. See also Barry Carr, 'Recent regional studies of the Mexican Revolution', *LARR*, 15/1 (1980) and W. D. Raat, *The Mexican Revolution – An Annotated Guide to Recent Scholarship* (Boston, 1982). The proceedings of the regular meetings of Mexican and U.S. historians are invaluable for their surveys of recent research: from the Oaxtepec meeting in 1969, *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., and Austin, Tex., 1971); from Santa Monica in 1973, *Contemporary Mexico* (Los Angeles and Mexico, D.F., 1976), from Pátzcuaro in 1977, *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., and Tucson, Ariz., 1979).

Among general works, Jorge Vera Estañol, *Historia de la revolución mexicana: Orígenes y resultados* (Mexico, D.F., 1957) remains useful if a little old-fashioned and dull. José C. Valadés, *Historia general de la revolución mexicana*, 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976) is much more than a general history: it is full of otherwise inaccessible material and brilliant insights. John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919–36* (Austin, Tex., 1961) is a detailed narrative account of the period. Gustavo Casasola, *Historia gráfica de la revolución mexicana, 1900–1970*, 10 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1973) is an important collection of photographs. Later syntheses include Adolfo Gilly, *La revolución interrumpida* (Mexico, D.F., 1972); Arnaldo Córdova, *La ideología de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), the best Marxist interpretation; Jean Meyer, *La Révolution mexicaine* (Paris, 1973); and Ramón E. Ruiz, *The Great Rebellion* (New York, 1980).

The old classics by U.S. authors, many of whom had close relations with Mexican leaders, are still indispensable, even though outdated: Charles Hackett, *The Mexican Revolution and the United States* (Boston, 1926); Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (Washington, D.C., 1929) and *Peace by Revolution* (New York, 1933); Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857–1929* (Stanford, Calif., 1931); E. N. Simpson, *The Ejido, Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937); and Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928). Howard Cline, *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) represents the best of early U.S. scholarship on the Mexican Revolution. See also Charles Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity* (New York, 1968).

The best of Mexican revisionism can be found in Luis González y González (ed.), *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); vol. 8 by Alvaro Matute is on the Obregón presidency (1920–24), vols.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

10 and 11 by Enrique Krauze and Jean Meyer on the Calles administration (1924–8), and vols. 12 and 13 by Lorenzo Meyer, Rafael Segovia, Alejandra Lajous and Beatriz Rojas on the Maximato (1929–34). Peter Smith, *Labyrinth of Power: Political Recruitment in 20th Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), an important work by a U.S. political scientist, illuminates the whole century and prepares a new theory of the revolution, as apotheosis of the middle classes.

There are no definitive biographies of either Obregón or Calles. But see Enrique Krauze, *Alvaro Obregón, el vértigo de la victoria; Plutarco Elías Calles, reformar desde el origen* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). On Obregón's early career, see Linda B. Hall, *Alvaro Obregón: Power and Revolution in Mexico, 1911–20* (College Station, Tex., 1981). Narciso Bassols Batalla, *El pensamiento político de Obregón* (Mexico, D.F., 1967) is useful, as are Jorge Prieto Lauren's memoirs, *50 años de política mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1968) and Alberto J. Pani, *Mi contribución al nuevo régimen 1910–1933* (Mexico, D.F., 1936). José Vasconcelos is too important as a public figure and as a writer to be neglected. See his memoirs in *Obras completas,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1957–61) and on particular episodes: Claude Fell, *José Vasconcelos, los años del águila* (Mexico, D.F., 1989) and John Skirrius, *Vasconcelos y la campaña presidencial de 1929* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). Francisco Javier Gaxiola, *El Presidente Rodríguez (1932–1934)* (Mexico, D.F., 1938) remains the best book on the last administration of the Maximato. On Siqueiros, see Leonard Folgarait, *So Far from Heaven: David Alfaro Siqueiro's "The March of Humanity" and Mexican Revolutionary Politics* (New York, 1987).

On Mexico's relations with the United States, Robert F. Smith, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico 1919–1932* (Chicago, 1972) remains the best study for this period, although it is somewhat weak on Mexican events. The Mexican point of view can be found in Luis G. Zorrilla, *Historia de las relaciones entre México y los Estados Unidos de América 1800–1958,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1965) and in Lorenzo Meyer, *México y los Estados Unidos en el conflicto petrolero 1917–1942* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Eng. trans. *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–42* (Austin, Tex., 1977). George W. Grayson, *The Politics of Mexican Oil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1980) is another contribution on this subject. See also Jonathan C. Brown, *Oil and Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1993).

Regional and local politics have become an important new subject of research. On the political bosses of the south-eastern states see, for example, on Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Francisco Paoli and Enrique Montalvo, *El socialismo olvidado de Yucatán* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), and Gilbert M. Jo-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

seph, 'The fragile revolution: Cacique politics in Yucatán', *LARR*, 15/1 (1980) and *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico and the United States 1880–1924* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); on Garrido Canabal, Carlos Martínez Assad, *El laboratorio de la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). David Brading (ed.), *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980) includes case studies on Chihuahua, Guerrero, San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Veracruz, Tlaxcala, and Yucatán. See also Dudley Ankerson, *Agrarian Warlord, Saturnino Cedillo and the Mexican Revolution in San Luis Potosí* (DeKalb, Ill., 1985); Ian Jacobs, *Ranchero Revolt: The Mexican Revolution in Guerrero* (Austin, Tex., 1983); Gilbert M. Joseph, *Rediscovering the Past at Mexico's Periphery: Essays on the History of Modern Yucatan* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1986); Beatriz Rojas, *La pequeña guerra: Los Carrera Torres y los Cedillo* (Zamora, 1983); breaking new ground in Mexican local history, Luis González y González, *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), Eng. trans. *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, Tex., 1974). Here the 1920s are represented as the true revolutionary years at least in the western and central states, but the revolution was regarded as a murderous apocalypse by the rural population.

The standard accounts of the revolution were distorted by a failure to take seriously the Cristero movement. But see David Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey: The Cristero Rebellion and the Church–State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1974); Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1978) and *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926–1929* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976).

Studies of labour in this period are scarce, but see *El trabajo y los trabajadores*, mentioned above. Marjorie R. Clark, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934) remains the best work on the subject after half a century; Alfonso López Aparicio, *El movimiento obrero en México: Antecedentes, desarrollo y tendencias* (Mexico, D.F., 1952) is a short but classic account. Excellent for the period to 1924 is Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–29*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1976). See also Ramón E. Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries, Mexico 1911–1923* (Baltimore, 1976).

The economic, social and political history of rural Mexico in this period has still for the most part to be written. Paul Taylor, *Arandas, Spanish Mexican Peasant Community* (Berkeley, 1933) was a pioneer work, and Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago, 1948) is excellent. See also Simpson, *The Ejido*, and Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

mentioned above. Marte R. Gómez, *La reforma agraria de México: Su crisis durante el período 1928–1934* (Mexico, D.F., 1964) was written by a political actor of the period. Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970) is an important study of Michoacán during the 1920s. Important recent publications in this field include: Heather Fowler Salamini, *Agrarian Racialism in Veracruz, 1920–1938* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1978); Frans J. Schryrer, *The Rancheros of the Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth Century Mexico* (Toronto, 1980); Ann L. Craig, *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Agrarian Reform Movement* (Berkeley, 1983); Beatriz Rojas *La destrucción de la hacienda en Aguascalientes 1910–1931* (Zamora, Mex., 1981); and John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1987).

12. CENTRAL AMERICA

There is an extensive bibliographical essay in R. L. Woodward, Jr., *Central America: A Nation Divided,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1985). There are also good bibliographies on each republic. See, for example, Charles Stansifer, *Costa Rica* (Oxford, 1991); Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *El Salvador* (Oxford, 1988); Pamela Howard-Reguindin, *Honduras* (Oxford, 1992); and for Nicaragua, Latin American Bibliographic Foundation, *Nicaraguan National Bibliography, 1800–1978* (Redlands, Calif., 1986–7).

Three books provide a general view of the period 1870–1930: Mario Rodríguez, *Central America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), which is rather favourable to U.S. policies in the isthmus; Woodward, *Central America;* and Ciro Cardoso and Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Centroamérica y la economía occidental (1520–1930)* (San José, C.R., 1977). See also the relevant chapters of Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Breve historia de Centroamérica* (Madrid, 1985), Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), and James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus. A Political History of Modern Central America* (London, 1988). The best general book on an individual Central American state is David Browning, *El Salvador: Landscape and Society* (Oxford, 1971).

On the Central American coffee economies, see C. Cardoso, 'Historia económica del café en Centroamérica (siglo XIX): Estudio comparativo', *ESC,* 4/10 (1975), 9–55. On coffee in Guatemala in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Julio Castellanos Cambranes, *Café y campesinos en*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Guatemala, 1853–1897 (Guatemala City, 1985). On the banana plantations, general works are Stacy May and Galo Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1958), which is favourable to the company; Charles Kepner, *Social Aspects of the Banana Industry* (New York, 1936), and Kepner and Jay Soothill, *The Banana Empire* (New York, 1935), which are far more critical. See also Thomas Karnes, *Tropical Enterprise: Standard Fruit and Steamship Company in Latin America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978).

By far the best publications on economic history are for Guatemala and Costa Rica. For Guatemala, see Alfredo Guerra Borges, *Geografía económica de Guatemala,* 2 vols. (Guatemala City, 1973); Valentín Solórzano, *Evolución económica de Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1970); Sanford A. Mosk et al., *Economía de Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1958); Mauricio Domínguez T., 'The development of the technological and scientific coffee industry in Guatemala 1830–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Tulane, 1970); Julio Castellanos Cambranes, *Aspectos del desarrollo económico y social de Guatemala a la luz de fuentes históricas alemanas 1868–1885* (Guatemala City, 1975) and *El imperialismo alemán en Guatemala: El tratado de comercio de 1887* (Guatemala City, 1977); Roberto Quintana, *Apuntes sobre el desarrollo monetario de Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1971). For Costa Rica, see Rodrigo Facio, *Estudio sobre economía costarricense,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1972), still useful after more than 30 years; Alain Vieillard-Baron, *La production agricole et la vie rurale au Costa Rica* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); C. Cardoso, 'The formation of the coffee estate in nineteenth-century Costa Rica', in Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), 165–202; Carolyn Hall, *El café y el desarrollo histórico-geográfico de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1976) and *Formación de una hacienda cafetalera 1889–1911* (San José, C.R., 1978), the best texts available on the coffee economy of Costa Rica; Ana Cecilia Román Trigo, 'El comercio exterior de Costa Rica (1883–1930)' (unpublished thesis, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1978); Thomas Schoonover, 'Costa Rican trade and navigation ties with the United States, Germany and Europe, 1840 to 1885', *JGSWGL,* 14 (1977), 269–308, which argues for an earlier U.S. pre-eminence in commercial matters than is usually recognized; Carlos Araya Pochet, 'El segundo ciclo minero en Costa Rica (1890–1930)' (Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, 1976, mimeo); Rufino Gil Pacheco, *Ciento cinco años de vida bancaria en Costa Rica,* 3rd ed. (San José, C.R., 1975). See also Lowell Gudmundson, *Hacendados, políticos y precaristas: La ganadería y el latifundismo guanacasteco,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1800–1950 (San José, C.R., 1984); Mario Samper, *Generations of Settlers: Rural Households and Markets on the Costa Rican Frontier, 1850–1935* (Boulder, Colo., 1990); Carol Smith (ed.), *Guatemalan Indians and the State, 1540–1988* (Austin, Tex., 1990); and David McCreery, ' "An odious feudalism": *Mandamiento* labor and commercial agriculture in Guatemala, 1850–1920', *LAP,* 13/1 (1986), 99–117.

On the economic history of Honduras, see Charles A. Brand, 'The background of capitalistic underdevelopment: Honduras to 1913' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1972); Vilma Laínez and Victor Meza, 'El enclave bananero en la historia de Honduras', *ESC,* 2/5 (1973), 115–56; Jorge Morales, 'El Ferrocarril Nacional de Honduras: Su historia e incidencia sobre el desarrollo económico', *ESC,* 1/2 (1972), 7–20; Kenneth V. Finney, *In Quest of El Dorado: Precious Metal Mining and the Modernization of Honduras, 1880–1900* (New York, 1987); *Historia financiera de Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1957). On El Salvador, see in particular Browning, *El Salvador;* David A. Luna, *Manual de historia económica de El Salvador* (San Salvador, 1971); E. Bradford Burns, 'The modernization of underdevelopment: El Salvador, 1858–1931', *Journal of Developing Areas,* 18/3 (1984), 293–316; Hector Lindo-Fuentes, *Weak Foundations: The Economy of El Salvador in the Nineteenth Century, 1821–1898* (Berkeley, 1990); also *Legislación salvadoreña del café, 1846–1955* (San Salvador, 1956). And, on Nicaragua, see Jeffrey Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Pedro Belli, 'Prolegómenos para una historia económica de Nicaragua de 1905 a 1966', *Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano,* 30/146 (1975), 2–30.

The social history of Central America has been studied more by anthropologists and sociologists than by historians. Nevertheless see David McCreery, ' "This life of misery and shame": Female prostitution in Guatemala City, 1880–1920', *JLAS,* 18/2 (1986), 333–53; José L. Vega Carballo, 'El nacimiento de un régimen de burguesía dependiente: El caso de Costa Rica', *ESC,* 2/5 and 6 (1973); James Backer, *La iglesia y el sindicalismo en Costa Rica,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1975); Mario Posas, *Las sociedades artesanales y los orígenes del movimiento obrero hondureño* (Tegucigalpa, 1978); Roque Dalton, *Miguel Mármol: Los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1972); Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971) and *El Salvador 1932* (San José, C.R., 1976). Edelberto Torres Rivas, *Interpretación del desarrollo social centroamericano* (San José, C.R., 1971), which is somewhat outdated

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

by recent research on economic and political history, still offers an interesting general interpretation.

On political history, a general overview is offered by Edelberto Torres Rivas, 'Poder nacional y sociedad dependiente: las clases y el estado en Centroamérica', *ESC*, 3/8 (1974), 27–63. On the United States and Central America, see Thomas Schoonover, *The United States in Central America, 1860–1911: Episodes of Social Imperialism and Imperial Rivalry in the World System* (Durham, N.C., 1991). And on the Comintern and Central America, see Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, *La hoz y el machete* (San José, C.R., 1986); Eng. trans. *The Communist International in Central America, 1920–1936* (London, 1993).

There are a number of works on the Guatemalan Liberal reforms: Jorge M. García L., *La reforma liberal en Guatemala* (Guatemala City and San José, C.R., 1972); Thomas R. Herrick, *Desarrollo económico y político de Guatemala durante el período de Justo Rufino Barrios (1871–1885)* (San José, 1974); Paul Burgess, *Justo Rufino Barrios* (San José, C.R., 1972); Roberto Díaz Castillo, *Legislación económica de Guatemala durante la reforma liberal: Catálogo* (Guatemala City and San José, C.R., 1973); David McCreery, *Development and the State in Reforma Guatemala, 1871–1885* (Athens, Ohio, 1983). On Costa Rican political history, Samuel Stone, *La dinastía de los conquistadores* (San José, C.R., 1975); Eng. trans., *The Heritage of the Conquistadors: Ruling Classes in Central America from the Conquest to the Sandinistas* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1990) is outstanding. See also José L. Vega C., 'Etapas y procesos de la evolución sociopolítica de Costa Rica', *ESC*, 1/1 (1972), 45–72. About the Honduran Liberal reforms there are two opposing views: Héctor Pérez Brignoli, 'La reforma liberal en Honduras', *Cuaderno de Ciencias Sociales*, 1/2 (1973), 2–86, and Guillermo Molina Chocano, *Estado liberal y desarrollo capitalista en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1976).

13. CUBA

Among general histories, the *Enciclopedia de Cuba*, 12 vols. (Madrid, 1975), edited in exile by several Cuban scholars and writers, is an uneven work which contains some valuable essays. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez et al., *Historia de la nación cubana*, 10 vols. (Havana, 1952), is a compilation of essays by different authors which occasionally provides excellent information. Jorge Ibarra, *Historia de Cuba* (Havana, 1968) is a Marxist interpretation. Leví Marrero, *Cuba: Economía y sociedad*, 9 vols. (Madrid, 1976)

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

contains the results of some excellent research but is in desperate need of organization. José Duarte Oropesa, *Historiología cubana,* 4 vols. (Miami, 1974) is a good contribution, rendered less valuable by the author's reluctance to display his sources. Hortensia Pichardo, *Documentos para la historia de Cuba,* 4 vols. (Havana, 1976), selected with some Marxist bias, includes otherwise inaccessible documents. José Manuel Pérez Cabrera, *Historiografía de Cuba* (Mexico, D.F., 1952) is a valuable guide to the literature on Cuba in the nineteenth century. Fernando Portuondo, *Historia de Cuba* (Havana, 1957) was considered the best textbook in Cuba until 1960. Oscar Pino Santos, *Historia de Cuba, aspectos fundamentales* (Havana, 1964) seeks to explain Cuba's economic development or lack of it from a Marxist perspective. Emeterio Santovenia and Raúl Shelton, *Cuba y su historia,* 4 vols. (Miami, 1965) is a clear and reliable work by a Cuban and a North American historian. Jaime Suchlicki, *Cuba, from Columbus to Castro* (New York, 1974) is a good, unpretentious overview of Cuban history. In spite of a certain tendency to disregard Cuban sources, Hugh Thomas, *Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom* (London, 1971) remains the most complete history of the island from 1762 to 1968. The most recent general history is Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York, 1988).

On relations with the United States, Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *Cuba and the United States, 1900–1935* (Menasha, Wis., 1935) is a well-documented and serious attempt to analyse the different factors which shaped Cuban–American relations while the Platt Amendment was still in force. Herminio Portell Vila, *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España,* 4 vols. (Havana, 1939) is an important study which goes beyond the scope of its title. Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and Its Relations with the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1962–3), is an ambitious, well-researched though anti-American work. Lester D. Langley, *The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History* (New York, 1968) and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens, Ga., 1990) are excellent surveys. In Robert F. Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), published under the impact of the Cuban revolution, the author demonstrates how American economic interests have affected and distorted U.S. policy toward Cuba. See also Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and Cuba: Hegemony and Dependent Development, 1880–1934* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977). Still valuable is Dana G. Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean 1900–1921* (Princeton, N.J., 1964).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Sugar and Society in the Caribbean: An Economic History of Cuban Agriculture* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), originally published in Cuba in 1927, is an indictment of sugar's impact on the island's social and economic conditions; it has had a profound influence on Cuban studies. Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony* (New York, 1928) is a classic on the impact of American economic imperialism in Cuba. Raymond L. Buell, *Problems of the New Cuba* (New York, 1935) is perhaps the best study on the origins of Cuba's economic problems in the twentieth century. Roland T. Ely, *Cuando reinaba su majestad el azúcar* (Buenos Aires, 1963) is an indispensable work on Cuba's sugar development. H. E. Friedlander, *Historia económica de Cuba* (Havana, 1944) is an interesting but incomplete study of Cuba's economic history, limited essentially to the nineteenth century. Julián Alienes y Urosa, *Características fundamentales de la economía cubana* (Havana, 1950) is an important contribution to understanding Cuba's economic problems from colonial times to 1940. Lowry Nelson, *Rural Cuba* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1950) is a pioneer study on the agrarian situation in Cuba in the first half of the twentieth century. José Alvarez et al., *Study on Cuba* (Miami, 1963) is a serious piece of research, full of reliable data and debatable interpretations. Raúl Cepero Bonilla, *Azúcar y abolición* (Havana, 1948) is a study of the economic roots of abolitionist and autonomist movements in the nineteenth century. Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985) is the outstanding modern account of the abolition of slavery in Cuba and its aftermath. Julio Le Riverand, *Historia económica de Cuba* (Buenos Aires, 1963) is a cautious Marxist interpretation of Cuba's economic evolution until 1940. Oscar Pino Santos, *El asalto a Cuba por la oligarquía yanki* (Havana, 1973) is interesting, in spite of the vehement title, because it explores the presence and negative influence in Cuba of non-American capitalist groups. For a full discussion of the Cuban sugar industry in the period *c.* 1860–*c.* 1930, see Manuel Moreno Fraginals, 'Plantation economies and societies in the Spanish Caribbean, 1860–1930', in *CHLA* Vol. IV (1986).

The two classic histories of the Ten Years' War (1868–78) by Cuban historians are Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Guerra de los Diez Años* (Havana, 1950) and Francisco Ponte Domínguez, *Historia de la Guerra de los Diez Años* (Havana, 1972). Among a number of biographies, José L. Franco, *Antonio Maceo: Apuntes para una historia de su vida,* 3 vols. (Havana, 1973) and Benigno Souza, *Máximo Gómez, el generalismo* (Havana, 1953) deserve mention. The political ideas and legislative problems of the Cuban rebels

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

are studied in Enrique Hernández Corujo, *Revoluciones cubanas: Organización civil y política* (Havana, 1929) and *Historia constitucional de Cuba* (Havana, 1960); Ramón Infiesta, *Historia constitucional de Cuba* (Havana, 1942); and Andres Lazcano y Mazón, *Las constituciones de Cuba* (Madrid, 1952). For the texts of the different constitutions, see Leonel Antonio de la Cuesta and Rolando Alum Linera (eds.), *Constituciones cubanas, 1812–1962* (New York, 1974).

The most recent account of the period between the Ten Years' War and the War of Independence (1895–8) and U.S. occupation of Cuba is Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba Between Empires, 1878–1902* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1983). See also two articles by Pérez, 'Toward dependency and revolution: The political economy of Cuba between wars, 1878–1895', *LARR*, 18/1 (1983), 127–42, and 'Vagrants, beggars and bandits: The social origins of Cuban separatism, 1878–1895', *AHR*, 90/1 (1985), 1092–1121. The *autonomistas* have been studied, with excessive emphasis on the philosophical influences upon them, in Antonio Martínez Bello, *Orígen y meta del autonomismo: Exégesis de Montoro* (Havana, 1952); see also Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante y Montoro, *La ideología autonomista* (Havana, 1934) and an exposition of the party's aims, Rafael Montoro, *Ideario autonomista* (Havana, 1938). On banditry, see Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Lords of the Mountain: Social Banditry and Peasant Protest in Cuba, 1878–1918* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1989) and Rosalie Schwartz, *Lawless Liberators: Political Banditry and Cuban Independence* (Durham, N.C., 1989).

Rafael Pérez Delgado, *1898, el año del desastre* (Madrid, 1976) reaches some sombre conclusions on the conditions of the Spanish forces and the behaviour of the Spanish government and press. Mercedes Cervera Rodríguez, *La guerra naval del 98 en su planeamiento y en sus consecuencias* (Madrid, 1977), and José Cervera Pery, *Mariana y política en la España del siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1979), are useful modern studies. José Manuel Allende Salazar, *El 98 de los americanos* (Madrid, 1974) is a serious attempt by a Spanish historian to understand the U.S. side. A general background to Spanish politics is provided by Melchor Fernández Almagro, *Historia política de la España contemporánea*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1959) and Pedro Gómez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1971).

There are four biographies of José Martí in English: Jorge Mañach, *Martí: Apostle of Freedom* (New York, 1950); Felix Lizaso, *Martí, Martyr of Cuban Independence* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1953); Richard Butler Gray, *José Martí, Cuban Patriot* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962) and John M. Kirk, *Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation* (Tampa, Fla., 1983). See also Christo-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

pher Abel and Nissa Torrents (eds.), *José Martí, Revolutionary Democrat* (London, 1986). Encumbered by philosophical quotations but useful is Roberto Agramonte, *Martí y su concepción del mundo* (San Juan, P.R., 1971). Emilio Roig de Luechsenring, *Martí anti-imperialista* (Havana, 1961) and Philip S. Foner (ed.), *José Martí, Inside the Monster: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism* (New York, 1975), stress Martí's well-known anti-imperialism. From a different perspective, but less scholarly, Rafael Esténger, *Martí frente al comunismo* (Miami, 1966) studies Martí's rejection of Marxism. *Martí: El héroe y su acción revolucionaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1966), by the Argentine writer Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, is a more balanced vision of Martí's radicalism. For a short bilingual collection of Martí's ideas, see Carlos Ripoll, *José Martí* (New York, 1980). Martí's writings can be consulted in his *Obras completas,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1956), or in the 22-volume edition published in Havana in 1973.

Among the older North American studies of the Spanish–American war, Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of the War with Spain* (New York, 1931) remains important. Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (Boston, 1958) is more important for the illustrations than the analysis. Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish–Cuban–American War and the Birth of American Imperialism,* 2 vols. (New York, 1972), while showing the Marxist orientation of the author, has the merit of offering the Cuban side in the conflict. Julius Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore, 1936) is a classic study on the ideas and economic interests behind the war. See also, more recently, Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York, 1973) and Charles S. Campbell, *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations, 1865–1900* (New York, 1976).

David F. Healy, *The United States in Cuba, 1898–1902* (Madison, Wis., 1963) is the best North American study on the subject. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, *Historia de la Enmienda Platt,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1935; 2nd ed., 1961) is extremely anti-American. A more objective evaluation is provided in Manuel Márquez Sterling, *Proceso histórico de la Enmienda Platt* (Havana, 1941). On the emergence of an ephemeral Socialist party under U.S. occupation, see José Rivero Muñiz, *El primer Partido Socialista Cubano* (Las Villas, Cuba, 1962). Eduardo J. Tejera, *Diego Vicente Tejera, patriota, poeta y pensador cubano* (Madrid, 1981) is a biography of the founder of the Socialist party. On the impact of war and occupation on agrarian structures, see Louis A. Pérez, Jr., 'Insurrection, intervention and the transformation of land tenure systems in Cuba, 1895–1902', *HAHR,* 65/2 (1985), 229–54.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

General works on the Republic, 1902–33, include Carleton Beals, *The Crime of Cuba* (Philadelphia, 1933), written when dictator Machado was in power; the author blames U.S. economic penetration for the Cuban political tragedy. Charles E. Chapman, *History of the Cuban Republic* (New York, 1927) is a historical reflection of the island conditions as seen by a North American, at a time when nationalism was at a low ebb and pessimism was rampant in Cuba. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1986) is the outstanding work of modern scholarship by a North American historian. An interesting Cuban study is Jorge Ibarra, *Un análisis psicosocial del cubano, 1898–1925* (Havana, 1985). Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Army and Politics in Cuba, 1898–1958* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976) is an interesting account of the rise and fall of the Cuban army, but stronger on the period after 1933. Mario Riera Hernández, *Cuba republicana, 1898–1958* (Miami, 1974) provides a useful chronology and political guide. On Estrada Palma, the first president of the Republic, see Carlos Márquez Sterling, *Don Tomás: Biografía de una época* (Havana, 1953). A valuable defence of the Magoon administration, so severely criticized by the majority of Cuban historians, is provided by David A. Lockmiller, *Magoon in Cuba* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938). The best study on the period remains Allan Reed Millet, *The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906–1909* (Columbus, Ohio, 1968).

The period from 1908 to 1925, covering the presidencies of José Miguel Gómez, Mario G. Menocal and Alfredo Zayas, has been neglected by Cuban historians. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Intervention, Revolution, and Politics in Cuba, 1913–1921* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1978) is an excellent study of the period, demonstrating how Cuban politicians learned to 'manipulate' U.S. diplomacy, but making some sweeping generalizations about Cuban politics. Leon Primelles, *Crónica cubana, 1915–1918* (Havana, 1955) is a detailed chronology of Menocal's last years in power. José Rivero Muñiz examines the beginning of organized labour under the Republic in *El movimiento laboral cubano durante el período 1906–1911* (Las Villas, Cuba, 1962). On the rebellion of black groups in 1912, see Serafin Portuondo Linares, *Los independientes de color,* 2nd ed. (Havana, 1951) and Rafael Fermoselle, *Política y color: La guerrita de 1912* (Montevideo, 1974).

Machado's government and the revolutionary episode of 1933 have attracted considerable scholarly attention. See, for example, Luis E. Aguilar, *Cuba 1933: Prologue to Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972); Jules R. Benjamin, 'The "Machadato" and Cuban nationalism, 1928–1932', *HAHR,* 55/1 (1975), 66–91; Ana Cairo, *El grupo minorista y su tiempo* (Havana, 1979);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ladislao González Carbajal, *El ala izquierda estudiantil y su época* (Havana, 1974); José A. Tabares del Real, *Guiteras* (Havana, 1973) and *La Revolución del 30: Sus dos últimos años* (Havana, 1971); Lionel Soto, *La Revolucion del 33*, 3 vols. (Havana, 1977); Jaime Suchlicki, *University Students and Revolution in Cuba* (Miami, 1969); Irwin F. Gellman, *Roosevelt and Batista* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1973); and Centre Interuniversitaire d'Etudes Cubaines (Université de Paris III), *Les années trente à Cuba* (Paris, 1982).

14. PUERTO RICO

Useful bibliographical works include Augusto Bird, *Bibliografía puertorriqueña de fuentes para investigaciones sociales 1930–45* (Río Piedras, 1947) and J. Bulnes and E. González-Díaz (eds.), *Bibliografía puertorriqueña de ciencias sociales* (Río Piedras, 1977). The latter classifies, according to subject, books and articles written from 1931 to 1960, many of which deal with or refer to the period before 1930. See also Paquita Vivó (ed.), *The Puerto Ricans: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1973) which comprises a very limited selection of entries, but contains useful commentaries. A. G. Quintero-Rivera (ed.), *Lucha obrera: Antología de grandes documentos en la historia obrera puertorriqueña* (San Juan, 1971), Eng. trans. *Workers' Struggle in Puerto Rico, a Documentary History* (New York, 1976), a collection of documents on the labour movement mostly in the period 1870–1940, includes a detailed and annotated bibliography of the labour literature of the period. By the same author see *Historia del análisis social en Puerto Rico, bibliografía temática* (San Juan, P.R., 1990), mainly on intellectual history.

Gordon K. Lewis, *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean* (New York, 1963) is an important general survey of the history of Puerto Rico which evaluates the principal studies of the island since the end of Spanish rule (1898). On Puerto Rican intellectual history in the late nineteenth century, see also Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects 1492–1900* (Baltimore, 1983) and, for the first decades of the twentieth century, Arcadio Díaz-Quiñones, *El almuerzo en la hierba* (San Juan, P.R., 1982) and 'Tomás Blanco: Racismo, historia, esclavitud' in T. Blanco, *El prejuicio racial en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1985). Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: Una interpretación histórica social* (México, D.F., 1969), Eng. trans. *Puerto Rico: A Socio-historic Interpretation* (New York, 1972), includes

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

a good general (but not in-depth) presentation of the political history of Puerto Rico. A. López and J. Petras (eds.), *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans* (New York, 1974) and A. López (ed.), *The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture and Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980) are general readers which include good articles on the period 1870–1940, both general and monographic. Very useful and based mainly on recent research by numerous authors is James Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico* (Princeton, N.J., 1986). Also important, mainly as polemical interpretive essays, with much new material and ideas, are A. G. Quintero-Rivera, *Conflictos de clase y política en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1976), *Patricios y plebeyos: Burgueses, hacendados, artesanos y obreros* (San Juan, P.R., 1988) and 'Background to the emergence of imperialist capitalism in Puerto Rico', *Caribbean Studies*, 13/3 (1973); A. G. Quintero-Rivera et al., *Puerto Rico: Identidad nacional y clases sociales* (San Juan, P.R., 1979); and José Luis González, *El país de cuatro pisos* (San Juan, P.R., 1980; Eng. trans., 1993). Reece Bothwell, *Puerto Rico: Cien años de lucha política* (San Juan, P.R., 1979) is a very useful compilation of political documents.

Laird W. Bergad, 'Agrarian history of Puerto Rico, 1870–1930', *LARR*, 13/3 (1978), 63–94 is an important article; see also his book, *Coffee and the Growth of Agrarian Capitalism in 19th Century Puerto Rico* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). Other studies of late-nineteenth-century coffee haciendas worthy of mention include: Vivian Carro, *Formación de la gran propiedad cafetalera: La Hacienda Pietri, 1838–1898*, which constitutes the entire issue of *Anales de Investigación Histórica*, 2/1 (1975); Luis E. Díaz-Hernández, *Castañer, una hacienda cafetalera en Puerto Rico (1868–1930)* (San Juan, P.R., 1983); and Carlos Buitrago-Ortiz, *Los orígenes históricos de la sociedad precapitalista en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1976) and *Haciendas cafetaleras y clases terratenientes en el Puerto Rico decimonónico* (San Juan, P.R., 1982). On the Puerto Rican economy and society in late nineteenth century, see also Fernando Picó, *Libertad y servidumbre en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX* (San Juan, P.R., 1979) and *Cafetal adentro, una historia de los trabajadores agrícolas en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX* (San Juan, P.R., 1986); Astrid Cubano, *El hilo en el laberinto: Claves de la lucha política en Puerto Rico (Siglo XIX)* (San Juan, P.R., 1990); José Curet, *De la esclavitud a la abolición* (San Juan, P.R., 1979); Andrés Ramos Mattei, *Apuntes sobre la transición hacia el sistema de centrales en la industria azucarera: Los libros de cuentas de la hacienda Mercedita, 1861–1900* (San Juan, P.R., 1975), *La hacienda azucarera, su crecimiento y crisis en Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)* (San Juan, P.R., 1981) and *La sociedad del azúcar en Puerto Rico, 1870–1910* (San

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Juan, P.R., 1988); and Andrés Ramos Mattei et al., *Azúcar y esclavitud* (San Juan, P.R., 1982). On sugar, see also the pioneer life-history account by Sidney Mintz, *Worker in the Cane* (New Haven, Conn., 1960). Also worthy of mention are Sidney Mintz, 'The culture history of a Puerto Rican sugar cane plantation 1876–1949', *HAHR*, 33/2 (1953), 224–51; José A. Herrero, *La mitología del azúcar: Un ensayo de historia económica de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1975); and Moreno Fraginals, 'Plantation economies and societies in the Spanish Caribbean, c. 1860–1930', *CHLA*, Vol. IV (1986).

The early labour movement is the subject of Gervasio García, *Primeros fermentos de organización obrera en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1975), *Historia crítica, historia sin coartadas* (San Juan, P.R., 1985), 'Economie dominée et premiers ferments d'organization ouvrière: Puerto Rico entre le XIX et le XX siècle' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris, 1976) and, with A. G. Quintero-Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad: Breve historia del movimiento obrero puertorriqueño* (San Juan, P.R., 1982). See also Rubén Dávila, *El derribo de las murallas* (San Juan, P.R., 1988); Miles Galvin, *The Organized Labour Movement in Puerto Rico* (London, 1979); Erick Pérez, 'Condiciones de vida de los trabajadores puertorriqueños en las primeras décadas del Siglo XX', *Plural*, 3/1–2, 1984; Blanca Silvestrini, *Los trabajadores puertorriqueños y el Partido Socialista, 1932–40* (San Juan, P.R., 1978); Félix Ojeda, '¿Colonialismo sindical o solidaridad internacional? Las relaciones entre el movimiento obrero puertorriqueño y el norteamericano en los inicios de la Federación Libre, 1898–1901', *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 25/3–4 (1986); and Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico (1896–1903)* (San Juan, P.R., 1973). Also useful is a series of five articles published by A. G. Quintero-Rivera in *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 18/1–2 and 3–4 (1974); 19/1, 3 (1975) and 20/1–2 (1976), under the general title of 'La clase obrera y el proceso político en Puerto Rico'.

The study of female work and women's struggles is the subject of Yamila Azize, *Luchas de la mujer, 1898–1919* (San Juan, P.R., 1979); Marcia Rivera, 'Incorporación de las mujeres al mercado de trabajo en el desarrollo capitalista', in Edna Acosta (ed.), *La mujer en la sociedad puertorriqueña* (San Juan, P.R., 1980); Alice Colón et al., *Participación de la mujer en la historia de Puerto Rico (las primeras décadas del Siglo XX)* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); and Norma Valle's bibliography of the important labour and feminist leader *Luisa Capetillo* (San Juan, P.R., 1990).

Georg Fromm's series of articles on Albizu-Campos (leader of the Nationalist party) and the working class in the 1930s in *Claridad*, 3 (June–July

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1977) is an important link between the study of the workers movement and nationalism. Five different collections of articles or speeches of Albizu-Campos have also been published: B. Torres (ed.), *Obras escogidas, 1923–36* (San Juan, P.R., 1975); M. Maldonado-Denis (ed.), *La conciencia nacional puertorriqueña* (Mexico, D.F., 1972); Carlos Rama (ed.), *República de Puerto Rico* (Montevideo, 1972); *Independencia económica* (San Juan, P.R., 1970); and *Escritos y reseñas políticas, 1930* (San Juan, P.R., 1972). A former member of the Nationalist party, Juan Antonio Corretjer, has written several essays on Albizu-Campos: *Albizu Campos y las huelgas en los años 30* (San Juan, P.R., 1969), *Albizu-Campos* (Montevideo, 1969) and *El líder de la desesperación* (Guaynabo, 1972). Luis Ferrao, *Pedro Albizu Campos y el nacionalismo puertorriqueño, 1930–39* (San Juan, P.R. 1990) is a critical study of this movement. A different perspective is presented in Taller de Formación Política, *Huelga en la caña* (San Juan, P.R., 1983). On the anti-independence movement, see Edgardo Meléndez, *Puerto Rico's Statehood Movement* (New York, 1988) and Aarón Ramos's excellent selection of documents, *Las ideas anexionistas en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1987).

Carmelo Rosario Natal, *Puerto Rico y la crisis de la Guerra Hispanoamericana (1893–1898)* (San Juan, P.R., 1973) is a useful though limited study of the Spanish–American war and its consequences for Puerto Rico. On the military importance of Puerto Rico for U.S. policies and its socio-historical consequences, see María E. Estades, *La presencia militar de Estados Unidos en Puerto Rico 1898–1918* (San Juan, P.R., 1988) and Jorge Rodríguez Beruff, *Política militar y dominación: Puerto Rico en el contexto latinoamericano* (San Juan, P.R., 1988). On social struggles immediately following the U.S. takeover of 1898, see Fernando Picó, *1898, La guerra después de la Guerra* (San Juan, P.R., 1987) and Mariano Negrón, *Las turbas republicanas 1900–1904* (San Juan, P.R., 1990).

On the 1930s social processes that led to the emergence of the PPD, see A. G. Quintero-Rivera, 'Bases sociales de la transformación ideológica del PPD', in Gerardo Navas (ed.), *Cambio y desarrollo en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1979). Thomas G. Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville, Fla., 1960) is a critical interpretation of the first five years of the New Deal. On students and the politics of the 1930s, see Isabel Picó, *La protesta estudiantil en la década del 30* (San Juan, P.R., 1974). Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System* (San Juan, P.R., 1970) analyses the papers of the colonial Commissioners of Education during the first three decades of U.S. rule. On other social struggles in those decades, see Juan José Baldrich's excellent book,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sembraron la no-siembra: Los cosecheros de tabaco puertorriqueños frente a las corporaciones tabacaleras, 1920–1934 (San Juan, P.R., 1988) and Fernando Picó's provocative analysis of daily life conflicts in *Los gallos peleados* (San Juan, P.R., 1983).

Finally, an important part of Caribbean history is its relationship with Caribbean migration to the colonial metropolis. On the origins of the Puerto Rican community in the United States, especially New York, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (CUNY), *Labor Migration under Capitalism* (New York, 1979) and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917–48* (Westport, Conn., 1983) are interesting, as are the extraordinary memoirs of a migrant cigarmaker, César Andreu Iglesias (ed.), *Memorias de Bernardo Vega* (San Juan, P.R., 1977).

15. THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The preservation of historical sources in the Dominican Republic has suffered greatly under the country's historical vicissitudes. Of the important documents that survived, many are in private hands. The former director of the Archivo General de la Nación, Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, has edited a wide range of source material: *Hostos en Santo Domingo,* 2 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1939); *Relaciones históricas de Santo Domingo,* 3 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1942, 1945 and 1957); *Correspondencia del cónsul de Francia en Santo Domingo, 1844–1846,* vol. 1 (Ciudad Trujillo, 1944); *Documentos para la historia de la República Dominicana,* 3 vols. (vol. 1, Ciudad Trujillo, 1944; vol. 2, Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1949; vol. 3, Ciudad Trujillo, 1959); *Correspondencia del cónsul de Francia en Santo Domingo, 1846–1850,* vol. 2 (Ciudad Trujillo, 1947); *La marina de guerra dominicana, 1844–1861* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1958); *Actos y doctrina del gobierno de la restauración* (Santo Domingo, 1963); *Papeles de Espaillat: Para la historia de las ideas políticas en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1963) and *Papeles de Pedro F. Bonó* (Santo Domingo, 1964).

Bibliographies are scarce. Three may be mentioned here: Deborah Hitt and Larman Wilson, *A Selected Bibliography of the Dominican Republic: A Century after the Restoration of Independence* (Washington, D.C., 1968); Wolf Grabendorff, *Bibliographie zu Politik und Gesellschaft der Dominikanischen Republik: Neuere Studien 1961–1971* (Munich, 1973) and Kai Schoenhals, *Dominican Republic,* World Bibliographical Series, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1990).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Of the general histories, Sumner Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic 1844–1924*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), has deservedly been reprinted (New York, 1966); Sp. trans. *La Viña de Naboth* (Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1939). The author's diplomatic activities in the country made him look favourably upon Horacio Vázquez, which shows in the relevant parts of the book, as does his related antipathy towards Heureaux, which he shares, it must be said, with quite a few representatives of traditional Dominican historiography. A more balanced work is Ramón Marrero Aristy, *La República Dominicana: Orígen y destino del pueblo cristiano más antiguo de América*, 2 vols. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1957–8) – in spite of its subtitle. See also Bernardo Pichardo, *Resumen de historia patria* (Barcelona, 1930) and, by the pioneer of Dominican historiography, José Gabriel García, *Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1896; repr. 1979, 2 vols.). The financial history of the Republic is dealt with in César A. Herrera, *De Hartmont a Trujillo* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1953). An excellent general history is Frank Moya Pons, *Manual de historia dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1977). Finally, a valuable general reference work is Rufino Martínez, *Diccionario biográfico histórico dominicano, 1821–1930* (Santo Domingo, 1971).

Of importance for an understanding of nineteenth-century Dominican history is *Report of the Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo* (Washington, D.C., 1871); Samuel Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present, with a Glance at Hayti* (London, 1873; repr. Santo Domingo, 1982); Padre Fernando Arturo de Meriño, *Elementos de geografía física, política e histórica de la República Dominicana, precedidos de las nociones generales de geografía*, 3rd ed. (Santo Domingo, 1898); General Gregorio Luperón, *Notas autobiográficas y apuntes históricos*, 3 vols. (Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1939); and José Ramón Abad, *La República Dominicana: Reseña general geográfico-estadística* (Santo Domingo, 1888; reprinted 1973). H. Hoetink, *El pueblo dominicano, 1850–1900: Apuntes para su sociología histórica*, 3rd ed. (Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1985), Eng. trans. *The Dominican People, 1850–1900: Notes for a Historical Sociology* (Baltimore, 1982) focusses on economic, social, political and cultural change during the second half of the nineteenth century. A valuable – and rare – comparative perspective on nineteenth-century Dominican economy is provided by Roberto Marte, *Cuba y la República Dominicana: Transición económica en el Caribe del siglo XIX* (Santo Domingo, 1989). Important contributions on the social and economic structure in this period may further be found in Martin D. Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo: Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Philadelphia, 1973); Patrick E.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bryan, 'The transformation of the economy of the Dominican Republic, 1870–1916' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1977); and Roberto Cassa, *Historia social y económica de la República Dominicana,* 2 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1977–80). On the sugar industry, see also Moreno Fraginals, 'Plantation economies and societies in the Spanish Caribbean, *c.*1860–1930', *CHLA,* Vol. IV (1986). A valuable journal of historical studies is *Eme Eme, Estudios dominicanos,* published by the Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, Santiago. See, for example, Antonio Lluberes, 'La economía del tabaco en el Cibao en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX', *Eme Eme,* 1/4 (1973); Paul Muto, 'La economía de exportación de la República Dominicana: 1900–1930', *Eme Eme,* 3/5 (1974); Frank Moya Pons, 'Datos sobre la economía dominicana durante la Primera República', *Eme Eme,* 4/24 (1976).

The peasantry's changing role in the tobacco-growing Cibao Valley has been the theme of three monographs: Fernando I. Ferrán, *Tabaco y sociedad: La organización del poder en el ecomercado de tabaco dominicano* (Santo Domingo, 1976); P. L. San Miguel, 'The Dominican peasantry and the market economy: The peasants of the Cibao, 1880–1960' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1987); and Michiel Baud, 'Peasant society under siege: Tobacco cultivation in the Cibao, Dominican Republic, 1870–1930 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Utrecht, 1991).

The immigration of sugar-cane workers is desribed by José del Castillo, 'La inmigración de braceros azucareros en la República Dominicana, 1900–1930', *Cuadernos del Centro Dominicano de Investigaciones Antropológicos* (Santo Domingo, 1978).

On the U.S. occupation of the Domincian Republic, see Marvin Goldwert, *Dominican Republic: History of American Occupation, 1916–1924* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962); Antonio de la Rosa, *Las finanzas de Santo Domingo y el control americano* (Santo Domingo, 1969), and, more recently, Bruce J. Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic during the U.S. Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin, Tex., 1984). See also two older works: Max Henríquez Ureña, *Los yanquis en Santo Domingo* (Madrid, 1929) and Melvin Knight, *The Americans in Santo Domingo* (New York, 1928). On the relations between the United States and the Dominican Republic over a longer period, see David C. MacMichael, 'The United States and the Dominican Republic, 1871–1940: A cycle in Caribbean diplomacy' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, 1964). Relations between the Dominican Republic and Haiti receive attention in Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (New York, 1968). The extensive

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

literature that deals with the heroes and *caudillos* of the Dominican Republic generally has more literary than historical pretensions. By far the best in this genre are the vividly written biographical essays by Rufino Martínez, *Hombres dominicanos,* 2 vols. (vol. 1, Ciudad Trujillo, 1936; vol. 2, Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1943). A more general study of Dominican political leadership is Miguel Angel Monclús, *El caudillismo en la República Dominicana,* 3rd ed. (Santo Domingo, 1962); a valuable contribution to Dominican political history is Julio G. Campillo Pérez, *El grillo y el ruiseñor: Elecciones presidenciales dominicanas, contribución a su estudio* (Santo Domingo, 1966).

On the history of literature, see Joaquín Balaguer, *Historia de la literatura dominicana,* 2nd ed. (Ciudad Trujillo, 1958); on the history of the plastic arts, see Danilo de los Santos, *La pintura en la sociedad dominicana* (Santiago, Dom. Rep., 1979).

16. HAITI

In 1973 the Scarecrow Press (Washington, D.C.) published an appendix to Max Bissainthe's *Dictionnaire de bibliographie haïtienne* (Washington, D.C., 1951); together they represent the best bibliography of works on Haiti and by Haitians. For the latter part of the period, Kraus International has published *The Complete Haitiana, 1900–1980* (Millwood, N.Y., 1982), edited by Michel Laguerre. It is a disappointing volume; for some of its shortcomings, see L.-F. Hoffmann, 'The incomplete Haitiana', *Caribbean Review,* 12/2 (1983). Mention should also be made of Max Manigat, *Haitiana, 1971–1975* (LaSalle, Que., 1980) and vol. 39 in the World Bibliographical Series, compiled by Frances Chambers, *Haiti* (Oxford and Santa Barbara, Calif., 1983).

James Leyburn's classic, *The Haitian People* (1941; rev. ed. with forward by Sidney Mintz, New Haven, Conn., 1966) remains one of the best introductions to Haitian history and social structure, despite its occasional shortcomings. Leyburn failed to recognise the full significance of the urban middle class and of important economic and social distinctions among the rural population; in the historical sections he is sometimes a victim of what may be called the 'mulatto legend' of the Haitian past. A book by the Polish scholar, Tadeusz Lepkowski, has been translated into Spanish under the title *Haití* (Havana, 1968–9); the author deals, among other things, with the early history of Haiti, with Haitian historiography and with the development of agriculture. Robert Rot-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

berg, *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor* (Boston, 1971) has useful sections on the Haitian economy of the period but is otherwise undistinguished. Robert Debs Heinl, who was in charge of the U.S. marine mission to Haiti in the early years of the Duvalier era, has produced (with Nancy G. Heinl) a somewhat ethnocentric and anecdotal history of Haiti, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People* (Boston, 1978), which contains some fascinating illustrations.

A major event in Haitian historiography is the publication, for the first time, of the four missing volumes of Thomas Madiou's *Histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince, 1988). Madiou published the first three volumes in his lifetime, and his family published a volume covering the period 1843–47 in 1904. It was generally assumed that the volumes dealing with the period 1808–43 had been lost. Although this work deals with an earlier period, it is important as the work of a man who played a major role in the political life of the country into the 1880s.

Other works touching on the history of Haiti in this period include Mats Lundahl's impressive *Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti* (London, 1979); this book, however, deals only incidentally with the past and relies heavily on secondary sources. Schiller Thébaud, 'L'évolution de la structure agraire d'Haïti de 1804 à nos jours' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris, 1967) contains much useful information on the period with which we are here concerned. *L'économie haïtienne et sa voie de développement* (Paris, 1967) by Gérard Pierre Charles includes some rather slight historical sections; his writings on Haiti past and present are, however, characterised by a loose and inappropriate use of such terms as 'feudalism' and 'fascism'. In *Economic Development and Political Autonomy: The Haitian Experience* (Montreal, 1974), David Nicholls considers the ideas of Haitian politicians and intellectuals on economic policies principally during the pre-occupation period; a revised version is printed in his *Haiti in Caribbean Context* (London, 1985). A good economic history of Haiti in the nineteenth century has, however, still to be written.

On the social structure of pre-occupation Haiti, Benoît Joachim's work is particularly important: see 'La bourgeoisie d'affaires en Haïti de l'indépendance à l'occupation américaine', *Nouvelle Optique,* 4 (1971) and 'La structure sociale en Haïti et le mouvement d'indépendance au dix-neuvième siècle', *Journal of World History,* 12/3 (1970). Some of the material in these articles has been brought together in Joachim's book, *Les racines de sous-développement en Haïti* (Port-au-Prince, 1979). A useful contribution to understanding the period leading up to the U.S. occupation is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Gusti-Klara Gaillard, *L'expérience haïtienne de la dette extérieure ou une production cafétière pillée, 1875–1915* (Port-au-Prince, 1988). Alain Turnier, whose work on commercial relations between Haiti and the United States is well known, has published a fascinating history of financial corruption and the sequestration of presidential property, *Quand la nation demande des comptes* (Port-au-Prince, n.d.); he has also written the story of a nineteenth-century *cacos* leader, *Avec Mérisier Jeannis: Une tranche de vie jacmélienne et nationale* (Port-au-Prince, 1982). Also dealing with social movements prior to the U.S. invasion is Roger Gaillard's *Les blancs débarquent, 1914–1915: Les cent jours de Rosalvo Bobo* (Port-au-Prince, 1973) and his two-volume *La république exterminatrice* (Port-au-Prince, 1984 and 1988). On education, see Charles Tardieu, *L'éducation en Haïti de la période coloniale à nos jours* (Port-au-Prince, 1990). On the overseas migration of Haitians in this period there are two chapters in Mats Lundahl, *The Haitian Economy: Man, Land and Markets* (London, 1983) and a chapter in David Nicholls, *Haiti in Caribbean Context*.

Moving from economic and social history to a consideration of intellectual history, G. Martinez's article, 'De l'ambiguïté du nationalisme bourgeois en Haïti', *Nouvelle Optique*, 9 (1973) is a good critical discussion – from a Marxist standpoint – of Haitian theorists in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Sections of Claude Moïse's thesis on Joseph Anténor Firmin have been published in *Conjonction*, 117 (1971), adding to our knowledge of this brilliant writer and statesman. In chapters 4 and 5 of *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), David Nicholls discusses the role that ideas about race and colour played in pre-occupation Haiti; and in 'The Wisdom of Salomon: Myth or reality?' *JIAS*, 20 (1978) he considers in more detail the policies of the Salomon government and the claims made on its behalf. Two works on religion, which approach the subject in a historical manner, are Laënnec Hurbon's *Dieu dans le vaudou haïtien* (Paris, 1972) and H. Courlander and R. Bastien, *Religion and Politics in Haiti* (Washington, D.C., 1966).

In the field of literary history there have been numerous works published in the last twenty years or so. Pradel Pompilus and Frère Raphaël Berrou have produced a revised and enlarged edition of their *Histoire de la littérature haïtienne* (Port-au-Prince, 1975). It is somewhat uncritical and didactic but is nevertheless useful. On the literature of the pre-occupation period, Roger Gaillard has written a fascinating account of the mulatto Methodist poet from Jérémie, *Etzer Vilaire: Témoin de nos malheurs* (Port-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

au-Prince, 1972). There is a special number of *Conjonction*, 122–3 (1973) dealing with Fernand Hibbert, Justin Lhérisson and Antoine Innocent; Yvette Gindine (who contributed to this journal under the name Feldman) has also written 'Satire and the birth of Haitian fiction, 1901–1905', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 21/3 (1975). Léon-François Hoffmann, in *Le nègre romantique* (Paris, 1973) and more recently in *Le roman haïtien* (Princeton, N.J., 1982) and in a number of articles in *Caribbean Review* and elsewhere, has greatly added to our knowledge and appreciation of the literature of this period.

With respect to the foreign relations of Haiti and the role played by foreign interests in the affairs of the country prior to 1915, the work of Benoît Joachim is outstanding. His 'Aspects fondamentaux des relations de la France avec Haïti de 1825 à 1874: Le néocolonialisme à l'essai' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris, 1968) is based principally upon French archival material. In 'Commerce et décolonisation: L'expérience franco-haïtienne au XIX^{e} siècle', *AESC*, 27 (1972) and other articles he has published some of the conclusions of his thesis. While Joachim's work deals primarily with the period before 1870, Leslie F. Manigat's long article, 'La substitution de la prépondérance américaine à la prépondérance française en Haïti au debut du XX^{e} siècle: La conjonction de 1910–11', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 14 (1967) deals with a later period. Less controversial and contentious than some of his writings, this article mainfests the same lively and stimulating approach to the Haitian past that we have come to expect from his pen; an English translation has been published in L. F. Manigat (ed.), *1975 Caribbean Yearbook of International Relations* (Port of Spain and Leiden, 1976). Rayford W. Logan's *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (London, 1968) is a useful volume and is especially strong on relations between Haiti and the United States; it does not, however, add a great deal to the excellent work he published earlier on this theme. Yves L. Auguste, *Haïti et les Etats-Unis: 1862–1900* (Port-au-Prince, 1987) should also be noted. The recent works of Brenda Gayle Plummer on the foreign relations of this period are admirable; they include 'Race, nationality, and trade in the Caribbean: The Syrians in Haiti, 1903–1934', *International History Review*, 3 (1981); 'The metropolitan connection: Foreign and semiforeign elites in Haiti, 1900–1915, *LARR*, 19 (1984); and her generally well-researched book, *Haiti and the Great Powers, 1902–1915* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988). Unfortunately, however, in the latter she failed to consult the German archives, which must contain a mine of useful information on this topic.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

On the legal and constitutional history of the period, reference should be made to Claude Moïse's two-volume work, *Constitutions et luttes de pouvoir en Haïti* (Montreal, 1988) and to Ferdinand Delatour, *Les 150 ans du régime du code civil dans le contexte social haïtien, 1826–1976* (Port-au-Prince, 1978).

On the occupation period, Hans Schmidt's *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971) is a superb critical study of U.S. policies in Haiti. Using a mass of archival material and private papers, in addition to printed sources, the author never gets bogged down. The book, however, deals only incidentally and somewhat inadequately with Haitian reactions to the occupation. Cool and academic in tone, it nevertheless represents a massive condemnation of U.S. policies. Less original and relying heavily on secondary sources is Suzy Castor's *La ocupación norteamericana de Haití y sus consecuencias (1915–1934)* (Mexico, D.F., Madrid and Buenos Aires, 1971). Dana Munro has two useful chapters on Haiti in *The United States and the Caribbean Republics, 1921–1933* (Princeton, N.J., 1974); this book is a sequel to his earlier volume, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900–1921* (Princeton, N.J., 1964). In 'Idéologie et mouvements politiques en Haïti, 1915–1946', *AESC*, 30/4 (1975), David Nicholls looks at the role played by race, colour and class in the politics of the period, and in chapter 5 of *From Dessalines to Duvalier* he discusses in more detail the intellectual movements of the time.

Dealing particularly with the literature of the occupation period is Ulrich Fleischmann, *Ideologie und Wirklichkeit in der Literatur Haitis* (Berlin, 1969); the main themes of this book have been summarised in his *Ecrivain et société en Haïti* (Fonds St. Jacques, Martinique, 1976). Another important contribution to the literary history of the post-1915 period is J. Michael Dash, *Literature and Ideology in Haiti, 1915–1961* (London, 1981). This is an excellent piece of critical work, setting the authors in their social context. In *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (London, 1988), Dash considers how each nation views the other, as reflected in their imaginative literature. Dash has written on Jacques Roumain in *Black Images*, 2/1 (1973). Claude Souffrant also deals with Roumain, together with J. S. Alexis and the U.S. poet Langston Hughes in *Une négritude socialiste* (Paris, 1978). Two monographs on Alexis have been published, one by Michael Dash (Toronto, 1975) and the other by Maximilien Laroche, entitled *Le romancero aux étoiles* (Paris, 1978). Gabriel Coulthard's *Race and Colour in Caribbean Literature* (Lon-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

don, 1962) remains an excellent introduction to the literature of the period.

17. ARGENTINA: ECONOMY, 1870–1914

The best and most complete bibliographical study of the economic history of Argentina in the period 1870–1914 is Tulio Halperín Donghi, 'Argentina', in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History 1830–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977). Among the general works which appeared after the Second World War, Ricardo M. Ortiz, *Historia económica de la Argentina, 1850–1930*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1955) was, for many years, the most widely read work on the economic history of Argentina. During the 1960s two works in this field were to have a significant influence: Aldo Ferrer, *La economía argentina: Las etapas de su desarrollo y problemas actuales* (Buenos Aires, 1963) which, like Celso Furtado's study of Brazil, examines the structure of the economy from the colonial period to the present and is strongly influenced by the literature on development from ECLA/CEPAL; and Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967), originally conceived as a thesis under the supervision of W. W. Rostow, which accepts the rapid growth of the period 1880–1914 and seeks to explain why it was not sustained after 1914. See also the essays in D. C. M. Platt and G. Di Tella (eds.), *The Political Economy of Argentina, 1880–1946* (London, 1986), including David Rock, 'The Argentine economy, 1880–1914: Some salient features'.

The first chapter of Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro's important work, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), considers the period prior to 1930. Díaz Alejandro moves away from previous interpretations of the period and stresses that Argentina, like Canada and the United States, deserves to be seen within the framework of the staple theory of economic growth (on which see Melville H. Watkins, 'A staple theory of economic growth', *Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science*, 29/2 [1963]). Vicente Vásquez Presedo, *El caso argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1971), also sees the Argentine case as being unique and different from that of other underdeveloped countries and close to that of recently settled Anglo-Saxon countries. See also John Fogarty, Ezequiel Gallo and Hector Diéguez, *Argentina y Australia* (Buenos Aires, 1979); Tim Duncan and John Fogarty, *Australia and Argen-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tina: On Parallel Paths (Melbourne, Aus., 1984); and D. C. M. Platt and G. Di Tella (eds.), *Argentina, Australia and Canada: Studies in Comparative Development, 1870–1965* (New York, 1985). The first two chapters of Roberto Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1979) consider the territorial formation and regional structure of Argentina from the colonial period until the nineteenth century, while the central chapters discuss the development of the land and labour markets during the period 1880–1910.

Other general works that deserve mention are Roque Gondra, *Historia económica de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1943), which was an obligatory text in teaching for many years, as was Federico Pinedo, *Siglo y medio de economía argentina* (Mexico, D.F., 1961). See also Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Historia argentina contemporánea 1862–1930*, vol. 3, *Historia económica* (Buenos Aires, 1965). Among older but nevertheless indispensable works are two studies by Juan Alvarez, *Estudios sobre las guerras civiles argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1914) and *Temas de historia económica argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1929), as well as Ernesto Tornquist's *The Economic Development of the Argentine Republic in the Last Fifty Years* (Buenos Aires, 1919) and Michael G. and E. T. Mulhall, *Handbook of the River Plate*, 1863, 1875, 1888, 1892 (reprint, Buenos Aires and London, 1982).

On demographic change, and especially internal and international migration, Zulma L. Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo E. Lattes, *Migraciones en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1969) and *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975) are indispensable. See also essay VI:8.

For many years, the most widely accepted work on the rural sector was Horacio C. E. Giberti, *Historia económica de la ganadería argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1954), based principally on the excellent essays of the 1908 census; it became a classic in its field. Another well-known book is James Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat* (Austin, Tex., 1964). Later works include Ezequiel Gallo, 'Agricultural colonization and society in Argentina: The province of Santa Fe, 1870–95' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1970), Sp. trans. *La pampa gringa* (Buenos Aires, 1983); Eduardo Miguez, *Las tierras de los ingleses en la Argentina 1870–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1985); Alfredo R. Pucciarelli, *El capitalismo agrario pampeano, 1880–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1986); Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Hilda Sábato, *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), originally published in Spanish as *Capitalismo y ganadería*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

en Buenos Aires: La fiebre del lanar 1865–1890 (Buenos Aires, 1989); and Jeremy Adelman, 'Agricultural credit in the Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina 1890–1914, *JLAS*, 22/1 (1990), 69–87. See also Aldo Montoya, *Historia de los saladeros argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1956); Fernando Enrique Barba, 'El desarrollo agropecuario de la provincia de Buenos Aires (1880–1930)', *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 17 (1974), 210–310; Roberto Cortés Conde, 'Patrones de asentamiento y explotación agropecuaria en los nuevos territorios argentinos (1890–1910)' and Ezequiel Gallo, 'Ocupación de tierras y colonización agrícola en Santa Fe', both in Alvaro Jara (ed.), *Tierras nuevas* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); Roberto Cortés Conde, 'Tierras, agricultura y ganadería', and Colin Lewis, 'La consolidación de la frontera argentina a fines de la década del setenta: Los indios, Roca y los ferrocarriles', both in Gustavo Ferrari and Ezequiel Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1980); and M. Sáenz Quesada, *Los estancieros* (Buenos Aires, 1980).

A number of older works are worthy of special mention because of their permanent value: Miguel Angel Cárcano, *Evolución histórica del régimen de la tierra pública 1810–1916* (Buenos Aires, 1917); Jacinto Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1930); Mark Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampas* (New York, 1926); Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Life in Argentina* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948); Simon G. Hanson, *Argentine Meat and the British Market: Chapters in the History of the Argentine Meat Industry* (Stanford, Calif., 1938). Estanislao Zeballo, *Descripción amena de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1888) and the studies carried out by the División de Economía Rural del Ministerio de Agricultura (1900) are indispensable.

On foreign trade and foreign investment, John H. Williams, *Argentine International Trade under Inconvertible Paper Money, 1880–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920; repr. New York, 1969), has still not been surpassed; because of its wealth of information on balance of payments, prices, wages, and so on it has, in fact, come to be considered the best economic history of the period. See also Vásquez Presedo, *El caso argentino*, chap. 2; H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960); A. G. Ford, *The Gold Standard, 1880–1914: Britain and Argentina* (Oxford, 1962); and an older work, Harold J. Peters, *The Foreign Debt of the Argentine Republic* (Baltimore, 1934). Héctor L. Diéguez, 'Crecimiento e inestabilidad del valor y el volumen físico de las exportaciones argentinas en el período 1864–1963', *Desarrollo Económico* 12/46 (1972), is an article which transcribes information from the important recompilation of statistical evi-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dence on Argentina's foreign trade presented in Roberto Cortés Conde, Tulio Halperín Donghi and H. Gorostegui de Torres, *El comercio exterior argentino – exportaciones 1863–1963* (mimeo, Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires, n.d.), which corrects many previous statistical errors and deficiencies. Also important are D. C. M. Platt, *Finance, Trade and Politics in British Foreign Policy, 1815–1914* (Oxford, 1971) and *Latin America and British Trade, 1806–1914* (London, 1972); A. G. Ford, 'British investment in Argentina and long swings, 1880–1914', *Journal of Economic History*, 31/3 (1971), reprinted in Roderick Floud (ed.), *Essays in Quantitative Economic History* (Oxford, 1974), and 'British investment and Argentine economic development, 1880–1914', in David Rock (ed.), *Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1975). On French investment there are three articles by Andres Regalsky worthy of note: 'Exportaciones de capital hacia los paises nuevos, los bancos franceses y las finanzas públicas argentinas 1881–1887', *Revista de Historia Económica*, 5/1 (1987); 'Las inversiones francesas en los ferrocarriles 1887–1899', *Siglo XIX* (Universidad Autónoma de Nueva León), 3/5 (1988); and 'Foreign capital, local interests and railway development in Argentina: French investments in railways, 1900–1914', *JLAS* 21/3 (1989), 425–52.

The works of Williams and Ford are mainly studies of the working of the gold standard in Argentina. The work of Williams goes up to the end of the century while that of Ford considers two separate periods, the first from 1880 to 1885, which he classifies as a failure of the system, and the second from 1900 to 1910, which he terms a success. See also Ferns, *Britain and Argentina* and David Joslin, *A Century of Banking in Latin America* (London, 1963). Also worthy of note are Rafael Olarra Jiménez, *El dinero y las estructuras monetarias* (Buenos Aires, 1967) together with Olarra Jiménez, 'Las reformas monetarias 1880–1910', and Charles Jones, 'Los bancos británicos', both in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario*. Among older works, see Emilio Hansen's classic study, *La moneda argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1916) and José A. Terry, *Cuestiones monetarias* (Buenos Aires, 1899) and *Finanzas* (Buenos Aires, 1918). Roberto Cortés Conde, *Dinero, deuda y crisis: Evolución fiscal y monetaria argentina, 1862–1890* (Buenos Aires, 1989) is the first monetary history of Argentina for the period 1860–1890. An important thesis which offers new monetary series from 1885 is Gerardo della Paolera, 'How the Argentine economy performed during the International Gold Standard: A reexamination' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1988).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The bibliography on transport is, of course, dominated by the railways. The most complete work is Eduardo A. Zalduendo, *Libras y rieles* (Buenos Aires, 1975), which also examines British investment in the railways of Brazil, Canada and India. Also important is Winthrop R. Wright, *British-owned Railways in Argentina: Their Effect on Economic Nationalism 1854–1948* (Austin, Tex., 1972). See too Colin Lewis, 'Problems of railway development in Argentina, 1857–1890', *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* 22/2 (1962) and *British Railways in Argentina, 1857–1914* (London, 1983); Paul Goodwin, 'The central Argentine railway and the economic development of Argentina, 1854–1881', *HAHR,* 57/4 (1977), 613–32; and Eduardo A. Zalduendo, 'Aspectos económicos del sistema de transporte en la Argentina (1880–1914)', in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* Among older works, which are nevertheless indispensable for various reasons, Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz, *Historia de los ferrocarriles argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1957), an anti-British view, and A. E. Bunge's well-documented *Ferrocarriles argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1916), which, as the author points out, is also a contribution to the study of national wealth, deserve mention.

On industry, Adolfo Dorfman's study, published originally as *La evolución industrial argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1942) and later as *Historia de la industria argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1970), remains important. Among more recent works, see Vásquez Presedo, *El caso argentino,* and 'Evolución industrial 1880–1910', in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario;* Ezequiel Gallo, 'Agrarian expansion and industrial development in Argentina', in Raymond Carr (ed.), *Latin American Affairs: St. Antony's Papers, No. 22* (Oxford, 1970); Lucio Geller, 'El crecimiento industrial argentino hasta 1914 y la teoría del bien primario exportado', in Marcos Giménez Zapiola (ed.), *El régimen oligárquico: Materiales para el estudio de la realidad argentina hasta 1930* (Buenos Aires, 1975); Colin M. Lewis, 'Immigrant entrepreneurs, manufacturing and industrial policy in the Argentine, 1922–28', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 27 (1987), 77–109; Leandro Gutiérrez and Juan Carlos Korol, 'Historia de empresas y crecimiento industrial en la Argentina: El caso de la Fábrica Argentina de Alpargatas', *DE,* 28/111 (1988); María Inés Barbero, 'Grupos empresarios, intercambio comercial e inversiones italianas en la Argentina: El caso de Pirelli (1910–1920)', *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos,* 3/15–16 (1990); and Roberto Cortés Conde, 'Problemas del crecimiento industrial en Argentina 1900–1960', in Enrique Cárdenas (ed.), *La industrialización en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1992) which offers a new

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

series of industrial production statistics for the period 1990–1935 (revising those of ECLA published in 1958).

18. ARGENTINA: SOCIETY AND POLITICS, 1880–1916

There are a number of general works on the political process in Argentina between 1870 and 1914: Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Historia argentina contemporánea 1862–1930,* vols. 1 and 2 (Buenos Aires, 1964, 1966); Ricardo Levillier (ed.), *Historia argentina,* vol. 4 (Buenos Aires, 1968); E. Gallo and R. Cortés Conde, *La república conservadora* (Buenos Aires, 1972); N. Botana, *El orden conservador: La política argentina entre 1880 y 1916* (Buenos Aires, 1977); G. Ferrari and E. Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1980); and David Rock, *Argentina 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War* (Berkeley, 1988). Still useful are the classic studies by L. H. Sommariva, *Historia de las intervenciones federales en las provincias,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1929), José N. Matienzo, *El gobierno representativo federal en la República Argentina* (Madrid, 1917), and Rodolfo Rivarola, *Del régimen federativo al unitario* (Buenos Aires, 1908). Also worth consulting is the documentary compilation by Isidoro Ruiz Moreno (ed.), *La federalización de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1980).

Some biographies contain useful information on the period. See, for example, two studies by Agustín Rivero Astengo, *Juárez Celman: Estudio histórico y documental de una época argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1940), and *Pellegrini, 1846–1906,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1941); R. Sáenz Hayes, *Miguel Cané y su tiempo, 1851–1905* (Buenos Aires, 1955); and José Arce, *Roca 1843–1914: Su vida y su obra* (Buenos Aires, 1960); F. Luna, *Soy Roca* (Buenos Aires, 1989); A. W. Bunkley, *The Life of Sarmiento* (Princeton, N.J., 1952); J. Campobassi, *Mitre y su época* (Buenos Aires, 1980); and D. F. Weinstein, *Juan B. Justo y su época* (Buenos Aires, 1978). Also worth consulting are Leandro Alem, *Mensaje y destino,* 8 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1955), and Hipólito Yrigoyen, *Pueblo y gobierno,* 12 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1956). Among the most useful memoirs or autobiographies of active politicians are Paul Groussac, *Los que pasaban* (Buenos Aires, 1919); Ezequiel Ramos Mejía, *Mis memorias* (Buenos Aires, 1936); Ramón J. Cárcano, *Mis primeros ochenta años* (Buenos Aires, 1944); Nicolás Repetto, *Mi paso por la política, de Roca a Irigoyen* (Buenos Aires, 1956); Carlos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ibarguren, *La historia que he vivido* (Buenos Aires, 1955), and Enrique Dickman, *Recuerdos de un militante socialista* (Buenos Aires, 1949).

Not much, until recently, has been written on the history of ideas. The theme is given summary treatment in José L. Romero, *Las ideas políticas en la Argentina* (Mexico, D.F., 1956), Eng. trans. *The History of Argentine Political Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1963). Extremely valuable is T. Halperín Donghi, *Proyecto y construcción de una nación (Argentina 1846–1880)* (Caracas, 1980). This work should be read in conjunction with other studies by the same author: 'Un nuevo clima de ideas' in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario,* and '¿Para qué la inmigración? Ideología y política migratoria y aceleración del proceso modernizador: El caso argentino (1810–1914)', *JGSWGL,* 13 (1976). The following are also worth consulting: H. Biaggini, *¿Cómo fue la generación de ochenta?* (Buenos Aires, 1980); M. Monserrat, 'La mentalidad evolucionista: Una ideología del progreso' in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario;* J. C. Chiaramonte, *Nacionalismo y liberalismo económico en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1971); and T. Duncan, 'La prensa política: Sud-América, 1884–1914', in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* Two important more recent contributions have been made by Natalio Botana: *La tradición republicana: Alberdi, Sarmiento y las ideas políticas de su tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1984), and *La libertad política y su historia* (Buenos Aires, 1991). See also T. Halperín Donghi, *José Hernández y sus mundos* (Buenos Aires, 1985), and Carlos Escudé, *El fracaso del proyecto argentino: Educación e ideología* (Buenos Aires, 1990). For social catholicism, see N. T. Auzá, *Corrientes sociales del catolicismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1984). A more recent and very valuable contribution is E. Zimmermann, 'Liberals, reform and the social question: Argentina, 1890–1916' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1991).

There are a few general works on political parties: see Carlos Melo, *Los partidos políticos argentinos* (Córdoba, Arg., 1970); Alfredo Galletti, *La política y los partidos* (Buenos Aires, 1961); Darío Cantón, *Elecciones y partidos políticos en la Argentina: Historia, interpretación y balance, 1910–1966* (Buenos Aires, 1973); and K. Remmer, *Party Competition in Argentina and Chile: Political Recruitment and Public Policy* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984). On political practices, see H. Sábato and E. Plati, 'Quién votaba en Buenos Aires? Práctica y teoría del sufragio, 1850–1880', *Desarrollo Económico,* 30/119 (1990), and E. Gallo, 'Un quinquenio difícil: Las presidencias de Carlos Pellegrini y Luis Sáenz Peña', in G. Ferrari and E. Gallo, *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* The Radical party has received

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the most attention from historians. Besides the essays in Alem, *Mensaje y destino,* and Yrigoyen, *Pueblo y gobierno,* other important works are Gabriel Del Mazo, *El radicalismo: Ensayo sobre su historia y doctrina* (Buenos Aires, 1957); David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975); and E. Gallo and S. Sigal, 'La formación de los partidos políticos contemporáneos: La Unión Cívica Radical (1890–1916)', *Desarrollo Económico,* 3/1–2 (1963). On the Socialist party, R. J. Walter, *The Socialist Party in Argentina, 1890–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1977); D. Cuneo, *Juan B. Justo y las luchas sociales en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1963); J. Oddone, *Historia del socialismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1943); and M. Mullaney, 'The Argentine Socialist Party' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Essex, 1983), are all useful.

Less has been published on the conservative forces in Argentine politics in this period. But see O. Cornblit, 'La opción conservadora en la política argentina', *DE,* 15/56 (1975), and E. Gallo, 'El Roquismo', *Todo Es Historia,* 100 (1975). Although not devoted specifically to the topic, useful information may be found in J. M. Dulevich, *Caos social y crísis cívica* (Buenos Aires, 1980). Nothing has been written on the different groups which rallied behind the banner of *mitrismo,* and very little on the provincial factions. On the latter, various regional histories contain information: Juan Alvarez, *Ensayo sobre la historia de Santa Fe* (Buenos Aires, 1910); H. F. Gómez, *Los últimos sesenta años de democracia y gobierno en la provincia de Corrientes* (Buenos Aires, 1931); A. Díaz de Molina, *La oligarquía argentina: Su filiación y régimen (1840–1898)* (Buenos Aires, 1973); and Carlos Páez de la Torre, 'Tucumán, vida política y cotidiana, 1904–1913', *Todo Es Historia,* 27 (1973). There are also a number of valuable unpublished doctoral theses: Donald Peck, 'Argentine politics and the Province of Mendoza, 1890–1914' (University of Oxford, 1977); A. Liebscher, 'Commercial expansion and political change in Santa Fe province, 1897–1916' (Indiana University, 1975); Donna Guy, 'Politics and the sugar industry in Tucumán, Argentina, 1870–1900' (Indiana University, 1973), and G. Heaps-Nelson, 'Argentine provincial politics in an era of expanding political participation: Buenos Aires and Mendoza, 1906–1918' (University of Florida, 1975).

The armed rebellions of this period have attracted considerable attention. On the revolution of 1874, there is A. Terzaga, 'La revolución del 74: Una estrella que sube', *Todo Es Historia,* 59 (1974). For the events of 1880, see B. Galíndez, *Historia política argentina: La revolución de 1880* (Buenos Aires, 1945); S. Ratto de Sambucetti, *Avellaneda y la nación versus*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

la provincia de Buenos Aires (1873–1880) (Buenos Aires, 1975); E. M. Sanucci, *La renovación presidencial de 1880* (Buenos Aires, 1959); and N. Botana, '1880: La federalización de Buenos Aires', in G. Ferrari and E. Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* Much has been published on the revolution of 1890: J. Balestra, *El noventa: Una evolución política argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1971); H. Zorraquín Becú, *La revolución del noventa: Su sentido político* (Buenos Aires, 1960); L. V. Sommi, *La revolución del 90* (Buenas Aires, 1957); and a special edition of the *Revista de Historia* (1957) on 'La crisis del 90'. On the provincial revolts of 1893, see R. Etchepareborda, *Tres revoluciones: 1890–1893–1905* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and E. Gallo, *Farmers in Revolt: The Revolution of 1893 in the Province of Santa Fe* (London, 1976). Etchepareborda's work also analyses the aborted radical uprising of 1905. See also C. Martínez, *Alsina y Alem: Porteñismo y milicias* (Buenos Aires, 1990), and M. J. Wilde, 'Las milicias santafecinas', *Revista Histórica,* 10 (1982).

On international relations, see H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960); T. McGann, *Argentina, the United States and the Inter-American System: 1880–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); G. Ferrari, 'Argentina y sus vecinos' in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario;* and Joseph S. Tulchin, *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston, 1990). An important subject which has attracted little attention is that of relations with Italy and Spain, the home countries of the vast majority of immigrants.

For the social history of the period, fundamental are the three excellent national censuses of 1869, 1895 and 1914, and the two agricultural censuses (1888 and 1908). There are also two good provincial census reports (Buenos Aires, 1881, and Santa Fe, Arg., 1887), and three municipal censuses for the city of Buenos Aires (1887, 1904 and 1909). Much information on the social life of Argentina can be found in descriptions and studies published by foreign writers. The list is a long one, but the following deserve mention: *Handbook of the River Plate* by M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, 1863, 1875, 1883 and 1892 (reprint, Buenos Aires and London, 1982); E. Daireaux, *Vida y costumbres en el Plata,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1888); Jules Huret, *En Argentine: De Buenos Ayres au Gran Chaco* (Paris, 1914); A. N. Schüster, *Argentinien: Land, Volk, Wirtschaftsleben und Kolonisation,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1913); and P. de Giovanni, *Sotto il sole de Maggio: Note e impressione de la Argentina* (Castielo, 1900). Of considerable use is Reginald Lloyd (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Argentina: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (London, 1911).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

A topic which has received particular attention from historians is demographic growth, especially in relation to immigration. Useful studies are J. A. Alsina, *La inmigración en el primer siglo de la independencia* (Buenos Aires, 1910); Zulma L. Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo E. Lattes, *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975); N. Sánchez-Albornoz, *La población de América Latina desde los tiempos pre-colombinos al año 2000* (Madrid, 1973); G. Beyhaut et al., 'Los inmigrantes en el sistema ocupacional argentino', in Torcuato Di Tella et al., *Argentina, sociedad de masas* (Buenos Aires, 1965); and E. Maeder, 'Población e inmigración en la Argentina entre 1880 y 1910', in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario*. See also Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism in Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914* (Austin, Tex., 1970). On European immigration to rural areas, see J. C. Korol and H. Sábato, *Como fue la inmigración irlandesa en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1981), and Ezequiel Gallo, *La pampa gringa* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

Much research has been carried out recently on specific groups of immigrants. See, for instance, the articles in F. Korn (ed.), *Los italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1983); F. J. Devoto and G. Ronzoli (eds.), *L'Italia nella societá argentina* (Rome, 1988); and N. Sánchez-Albornoz (ed.), *Españoles hacia América: La emigración en masa (1880–1930)* (Madrid, 1988). See also O. Weyne, *El último puerto: Del Rhin al Volga y del Volga al Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1986).

On urban growth, see Z. Recchini de Lattes, 'El proceso de urbanización en la Argentina: Distribución, crecimiento y algunas características de la población urbana', *DE*, 13/48 (1973), and *La población de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1971); P. H. Randle, *La ciudad pampeana* (Buenos Aires, 1977); J. Scobie, *Buenos Aires: From Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York, 1971); Guy Bourdé, *Urbanisation et immigration en Amérique Latine, Buenos Aires, XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris, 1974); and F. Korn, *Buenos Aires 1895: Una ciudad moderna* (Buenos Aires 1981). For the development of some of the interior cities, see J. Scobie, *Secondary Cities of Argentina: The Social History of Corrientes, Salta, and Mendoza, 1850–1910*, completed and edited by Samuel L. Baily (Stanford, Calif., 1988).

On social structure, see G. Germani, *Estructura social de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1955); S. Bagú, *Evolución histórica de la estratificación social en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1961); F. Korn, *Buenos Aires: Los huéspedes del '20* (Buenos Aires, 1974); and the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by R. Sautu, 'Social stratification and economic development in Argentina (1914–

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1955)' (London, 1968). Also useful are G. Germani, 'La movilidad social en la Argentina', appendix to S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix (eds.), *Movilidad social en la sociedad industrial* (Buenos Aires, 1963); Jorge Federico Sábato, 'Notas sobre la formación de la clase dominante en la Argentina moderna (1880–1914)', mimeo, CISEA (Buenos Aires, 1979); D. Cuneo, *Compartamiento y crisis de la clase empresaria* (Buenos Aires, 1967); and O. Cornblit, 'Sindicatos obreros y asociaciones empresarias' in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* For relations between the agrarian and industrial sectors, see E. Gallo, 'Agrarian expansion and industrial development in Argentina, 1880–1930' in R. Carr (ed.), *Latin American Affairs: St. Antony's Papers, No. 22* (Oxford, 1970). For the interior provinces, see the unpublished Ph.D. theses by Donald Peck and Donna Guy cited above. Also valuable are Marcos Giménez Zapiola, 'El interior argentino y el "desarrollo hacia afuera": El caso de Tucumán', in M. Giménez Zapiola (ed.), *El régimen oligárquico: Materiales para el estudio de la realidad argentina hasta 1930* (Buenos Aires, 1975); E. Gallo, 'The cereal boom and changes in the social and political structure of Santa Fe, Argentina 1870–95', in K. Duncan and I. Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); J. Balán, 'Una cuestión regional en la Argentina: Burguesías provinciales y el mercado nacional en el desarrollo exportador', *Desarrollo Económico,* 18/69 (1978); H. Sábato, *Agrarian Capitalism and the World Market: Buenos Aires in the Pastoral Age, 1840–1890* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990); and H. F. Castillo and J. S. Tulchin, 'Développement capitaliste et structures sociales des régions en Argentine (1880–1930)', *AESC,* 6 (1968).

On living conditions, the classic studies are A. Bunge, *Riqueza y rentas en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1915) and *Los problemas económicos del presente* (Buenos Aires, 1919), and J. Bialet Masset, *Informe sobre el estado de las clases obreras en el interior de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1904). An important modern work is R. Cortés Conde, *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914* (Buenos Aires, 1979). See also J. Panettieri, *Los trabajadores* (Buenos Aires, 1968). One of the few studies on housing is O. Yujnovsky, 'Políticas de vivienda en la ciudad de Buenos Aires', *Desarrollo Económico* 14, 54 (1974). But see F. Korn and L. de la Torre, 'Housing in Buenos Aires: 1887–1914' in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Social Welfare 1850–1950, Australia, Argentina and Canada Compared* (London, 1989). See also in the same volume C. Escudé, 'Health in Buenos Aires in the second half of the nineteenth century'. Worth consulting are some of the articles included in L. L. Johnson (ed.), *The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays in*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Crime and Policing in Argentina and Uruguay, 1750–1919 (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990). On education, see J. C. Tedesco, *Educación y sociedad en la Argentina (1800–1900)* (Buenos Aires, 1970), and Francis Korn and L. de la Torre, 'Constituir la Unión Nacional', in Ferrari and Gallo (eds.), *La Argentina del ochenta al centenario.* Diego Armus (ed.), *Mundo urbano y cultura popular: Estudios de historia argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1990) contains essays on housing, ethnic communities, artisans and female and child labour.

On the labour movement the literature is more abundant. Of the studies published by those who participated actively in union organization, the most useful are S. Marotta, *El movimiento sindical argentino,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960), and D. Abad de Santillán, *La FORA: Ideología y trayectoria* (Buenos Aires, 1971). Modern studies include M. Casaretto, *Historia del movimiento obrero argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1947); Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., *La clase trabajadora argentina: Documentos para su historia (1890–1912)* (Buenos Aires, 1970); and I. Oved, *El anarquismo en los sindicatos argentinos a comienzos de siglo* (Tel Aviv, 1975). For additional bibliography on labour, see essay VI:7.

More recent comparative work with Australia and Canada provides valuable information and insights into social and political developments in Argentina. See T. Duncan and J. Fogarty, *Australia and Argentina: On Parallel Paths* (Melbourne, 1984); C. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); the articles contained in J. Fogarty, E. Gallo and H. Diéguez (eds.), *Argentina y Australia* (Buenos Aires, 1979); K. Boulding et al., *Argentina and Australia: Essays in Comparative Economic Development* (Victoria, 1985); D. C. M. Platt and Guido Di Tella (eds.), *Argentina, Australia and Canada: Studies in Comparative Development, 1870–1965* (London, 1985); and D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Social Welfare, 1850–1950,* cited above.

19. ARGENTINA, 1914–1930

A major statistical source for the study of Argentina on the eve of the First World War is Ernesto Tornquist, *The Economic Development of the Argentine Republic in the Last Fifty Years* (Buenos Aires, 1919). For the war period itself students should also consult Tornquist's quarterly publication, *Business Conditions in Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1913–22). A second source of information is the writings of Alejandro E. Bunge. See his *Ferrocarriles*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

argentinos (Buenos Aires, 1917) and *Los problemas económicos del presente* (1919; Buenos Aires, 1979). Both are encyclopaedic collections of facts and figures. Slightly later came Bunge's *La economía argentina,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1928–30), a work containing many of the author's press writings from past years and articles from a major journal he edited, the *Revista de Economía Argentina.* Other important publications are the national census of 1914, *Tercer Censo Nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1915–17), which is far more than a mere population count, and Alberto B. Martínez and Maurice Lewandowski, *The Argentine in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1911). For population, see also *Recensement général de la ville de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1910).

The most outstanding contemporary study of Argentina from abroad is the publication by Lloyd's Bank to celebrate the centennial anniversary of 1910: Reginald Lloyd (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Argentina: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (London, 1911). Pierre Denis, *The Argentine Republic: Its Development and Progress,* translated by Joseph McCabe (London, 1922), is a useful geographical survey by a Frenchman, though much inferior to its predecessor from the 1860s by Martin de Moussy. There are insights into manners and customs in W. H. Koebel, *Argentina: Past and Present* (London, 1914). John Foster Fraser, *The Amazing Argentine* (London, 1914) has virtues, though it is often very negative and a little graceless. The view from Spain can be found in Adolfo Posada, *La República Argentina* (Madrid, 1912), and a little later in the many writings of José Ortega y Gasset. Other major works of a similar type are James Bryce, *South America: Observations and Impressions* (London, 1912); Georges Clemenceau, *South America Today: A Study of Conditions Social, Political and Commercial in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil* (London, 1911); John A. Hammerton, *The Real Argentine: Notes and Impressions of a Year in the Argentine and Uruguay* (New York, 1915); Jules Huret, *En Argentine: De Buenos Ayres au Gran Chaco* (Paris, 1914); Adolf N. Schüster, *Argentinien: Land, Volk, Wirtschaftsleben und Kolonisation,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1913); Mark C. Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampas* (New York, 1926).

On the economy between 1914 and 1930 there are several useful older sources: Harold J. Peters, *The Foreign Debt of the Argentine Republic* (Baltimore, 1934); Vernon L. Phelps, *The International Economic Position of Argentina* (Philadelphia, 1938); Ricardo M. Ortiz, *Historia económica de la Argentina, 1850–1930,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1955), especially vol. 2. Among several more recent studies the most outstanding are Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro, *Essays in the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Haven, Conn., 1970) and Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967). On industrial growth, see Javier Villanueva, 'El origen de la industrialización argentina', *Desarrollo Económico,* 12/47 (1972), 451–76, and Eduardo F. Jorge, *Industria y concentración económica* (Buenos Aires, 1971).

For international economic relations, see Jorge Fodor and Arturo O'Connell, 'La Argentina y la economía atlántica en la primera mitad del siglo XX', *Desarrollo Económico,* 13/49 (1973); Joseph S. Tulchin, *The Aftermath of War: World War I and U.S. Policy towards Latin America* (New York, 1971) and 'The Argentine economy during the First World War', *Review of the River Plate* (19 June–10 July 1970); Pedro Skupch, 'El deterioro y fin de la hegemonía británica sobre la economía argentina 1914–47' in L. Marta Panaia, Ricardo Lesser and Pedro Skupch (eds.), *Estudios sobre los orígenes del peronismo,* vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1973); and Roger Gravil, 'Anglo–U.S. trade rivalry in Argentina and the D'Abernon mission of 1929', in D. Rock (ed.), *Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1975). Also see Harold F. Peterson, *Argentina and the United States, 1810–1960* (New York, 1964).

For complete electoral data for the period 1916–30, see Darío Cantón, *Materiales para el estudio de la sociología política en la Argentina,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1969). On Yrigoyen's first government (1916–22), see David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). See also Peter H. Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites* (Madison, Wis., 1974), *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change* (New York, 1969) and 'Los radicales argentinos en la defensa de los intereses ganaderos', *DE,* 7/25 (1967), 795–829; Richard J. Walter, *Student Politics in Argentina: The University Reform and Its Effects, 1918–1964* (New York, 1968), and *The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1977); Paul B. Goodwin, *Los ferrocarriles británicos y la U.C.R., 1916–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1974); Osvaldo Bayer, *Los vengadores de la Patagonia trágica,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1972). Among more traditional accounts the most useful are Roberto Etchepareborda, *Hipólito Yrigoyen: Pueblo y gobierno,* 10 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1951); Gabriel Del Mazo, *El radicalismo: Ensayo sobre su historia y doctrina* (Buenos Aires, 1957); and Manuel Gálvez, *Vida de Hipólito Yrigoyen* (Buenos Aires, 1959). On the Alvear administration (1922–8) the field is more limited, but see Rock, *Politics in Argentina,* Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy* and Raúl A. Molina, *Presidencia de Marcelo T. de Alvear* (Buenos Aires, 1965).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

An important study of provincial politics is Richard J. Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). The standard study of the authoritarian groups is Marysa Navarro Gerassi, *Los nacionalistas* (Buenos Aires, 1969). More recent works are Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900–1932: The Argentine Patriotic League* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986) and David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact* (Berkeley, 1993).

For the meat issue, see Smith, *Politics and Beef;* also Simon G. Hanson, *Argentine Meat and the British Market; Chapters in the History of the Argentine Meat Industry* (Stanford, Calif., 1938) and Oscar B. Colman, 'Luchas interburguesas en el agro-argentino: La crísis de la carne en el "20" ', *Estudios* (Buenos Aires, 1973). The tariff issue has attracted much attention. Of the more recent literature the best is Díaz Alejandro, *Essays;* Laura Randall, *An Economic History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1978), 120–6; and Carl E. Solberg, 'Tariffs and politics in Argentina, 1916–1930', *HAHR,* 53/2 (1973), 260–84. See also Carl E. Solberg, 'Agrarian unrest and agrarian policy in Argentina, 1912–30', *JIAS,* 13 (1971), 15–55. On oil, see above all Carl E. Solberg, *Oil and Nationalism in Argentina* (Stanford, Calif., 1979); also Arturo Frondizi, *Petróleo y política: Contribución al estudio de la historia económica argentina y las relaciones entre el imperialismo y la vida política nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1955), and Marcos Kaplan, 'Política del petróleo en la primera presidencia de Hipólito Yrigoyen, 1916–22', *DE,* 12/45 (1972), 3–24.

The army and the revolution of 1930 are best approached through Robert A. Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1928–1945: Yrigoyen to Peron* (Stanford, Calif., 1969) and José María Sarobe, *Memorias sobre le revolución del 6 de septiembre de 1930* (Buenos Aires, 1957).

20. URUGUAY

During the period under discussion, there were three national censuses (1852, 1860, 1908). For official statistics, see *Cuadernos* (Montevideo, 1873–1874) and *Anuarios estadísticos* (Montevideo, 1884–); valuable statistical information is gathered together in Juan Rial, *Estadísticas históricas del Uruguay 1850–1930* (Montevideo, 1980). Juan E. Pivel Devoto has published a substantial part of the correspondence sent to their respective chanceries by the ministers of France, Italy, Spain and Germany. See

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the *Revista Histórica* of the National Historical Museum, Montevideo, vols. 32–39 (1962–8). For the diplomatic and consular documents of the Kingdom of Italy, see also Juan A. Oddone, *Una perspectiva europea del Uruguay: Los informes diplomáticos y consulares italianos, 1862–1914* (Montevideo, 1965). In addition to the large-circulation newspapers, the *Revista de la Asociación Rural* (from 1872) and the *Revista de la Federación Rural* (from 1915), which reflected agrarian interests, and *El Industrial Uruguayo* (1902–1912) and the *Revista de la Unión Industrial uruguaya* (1899–1928), representing the industrial sector, are important sources. Other complementary sources (travellers, memoirs-writers and essayists) have been analysed in Carlos Real de Azúa, *Viajeros y observadores extranjeros del Uruguay: Juicios e impresiones (1889–1964)* (Montevideo, 1965), *Antología del ensayo uruguayo contemporáneo,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1964) and 'Prosa del mirar y del vivir', in *Capítulo Oriental,* 9 (Montevideo, 1968).

General works include Eduardo Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay,* 6 vols., 2nd ed. (Montevideo, 1933–6); Luis C. Benvenuto, *Breve historia del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1969); Roque Faraone, *El Uruguay en que vivimos (1900–1968)* (Montevideo, 1970); Benjamín Nahum, *La época batllista, 1905–1929* (Montevideo, 1975); M. Blanca París de Oddone et al., *Cronología comparada de la historia del Uruguay, 1830–1945,* 2nd ed. (Montevideo, 1967); and Alberto Zum Felde, *Proceso histórico del Uruguay y esquema de su sociología,* 5th ed. (Montevideo, 1967).

On economic growth and development, see the classic Eduardo Acevedo, *Notas y apuntes: Contribución al estudio de la historia económica y financiera de la República Oriental del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1903); José Pedro Barrán and Benjamín Nahum, *Historia rural del Uruguay moderno,* vol. 1, *1851–1885* (Montevideo, 1967), vol. 2, *La crisis económica, 1886–1894* (Montevideo, 1971), vol. 3, *Recuperación y dependencia, 1895–1914* (Montevideo, 1977), vol. 7, *Agricultura, crédito y transporte bajo Batlle, 1905–1914* (Montevideo, 1978); Roque Faraone, *De la prosperidad a la ruina: Introducción a la historia económica del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1987); Luis A. Faroppa, *El desarollo económico del Uruguay: Tentativa de explicación público del Uruguay,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1969); M. H. J. Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981); Simon G. Hanson, *Utopia in Uruguay* (New York, 1938); Instituto de Economía, *El proceso económico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1969); Raúl Jacob, *Breve historia de la industria en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1981) and *Modelo batllista: ¿Variación sobre un viejo tema?* (Montevideo, 1988); David Joslin, *A Century of Banking in Latin America* (London, 1963); Samuel Lichtensztejn, *Comercio internacional y*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

problemas monetarios (Montevideo, 1969); Julio Martínez Lamas, *Riqueza y pobreza del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1930); Oscar Mourat, *La crisis comercial en la cuenca del Plata, 1880–1920* (Montevideo, 1973); Juan A. Oddone, *Economía y sociedad en el Uruguay liberal, 1852–1904* (Montevideo, 1967); Julio C. Rodríguez, *Los grandes negocios,* vol. 29 of *Enciclopedia uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1969); Carlos Visca, *Emilio Reus y su época* (Montevideo, 1963); Peter Winn, *El imperio informal británico en el Uruguay en el siglo XIX* (Montevideo, 1975); and Carlos Zubillaga, *El reto financiero: Deuda externa y desarrollo en Uruguay, 1903–1933* (Montevideo, 1982).

On demographic and social history, see José Pedro Barrán and Benjamín Nahum, *Batlle, los éstancieros y el imperio británico,* vol. 1, *El Uruguay del novecientos* (Montevideo, 1979); see also *Historia rural del Uruguay moderno,* vol. 4, *Historia social de las revoluciones de 1897 y 1904* (Montevideo, 1972); Alfredo Castellanos, *Historia del desarrollo urbanístico y edilicio de Montevideo, 1829–1914* (Montevideo, 1971); Germán d'Elía and Armando Miraldi, *Historia del movimiento obrero en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1984); Oscar Mourat, *La inmigración y el crecimiento de la población del Uruguay 1830–1930: Series estadísticas para su estudio,* in *Cinco perspectivas históricas del Uruguay moderno* (Montevideo, 1969); Juan A. Oddone, *La formación del Uruguay moderno: La inmigración y el desarrollo económico-social* (Buenos Aires, 1966); Carlos Real de Azúa, *La clase dirigente* (Montevideo, 1969); Juan Rial, *La población uruguaya y el crecimiento económico-social entre 1850 y 1939* (Montevideo, 1981) and *Población y desarrollo de un pequeño país: Uruguay, 1830–1930* (Montevideo, 1983); Silvia Rodríguez Villamil and Graciela Sapriza, *La inmigración europea en el Uruguay: Los italianos* (Montevideo, 1982); Lucía Sala de Touron and Jorge E. Landinelli, *50 años del movimiento obrero uruguayo,* in *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (coord. by Pablo González Casanova), vol. 4 (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Carlos Zubillaga and Jorge Balbis, *Historia del movimiento sindical uruguayo,* vol. 1, *Cronología y fuentes: Hasta 1905* (Montevideo, 1985), vol. 2, *Prensa obrera y obrerista, 1878–1905* (Montevideo, 1986), vol. 3, *Vida y trabajo de los sectores populares* (Montevideo, 1988).

For political developments, see José Pedro Barrán and Benjamín Nahum, *Batlle, los estancieros y el imperio británico,* vol. 3, *El nacimiento de batllismo* (Montevideo, 1982), vol. 4, *Las primeras reformas, 1911–1913* (Montevideo, 1983), vol. 5, *La reacción imperial-conservadora, 1911–1913* (Montevideo, 1984); Gerardo Caetano, *La agonía del reformismo* (Montevideo, 1983); Gerardo Caetano and José P. Rilla, *El joven Quijano (1900–1933): Izquierda nacional y conciencia crítica* (Montevideo, 1986); Alfredo

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Castellanos y Romeo Pérez, *El pluralismo: Examen de la experiencia uruguaya, 1830–1918* (Montevideo, 1981); Göran Lindahl, *Uruguay's New Path: A Study in Politics during the First Colegiado* (Stockholm, 1962); Juan E. Pivel Devoto, *Historia de los partidos políticos en el Uruguay,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1942) and *La amnistía en la tradición política uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1984); Carlos Real de Azúa, *El impulso y su freno: Tres décadas de batllismo* (Montevideo, 1964) and *La historia política,* in *Enciclopedia uruguaya,* vol. 1 (Montevideo, 1968); Dante Turcatti, *El equilibrio difícil: La política internacional del batllismo* (Montevideo, 1981); Milton Vanger, *José Batlle y Ordóñez of Uruguay: The Creator of His Times, 1902–1907* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), and *The Model Country: José Batlle y Ordóñez of Uruguay 1907–1915* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); and Carlos Zubillaga, *Herrera, la encrucijada nacionalista* (Montevideo, 1976).

Finally, on cultural aspects of the period, see Arturo Ardao, *Espiritualismo y positivismo en el Uruguay* (México, D.F., 1950) and *Racionalismo y liberalismo en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1962); José Pedro Barrán, *Historia de la sensibilidad en el Uruguay,* vol. 2, *El disciplinamiento, 1860–1920* (Montevideo, 1990); Juan A. Oddone and M. Blanca París, *Historia de la Universidad de Montevideo: La universidad vieja, 1849–1884* (Montevideo, 1963) and *La universidad uruguaya desde el militarismo a la crisis, 1885–1958,* 4 vols. (Montevideo, 1972); Angel Rama, *La belle époque,* in *Enciclopedia uruguaya,* vol. 26 (Montevideo, 1969) and *180 años de literatura,* in *Enciclopedia uruguaya,* vol. 3 (Montevideo, 1968); Alberto Zum Felde, *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay y crítica de su literatura* (Montevideo, 1967).

21. PARAGUAY

There has been increasing scholarly attention paid to the period dealing with Paraguay between the War of the Triple Alliance (1865–70) and the Chaco War (1932–5). Harris Gaylord Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance: The Postwar Decade, 1869–1878* (Austin, Tex., 1978) is a serious study of the early part of this period. The period from 1878 to the 1904 revolution has been analysed in Harris G. Warren and Katherine E. Warren, *Rebirth of the Paraguayan Republic: The First Colorado Era, 1878–1904* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985). The 1904 revolution is the subject of essays by Harris G. Warren, 'The Paraguayan revolution of 1904', *TA,* 36 (1980); and Juan Carlos Herken Krauer, 'La revolución de 1904 en el Paraguay: El

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

trasfondo socio-económico y la perspectiva británica', *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología*, 22/62 (1985). On the relationship between business and politics, see Diego Abente, 'Foreign capital, economic elites and the state in Paraguay during the Liberal Republic, 1870–1936', *JLAS*, 21/1 (1989), 61–88; and Juan Carlos Herken Krauer, *Ferrocarriles, conspiraciones y negocios, 1910–1914* (Asunción, 1984), 'Políticos, empresarios y financistas en el Paraguay, 1907–1920', *JGSWGL*, 22 (1985), 423–55, and 'Ferrocarril, política y economía en el Paraguay: El acuerdo de 1907 entre el Paraguay Central Railway Company y el gobierno paraguayo', *I–AA*, 10/3 (1984), 291–316. Other studies of several aspects of this hitherto neglected period include Juan C. Herken Krauer, *El Paraguay rural entre 1869 y 1913* (Asunción, 1984); Diego Abente, 'The liberal republic and the failure of democracy', *TA*, 45/4 (1989), 525–46; Ricardo Caballero Aquino, *La segunda república paraguaya* (Asunción, 1984); and Harris G. Warren, 'Journalism in Asunción under the allies and the Colorados, 1869–1904', *TA*, 39/4 (1983), 483–98.

Less scholarly than these studies but nevertheless valuable, is Teodosio González, *Infortunios del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1931). González was a maverick Liberal senator in the 1920s and his book is a 'muckraking' work that spares neither party in its exposé of Paraguay's intrigues and corruption. It spans the period from the War of the Triple Alliance to González's own time and treats Paraguay's problems topically rather than chronologically. Another valuable work is Carlos R. Centurión's comprehensive *Historia de la cultura paraguaya*, 2 vols. (Asunción, 1961). It is mainly about literature, but since so much of Paraguay's writing is polemical the reader will gain much information about political questions and alignments. Also recommended is Arturo Bray's *Hombres y épocas del Paraguay*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1943, 1957) and 3 vols. (1981), which approaches the nation's history through brief biographies of its leading figures. One attempt to look at Paraguay through the accounts of travellers in the country covering part of the period is Alicia Vidaurreta, 'El Paraguay a través de los viajeros, 1843–1917', *Estudios Paraguayos*, 11/1 (1983), 51–102.

Some information can be gleaned from general histories. Efraím Cardozo, *Breve historia del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1965), and Julio César Cháves, *Compendio de la historia paraguaya* (Buenos Aires, 1960) are introductory surveys by two of Paraguay's best historians. The former, who died in 1973, was a Liberal; the latter is a Colorado. See also Cardozo's posthumous *Apuntes de historia cultural del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1985). Alonso Ibarra, *Cien años de vida política paraguaya, posterior a la epopeya de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1865 al 70 (Asunción, 1973), is a very brief enumeration of the chief events since the start of the War of the Triple Alliance. In English, there are Philip Raine, *Paraguay* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1956), George Pendle, *Paraguay, a Riverside Nation* (London, 1956), and Harris Gaylord Warren, *Paraguay, an Informal History* (Norman, Okla., 1949). All three are useful introductions to Paraguay, but in each case the treatment of the interwar period is the weakest part of the book.

F. Arturo Bordón, *Historia política del Paraguay: Era constitucional* (Asunción, 1976), is worth reading in conjunction with Warren's *Paraguay and the Triple Aliance* for its description of the politics of the immediate postwar period. It contains interesting information about the origins of the Paraguayan Legion. A much more serious work is Carlos Pastore, *La lucha por la tierra en el Paraguay* (Montevideo, 1972). Despite Pastore's pro-Liberal partisanship, the book is well researched and contains valuable information on the land question.

The period after 1904, when the Liberals took power, has received even less attention than the Colorado era. Most of the writing is concerned with attacking or defending the Liberals' conduct of diplomacy. Some of the better examples of this genre are Policarpo Artaza, *Ayala, Estigarribia y el Partido Liberal* (Buenos Aires, 1946), which supports the Liberals, and Antonio E. González, *Preparación del Paraguay para la guerra del Chaco*, 2 vols. (Asunción, 1957), which presents the case against them. Another Liberal version is G. Freire Esteves, *Historia contemporánea del Paraguay, 1869–1920* (Buenos Aires, 1921; Asunción, 1983).

The shooting of students before the presidential palace on 23 October 1931 produced much polemical literature. Efraím Cardozo defended the government in *23 de octubre: Una página de historia contemporánea del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1956), and at the same time furnished interesting insights about the *gondrista* and *schaererista* factional struggle in the Liberal party. Probably the best anti-Liberal polemic is Juan Stefanich, *El 23 de octubre de 1931* (Buenos Aires, 1958), which was a direct reply to Cardozo. It also contains a broader indictment of three decades of Liberal party rule. Another account of the events by a participant is Manuel Agustín Avila, *23 de octubre de 1931: Una página enlutada y gloriosa del estudiantado paraguayo y algunas notas sobre la Guerra del Chaco* (Asunción, 1981). Brief biographical sketches of Paraguayan political and cultural leaders can be found in William Balmont Parker, *Paraguayans of Today* (New York, 1920). Finally, no student of this period can fail to be fascinated by the complex personality of Eligio Ayala. His thoughts about his native land

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

were published after his death. *Migraciones* (Santiago, Chile, 1941) is a long essay with many penetrating observations into Paraguayan society by one of Paraguay's most intelligent statesmen.

22. CHILE

Among general works covering this period, the best to date are (in English) Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1988), chaps. 6–7, and Fredrick B. Pike, *Chile and the United States 1880–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963) – much more comprehensive than its title suggests – and (in Spanish), Leopoldo Castedo, *Resumen de la historia de Chile, 1891–1925* (Santiago, Chile, 1982), a brilliantly illustrated book. See also an ambitious work by Gonzalo Vial, *Historia de Chile, 1891–1973* (Santiago, Chile, vol. 1 in two parts, 1981; vol. 2, 1983; vol. 3, 1987); the volumes published so far cover the period 1891–1925 in great detail.

The diplomatic history of the period is treated in Mario Barros, *Historia diplomática de Chile, 1541–1938* (Barcelona, 1970); see also William F. Sater, *Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict* (Athens, Ga., 1990), especially chaps. 3–5. Joyce Goldberg, *The 'Baltimore' Affair* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986) capably dissects a briefly tense moment in Chile–U.S. relations at perhaps greater length than the 'affair' itself might seem to warrant.

Constitutional and political history of these years is stimulatingly covered in Julio Heise González, *Historia de Chile: El período parlamentario, 1861–1925,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1974–82); published during the Pinochet dictatorship, these two volumes underscored the increasingly democratic content of Chile's history in the period concerned. General works dealing with the social and economic dimensions include Arnold Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), especially the later chapters; Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919–1973* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), whose early chapters are particularly useful; Henry Kirsch, *Industrial Development in a Traditional Society: The Conflict of Entrepreneurship and Modernization in Chile* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977); Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (London, 1972); Jorge Barría, *El movimiento obrero* (Santiago, Chile, 1971); and Peter De Shazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (Madison, Wis., 1983), a significant 'revision-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ist' study which seriously challenges the role of Recabarren and the nitrate workers as the 'onlie begetters' of class consciousness and the left-wing parties. See also Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), ch. 2, for an interesting new interpretation of Chilean labour history, focussing largely on this period. The quickest way into economic history is through the bibliography contained in Carmen Cariola and Osvaldo Sunkel, 'Chile,' in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977); this is accompanied by an interpretative essay. Literary history is surveyed in Raúl Silva Castro, *Historica crítica de la novela chilena, 1843–1956* (Madrid, 1960), and also by Castedo, *Resumen de la historia de Chile,* which admirably covers cultural matters more generally.

The presidency of Balmaceda and the civil war of 1891 dominate the first part of the period. Harold Blakemore, 'The Chilean revolution of 1891 and its historiography,' *HAHR,* 45/3 (1965), 393–421, remains a valuable discussion of the issues. Also indispensable is the same author's *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886–1896: Balmaceda and North* (London, 1974). Of several notable contemporary accounts, J. Bañados Espinosa, *Balmaceda, su gobierno y la revolución de 1891,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1894) remains the best and most detailed. Hernán Ramírez Necochea, *Balmaceda y la contrarrevolución de 1891,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1969), is a suggestive Marxist interpretation. Much recondite material and contrasting interpretations may be found in Oscar Bermúdez, *Historia del salitre desde la Guerra del Pacífico hasta la revolución de 1891* (Santiago, Chile, 1984), the sequel to Bermúdez's earlier volume of 1963; Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Nitrate Industry and Chile's Crucial Transition, 1870–1891* (New York, 1982); Michael Monteón, *Chile in the Nitrate Era: The Evolution of Economic Dependence, 1880–1930* (Madison, Wis., 1982). Students of the nitrate issue cannot afford to ignore Robert Greenhill, 'The nitrate and iodine trades, 1880–1914,' in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Business Imperialism, 1840–1930* (Oxford, 1977), 231–83.

The so-called Parliamentary Republic (1891–1920) has finally begun to command the attention of historians that it deserves, as is witnessed by the works of Castedo, Vial and Heise González mentioned above. For general thoughts on the period, see Harold Blakemore, 'El período parlamentario en la historia chilena: Algunos enfoques y reflexiones,' in *Dos estudios sobre salitre y política en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1991). Paul Reinsch, 'Parliamentary government in Chile,' *American Political Science Review,* 3 (1908–9), is not only a brilliant portrait but also an outstanding

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

example of the writing of 'contemporary history.' Two studies of particular presidencies merit citation here: Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Chile durante el gobierno de Errázuriz Echaurren, 1896–1901* (Santiago, Chile, 1957), and Germán Riesco, *Presidencia de Riesco, 1901–1906* (Santiago, Chile, 1950). For a straightforward narrative of the years 1900–38, see Fernando Pinto Lagarrigue, *Crónica política del siglo XX* (Santiago, Chile, 1970). Among older works, the highly polemical study of Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador y demoledor,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1952–4) gives a detailed chronicle of the whole period, including the Ibáñez administration and the 1930s: it remains indispensable. Equally fundamental, though less well organized, is the compilation of writings by Manuel Rivas Vicuña, a key figure of the epoch, *Historia política y parlamentaria de Chile,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1964), prepared by Guillermo Feliú Cruz. It is a mine of information, but the historian has to dig for the ore. Interesting insight into the politics and legislation of 'parliamentary' times is to be found in Karen L. Remmer, *Party Competition in Argentina and Chile: Political Recruitment and Public Policy, 1890–1930* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984).

The social history of the parliamentary decades can be approached in a handful of useful articles: Ricardo Krebs W., 'Apuntes sobre la mentalidad de la aristocracia chilena en los comienzos del siglo XX,' *Mentalidades* (Santiago, 1986), 27–55; Eduardo Cavieres F., 'Grupos intermedios e integración social: La sociedad de artesanos de Valparaíso a comienzos del siglo XX,' *Cuadernos de Historia,* 6 (1986), 33–47; Isabel Torres Dujisin, 'Los conventillos en Santiago (1900–30),' *Cuadernos de Historia,* 6 (1986), 67–85. On German immigration (and influence), see Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les allemands au Chili, 1816–1945* (Cologne, 1974), especially book 2, chs. 5–6 and book 3, chs. 1–4; this masterly study is unlikely ever to be surpassed. Aspects of labour history are addressed in two French contributions: Pierre Vayssière, 'Militantisme et messianisme ouvriers au Chile à travers la presse de la pampa nitrière,' *Caravelle,* 46 (1986), 93–108, and Maurice Fraysse, 'Aspects de la violence dans la presse anarchiste du Chili, 1898–1914,' *Caravelle,* 46 (1986), 79–92. Luis Emilio Recabarren, *Escritos de prensa,* 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1987), is a useful compilation of writings by Chile's early labour hero.

As with Balmaceda, there is a massive literature (both panegyric and polemical) on Alessandri and Ibáñez, the figures who overshadow the later part of our period. The vital presidential election of 1920 is carefully analysed in René Millar C., *La elección presidencial de 1920* (Santiago, Chile, 1981) – a cool 'revisionist' approach to the supposed 'electoral

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

revolt' of the period may be found in Wolfgang Hirsch-Weber, 'Aufstandt der Massen? Wahlkampf und Stimmenhaltung in Chile 1915–21,' *I–AA*, 8/1–2 (1982), 5–83. Apart from Donoso, *Alessandri*, key works on Alessandri himself are his own (by no means self-critical) *Memorias*, 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1967); Augusto Iglesias, *Alessandri, una etapa de la democracia en América* (Santiago, Chile, 1960); and Luis Durand, *Don Arturo* (Santiago, Chile, 1952). Ibáñez, who wrote no memoirs, is well covered in René Montero, *La verdad sobre Ibáñez* (Santiago, Chile, 1953); Víctor Contreras Guzmán, *Bitácora de la dictadura* (Santiago, Chile, 1942); Ernesto Würth Rojas, *Ibáñez, caudillo enigmático* (Santiago, Chile, 1958); Aquiles Vergara Vicuña, *Ibáñez, césar criollo* (Santiago, Chile, 1931), a strong critique; and Luis Correa Prieto, *El presidente Ibáñez* (Santiago, Chile, 1962), based on personal interviews. The most sustained philippic is Carlos Vicuña, *La tiranía en Chile*, 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1939): this was usefully reprinted in 1987.

The best book in English on the whole period from 1920 to 1931 – and the most comprehensive source for further bibliography on military matters – is Frederick Nunn, *Chilean Politics 1920–1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1970). Arturo Olavarría Bravo, *Chile entre dos Alessandri*, 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1962–5), vol. 1, is full of information from a figure close to the heart of Chilean politics for forty years, but the richer veins take some finding. A valuable documentary compilation on the military interventions of 1924–5 is General E. Monreal, *Historia documentada del período revolucionario 1924–1925* (Santiago, Chile, 1926), to which Raúl Aldunate Phillips, *Ruido de sables* (Santiago, Chile, n.d.), with its fascinating photo reproductions, provides an excellent pendant. Some new insight (and evidence) regarding the state of mind of the officer corps prior to the interventions may be found in Wolfgang Ettmüller, 'Germanisierte Politik, 1920–1932,' *I–AA*, 8/1–2 (1982), 83–160. The role of the Navy is analysed in Philip Somervell, 'Naval affairs in Chilean politics, 1910–32,' *JLAS*, 16/2 (1984), 381–402.

Economic issues of the 1920s and the 'great crash' are well discussed in Santiago Macchiavello Varas, *Políticas económica nacional*, 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1931), and in P. T. Ellsworth, *Chile, an Economy in Transition* (New York, 1945), chap. 1. Albert O. Hirschman, 'Inflation in Chile,' in his *Journeys Towards Progress* (New York, 1963), is a brilliant and provocative discussion of that perennial problem in modern Chilean history. The nearest thing to an overall economic history is Markos Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy, from Independence to Allende*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(New Haven, Conn., 1976). See also the valuable article by José Gabriel Palma, 'Chile, 1914–1935: De economía exportadora a sustitutiva de importaciones,' *Estudios CIEPLAN*, 12 (Santiago, Chile, 1984), 61–88. The earlier perturbations caused by the First World War (and changes in the long-running Chile–Great Britain connection) are admirably dealt with in Juan Ricardo Couyoumdjian, *Chile y Gran Bretaña durante la primera guerra mundial y la post-guerra, 1914–1921* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). This theme is also taken up in Bill Albert, *South America and the First World War* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988), which covers Chile along with Argentina, Brazil and Peru.

Two other sources for the period, often neglected, should be mentioned: travel accounts, and unpublished theses. The most informative and perceptive travel accounts are C. Wiener, *Chili et Chiliens* (Paris, 1888), Eduardo Poirier, *Chile en 1908* (Santiago, Chile, 1908), a massive compilation, Frank G. Carpenter, *South America, Social, Industrial and Political* (New York, 1900), Francis J. G. Maitland, *Chile, Its Land and People* (London, 1914), G. F. Scott Elliott, *Chile* (London, 1907), and Earl Chapin May, *2000 Miles through Chile* (New York, 1924). Good unpublished doctoral theses include Andrew Barnard, 'The Chilean Communist Party, 1922–1947' (University of London, 1977); Peter Conoboy, 'Money and politics in Chile, 1878–1925' (University of Southampton, 1977), and José Gabriel Palma, 'Growth and structure of Chilean manufacturing industry from 1830 to 1935' (Oxford University, 1979).

23. BOLIVIA

GENERAL SURVEYS

There are several general histories of Bolivia which cover the period 1880–1932, notably Alcides Argüedas, *Historia general de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1922); Enrique Finot, *Nueva historia de Bolivia* (Buenos Aires, 1946); and Jorge Basadre, *Perú, Chile y Bolivia independientes* (Barcelona, 1948). A more recent and detailed study is Herbert S. Klein, *Parties and Political Change in Bolivia, 1880–1932* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968). Much of the recent research on the social and economic history of the period is summarized in Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia, the Evolution of a Multi-ethnic Society*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1991), while a useful comparative framework is provided in Magnus Mörner, *The Andean Past: Land, Societies and Conflict* (New York,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1985). An alternative vision of national history is attempted in Xavier Albó and Josep M. Barnadas, *La cara campesina de nuestra historia* (La Paz, 1984). A fundamental bibliographical survey worth consulting is Josep M. Barnadas, *Manual de bibliografía: Introducción a los estudios bolivianos contemporáneos, 1960–1984* (Cuzco, 1987).

Among more specialized works, Luis Peñaloza is re-writing his *Historia económica de Bolivia,* 2 vols. (La Paz, 1953–4); and both this older work and his *Nueva historia económica de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1985–), a proposed 9-volume survey, give a reasonable though limited introduction to the field. More schematic, but with important retrospective statistical data, is Eduardo Arze Cuadros, *La economía de Bolivia . . . 1492–1979* (La Paz, 1979). A general survey of organized labor in Bolivian history is provided in Guillermo Lora, *History of the Bolivian Labour Movement, 1848–1971* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977). Intellectual thought is dealt with by Guillermo Francovich, *La filosofía en Bolivia* (Sucre, 1945); historians are well covered in Valentín Abecia Baldivieso, *Historiografía boliviana* (La Paz, 1965). Political thought is studied in Mario Rolan Anaya, *Política y partidos en Bolivia,* rev. ed. (La Paz, 1987), which also contains the most complete presentation of party programs and platforms. These in turn can usefully be supplemented with Guillermo Lora's *Documentos políticos de Bolivia,* rev. ed., 2 vols. (La Paz, 1987). The only serious, though now dated, analysis of the organizational structure of the republican government is N. Andrew N. Cleven, *The Political Organization of Bolivia* (Washington, D.C., 1940). All Bolivia's constitutions up to the 1950s are to be found in the compilation and analysis of Ciro Felix Trigo, *Las constituciones en Bolivia* (Madrid, 1958); while Bolivia's entire legislation on Indians and rural society is in two useful collections: José Flores Moncayo, *Legislación boliviana del indio, recopilación, 1825–1953* (La Paz, 1953) and Abraham Maldonado, *Derecho agrario, historia–doctrina–legislación* (La Paz, 1956). The ideological background behind these changes in nineteenth-century land and Indian legislation is studied in Erick Langer, 'El liberalismo y la abolición de la comunidad indígena en el siglo XIX,' *Historia y Cultura,* 14 (1988).

Among the numerous histories of Bolivia's complex international relations, the best is that by Valentín Abecia Baldivieso, *Las relaciones internacionales en la historia de Bolivia,* 2 vols. (La Paz, 1979). Bolivia's close relationship with England is surveyed in Roberto Querejazu Calvo, *Bolivia y los ingleses, 1825–1948* (La Paz, 1971); while the analysis by León Enrique Bieber, *Las relaciones económicas de Bolivia con Alemania, 1880–*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1920 (Berlin, 1984), has provided a model study on the economic relations between Bolivia and a foreign nation. The controversial relations of Bolivia with Chile are seen from the Chilean viewpoint by Francisco Antonio Encina, *Las relaciones entre Chile y Bolivia, 1841–1963* (Santiago, Chile, 1963).

From different perspectives are two fine studies of national literature: Enrique Finot, *Historia de la literatura boliviana,* 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1956); and Fernando Diez de Medina, *Literatura boliviana* (Madrid, 1954). The more limited area of the novel is covered in depth by Augusto Guzmán in both his *La novela en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1955) and the work he did for the Pan American Union, *Diccionario de la literatura latinoamericana: Bolivia* (Washington, D.C., 1955). There is as yet no single all-encompassing survey of the plastic arts, though, as will be made clear in the following sections, the work of José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert is fundamental for any appraisal of this area in the pre-conquest, colonial and national periods. A good introduction to Bolivia's architecture is Mesa and Gisbert, *Bolivia: Monumentos históricos y arqueológicos* (Mexico, D.F., 1970). Recent painting is treated in Pedro Querejazo (ed.), *Pintura boliviana del siglo xx* (Milan, 1989); theater, in Mario Soria, *Teatro boliviano en el siglo xx* (La Paz, 1980); and film, in Alfonso Gumucio Dragon, *Historia del cine en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1984).

While there are numerous histories of individual religious orders, along with several documentary collections and larger international surveys, the only general history of the Bolivian church is the cursory survey done by Felipe López Menéndez, *Compendio de la historia eclesiástica de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1965). The army has been studied by Julio Díaz A., *Historia del ejército de Bolivia, 1825–1932* (La Paz, 1940); and James Dunkerley, *Orígenes del poder militar en Bolivia: Historia del ejército, 1879–1935* (La Paz, 1987). Medicine is examined in Juan Manuel Balcazar, *Historia de medicina en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1956). But the important profession of law has not been adequately treated. An original analysis of the evolution of the engineering profession is found in Manuel Contreras, 'The formation of a technical elite in Latin America: Mining engineering and the engineering profession in Bolivia, 1900–1954,' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1989).

Given the important role of mining and the extraordinary terrain of the country, Bolivia has been the subject of extensive research by national and foreign scholars in the geological and geographical fields. Much of the very extensive literature is summarized in Jorge Muñoz Reyes, *Geografía de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1977) and in Federico E. Ahlfeld, *Geología de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bolivia, 3rd ed. (La Paz, 1972). The latest and most comprehensive survey is Ismael Montes de Oca, *Geografía y recursos naturales de Bolivia,* 2nd rev. ed. (La Paz, 1989). An interesting attempt recently made to remap the soils and climate of Bolivia using more modern criteria was carried out by the Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos y Agropecuarios, *Mapa ecológico de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1975). An English study provides a more traditional and quite important analysis of the soils of Bolivia: Thomas T. Cochrane, *Potencial agrícola del uso de la tierra de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1973). Ecological zones are examined in C. E. Brockman (ed.), *Perfil ambiental de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1986). Limited but nevertheless useful is the analysis of the distribution of commercial and subsistence plants in Gover Barja Berrios and Armando Cardozo Gonsálvez, *Geografía agrícola de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1971). Still important because of their extensive statistical collections are the Bolivian government's early twentieth-century surveys: Oficina Nacional de Inmigración Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, *Sinopsis estadística y geográfica de la república de Bolivia,* 2 vols. (La Paz, 1903); *Geografía de la república de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1905); and *Diccionario geográfico de la República de Bolivia,* 4 vols. (La Paz, 1890–1904). An interesting political geography of Bolivia dealing with its famous frontier problems is J. Valerie Fifer, *Bolivia: Land, Location and Politics Since 1825* (Cambridge, Eng., 1972). The urban geographic setting is explored in Wolfgang Schoop, *Ciudades bolivianas* (La Paz, 1981). Bolivia has extensive collections of aerial and satellite photo-mapping, as well as modern demographic and geographic maps, available from the Instituto Militar de Geografía and the Instituto Nacional de Estadística. The satellite maps are discussed and indexed in Lorrain E. Giddings, *Bolivia from Space* (Houston, 1977). The only serious, though still limited, attempt at providing historical maps is found in Ramiro Condarco Morales, *Atlas histórico de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1985). Finally, the large literature on exploration is described in Manuel Frontaura Argandona, *Descubridores y exploradores de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1971).

The nature of human physiological adaptation to high-altitude living has also been the subject of recent scholarly interest and has resulted in a major compilation in Paul T. Baker and M. A. Little (eds.), *Man in the Andes: A Multidisciplinary Study of High-Altitude Quechua* (Stroudsburg, Pa., 1976). Some of the latest work on this subject has appeared in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology:* see, for example, J. Arnaud, N. Gutierrez and W. Tellez, 'Hematology and erythrocyte metabolism in man at high altitudes: An Aymara–Quechua comparison,' 67 (1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

Most of the political literature of second half of the nineteenth century is cited in Herbert S. Klein, *Parties and Political Change in Bolivia, 1880–1952* and in the general histories of Jorge Basadre and Alcides Argüedas. Mariano Baptista, the leading political theorist of the period, has had all his works published in *Obras completas,* 7 vols. (La Paz, 1932–4), and an interesting survey of the political upheavals of the period is catalogued in Nicanor Aranzaes, *Las revoluciones de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1918). A somewhat unsystematic but interesting survey of the society, economy, and political ideas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is given by Marie-Danielle Demélas, *Nationalisme sans nation? La Bolivie aux xix–xx siècles* (Paris, 1980). The role of the Indian in national political developments recently has become a major research theme. This work began with an innovative study, challenging the traditional assumptions about the political isolation of the Indian, carried out by Ramiro Condarco Morales, *Zarate 'El Temible' Wilke: Historia de la rebelíon indígena de 1899,* 2nd rev. ed. (La Paz, 1982). This has been further elaborated on by Marie-Danielle Demélas, 'Jacqueries indiennes, politique créole, la guerre civile de 1899,' *Caravelle,* 44 (1985), and in a major study by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *'Oprimidos pero no vencidos': Luchas del campesinado aymara y qhechwa, 1900–1980* (La Paz, 1984).

Few serious studies of political life in the late nineteenth century have been undertaken, and even fewer biographies or administrative studies exist for this period. There is, however, a superb political novel which captures the era to an extraordinary degree and is one of the best of its genre in Latin America: Armando Chirveches, *La candidatura de Rojas* (La Paz, 1909).

An excellent analysis of the silver mining industry in the nineteenth century is provided in Antonio Mitre, *Los patriarcas de la plata: Estructura socio-económica de la minería boliviana en el siglo xix* (Lima, 1981). Several reasonable biographies exist on the leading silver miners of the period: Ernesto Rück, *Biografía de Don Avelino Aramayo* (Potosí, 1891); A. Costa du Rels, *Felix Avelino Aramayo y su época, 1846–1929* (Buenos Aires, 1942); Jaime Mendoza, *Gregorio Pacheco* (Santiago, Chile, 1924). But the concern is usually with the non-economic aspects of their lives. There is a classic study of public finance published by Casto Rojas, *Historia financiera de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1916), and the crucial role of Indian tribute in early republican finance is examined in Jorge Alejandro Ovando Sanz, *El tributo*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

indígena en las finanzas bolivianas del siglo xix (La Paz, 1986). There is no serious study of the revolution in transportation which occurred in this period, although the primary literature exists, as can be seen in the interesting listing given in Edgar A. Valdés, *Catálogo de folleteria de ferrocarriles del repositario nacional* (La Paz, 1980).

Recently there has been a major renaissance in the rural history of this period. Some of the major themes of this new research were first developed in pioneering studies by Silvia Rivera, 'La expansión del latifundio en el altiplano boliviano: Elementos para la caracterización de una oligarquía regional,' *Avances,* 2 (1978) and Erwin P. Greishaber, 'Survival of Indian communities in nineteenth-century Bolivia: A regional comparison,' *JLAS,* 12/2 (1980), 223–69, among others. This has been followed by numerous essays and books, the most important of which are Brooke Larson, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia, Cochabamba, 1550–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Erick D. Langer, *Economic Change and Rural Resistance in Southern Bolivia, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1989); Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: Tierra y tributo en el Norte de Potosí* (La Paz, 1982); and Herbert S. Klein, *Haciendas and Ayllus: Rural Society in the Bolivian Andes in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992). In contrast to this major development of rural studies, there are as yet few analyses of the urban population of the major cities. One of the first such efforts is the recent work of Rossana Barragán, *Espacio urbana y dinámica étnica, La Paz en el siglo xix* (La Paz, 1990).

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The first decades of the twentieth century were ones of intellectual ferment. From the initial stirrings of a critique of racist society in the novels and 'sociology' of Alcides Argüedas, to the more systematic development of an *indigenista* viewpoint in Franz Tamayo, *La creación de una pedagogía nacional* (La Paz, 1910), writers began to challenge the assumptions of their society. A good survey of this activity is found in Guillermo Francovich, *El pensamiento boliviano en el siglo xx* (Mexico, D.F., 1956), and in the literature studies by Díez de Medina and Finot previously cited.

There has been a general neglect of the Liberal era (1899–1920), with the exception of the study of Juan Albarracín Millán, *El poder minero en la administración liberal* (La Paz, 1972). On the other hand, Bolivian intellectuals have been attracted to the political leaders of the 1920s and 1930s, producing the very best such biographies yet written. There exist two

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

outstanding biographies for this period: Benigno Carrasco, *Hernando Siles* (La Paz, 1961), and David Alvéstegui, *Salamanca, su gravitación sobre el destino de Bolivia,* 3 vols. (La Paz, 1957–62). An overall assessment of this period is provided in Klein, *Parties and Political Change,* and in two outstanding surveys: the first volume of the two-volume history of modern Bolivian political history by Augusto Céspedes, *El dictador suicida, 40 años de historia de Bolivia* (Santiago, Chile, 1956); and in the first three volumes of the five-volume series by Porfirio Díaz Machicado: *Historia de Bolivia: Saavedra, 1920–25* (La Paz, 1954), *Historia de Bolivia: Guzmán, Siles, Blanco Galindo, 1925–31* (La Paz, 1954), and *Historia de Bolivia: Salamanca, la guerra del Chaco, Tejada Sorzano* (La Paz, 1955). The major Indian rebellion of the period has been examined by Roberto Choque, *La masacre de Jesús de Machaca* (La Paz, 1986).

The economic history of this period has attracted a good deal of attention. The tin mining industry has received an overall economic analysis of some sophistication in the study by Walter Gómez, *La minería en el desarrollo económico de Bolivia, 1900–1970* (La Paz, 1978). Complementing this macro-analysis are detailed studies of the early industry by Pedro Aniceto Blanco, *Monografía de la industria minera en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1910); Herbert S. Klein, 'The creation of the Patiño tin empire,' *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 19/2 (1965), which was updated and published in Spanish in *Historia Boliviana,* 3/2 (1983); and Donaciano Ibañez C., *Historia mineral de Bolivia* (Antofagasta, 1943). There are several biographies of the leading tin miners, among which are Charles F. Geddes, *Patiño: The Tin King* (London, 1972); and Alfonso Crespo, *Los Aramayo de Chichas: Tres generaciones de mineros bolivianos* (Barcelona, 1981). The economics of labor in the early tin industry is studied by Manuel E. Contreras, 'Mano de obra en la minería estañífera de principios de siglo, 1900–1925,' *Historia y Cultura* (La Paz), 8 (1985). Contreras has also surveyed 'La minería estañífera boliviana en la Primera Guerra Mundial,' in Raul España-Smith et al., *Minería y economía en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1984). The early growth of the industry is also studied by John Hillman, 'The emergence of the tin industry in Bolivia,' *JLAS,* 16/2 (1984), 403–37. The political role of the miners is assessed in the previously cited work of Albarracín and in William Lofstrom, *Attitudes of an Industrial Pressure Group in Latin America. The 'Asociación de Industriales Mineros de Bolivia,' 1925–1935* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968).

Good general assessments of the national economy at this time are found in W. L. Schurz, *Bolivia: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Washington, D.C., 1921), and Paul Walle, *Bolivia, Its People and Resources* (New York, 1914). Specific aspects of the economy or national economic policy are reviewed in Charles A. McQueen, *Bolivian Public Finance* (Washington, D.C., 1925) and the excellent study by Margaret A. Marsh, *Bankers in Bolivia: A Study in American Foreign Investment* (New York, 1928). Among the many surveys on banking history, that by Julio Benavides, *Historia bancaria de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1955), is of some utility. The short-lived Acre rubber boom is examined in Valerie Fifer, 'The empire builders: A history of the Bolivian rubber boom and the rise of the House of Suárez,' *JLAS*, 2/2 (1970), 113–46.

Social changes resulting from the growth of the tin industry, the modernization of the cities, and the completion of the hacienda expansion have not been seriously analysed by scholars, although there does exist a wealth of data with which to study this problem. Thus in 1900 came the first and one of the best national censuses: Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, *Censo nacional de la población de la República de Bolivia, 1° septiembre de 1900*, 2 vols. (La Paz, 1902–4). This government office also published numerous geographical studies which have been cited above; and from the late 1880s, and with increasing tempo under the Liberal regimes, almost all the government ministries were publishing annual statistics.

24. PERU

Peruvian historiography for the period 1880–1930 has undergone a vast expansion and renovation during the past three decades. This transformation began with the universal interest generated by the so-called Peruvian military revolution of 1968, which inaugurated a perod of intense reform lasting until 1976. Moreover, a decade of relative economic growth and prosperity during the 1960s, combined with postwar demographic trends, produced a rapid expansion of the country's educational system, particularly at the university level. As a result a rising middle class, anxious to rediscover its identity and redefine the national experience, created a strong, new demand for knowledge about Peru's history. The result was an ever-increasing production of new and often revisionist works by a new generation of Peruvian scholars who have transformed the traditional landscape of Peruvian historiography. This new production, however, has slowed in recent years due to the economic decline and political instability

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

that Peru has experienced since the mid 1970s. These difficult conditions make it increasingly problematic that a new generation of Peruvianists will emerge to carry on the historiographical innovations of the past quarter of a century.

Any study of the period 1880–1930 must begin with the dozen or more works of Jorge Basadre, the dean of modern Peruvian historians. His seventeen-volume *Historia de la República del Perú,* 6th ed. (Lima, 1968–9) stands as a towering monument in the field, with five volumes devoted to the period 1880–1930. He also published the most complete, annotated bibliography for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: *Introducción a las bases documentales para la historia de la República del Perú con algunas reflexiones,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1971). An equally thorough annotated bibliography, with accompanying analytical essay, for the economic history of the period can be found in Pablo Macera and Shane Hunt, 'Peru', in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley J. Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977). A perceptive discussion of the new generation of Peruvian historians can be found in Fred Bonner, 'Peruvian historians today: Historical setting,' *TA,* 43/3 (1987), 245–77. A more recent bibliographical survey is John Fisher, *Peru,* World Bibliographical Series: vol. 109 (Oxford, 1989). A useful reference is *Diccionario histórico y biográfico del Perú, siglos XV–XX,* 9 vols. (Lima, 1986). For earlier bibliographical references, see the appropriate sections of Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Fuentes históricas peruanas* (Lima, 1963), Carlos Moreyra Paz Soldán, *Bibliografía regional peruana* (Lima, 1967), and Carol Herbold and Steve Stein, *Guía bibliográfica para la historia social y política del Perú en el siglo XX (1895–1960)* (Lima, 1971).

By far the best one-volume history of the period is Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crísis de la república aristocrática* (Lima, 1979). Comprehensive, interpretative and analytical, this is the work of two of Peru's best young historians. Alberto Flores Galindo sadly died in 1990.

Two important comparative Andean histories which include Bolivia and Ecuador as well as Peru are Magnus Mörner, *The Andean Past: Land, Societies and Conflict* (New York, 1985) and J. P. Deler and Y Saint-Geours (eds.), *Estados y naciones en los Andes: Hacia una historia comparativa, Bolivia, Ecuador, Perú,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986). Several volumes (see below) of *Historia del Perú,* 12 vols., edited by Juan Mejía Baca (Lima, 1980) are devoted to the period, as are those in Ruben Vargas Ugarte's *Historia general del Perú,* particularly vol. 11, *La república aristocrática,* and vol. 12, *República*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

contemporánea, both by Margarita Guerra (Lima, 1984). Vintage photographs of the twenties can be found in *Martín Chambi: Fotografía del Perú, 1920–1950* (Buenos Aires, 1985). Also useful are Ernesto Yepes del Castillo, *Perú, 1820–1920: Un siglo de desarrollo capitalista,* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1981), 'El desarrollo peruano en las primeras décadas del siglo XX', in *Nueva historia general del Perú* (Lima, 1979), 137–60, and 'Los inicios de la expansión mercantil capitalista en el Perú (1890–1930)', in *Historia del Perú,* vol. 7, 305–403; as well as Aníbal Quijano, *Imperialismo, clases sociales y estado en el Perú, 1890–1930* (Lima, 1978), all from a Marxist perspective. An excellent socio-historical analysis is Julio Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima, 1977). Also worthy of note are David Scott Palmer, *Peru: The Authoritarian Legacy* (New York, 1980), David P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale, Ill., 1978), Fredrick Pike, *A Modern History of Peru* (London, 1977), Henry E. Dobyns and Paul Doughty, *Peru: A Cultural History* (Oxford, 1976), and Washington Delgado, *Historia de la literatura republicana* (Lima, 1980).

Several important regional studies reflect the recent effort to capture Peru's fractured Andean evolution and development. They include José Armando Tamayo, *Historia del Cuzco republicano* (Lima, 1978); Nelson Manrique, *Mercado interno y región: La sierra central, 1920–1930* (Lima, 1987); and Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780–1930* (Stanford, 1992).

The most comprehensive study of the economic history of the period is Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978). The best study on banking and finance is Alfonso W. Quiróz, *Banqueros en conflicto: Estructura financiera y económica peruana (1884–1930),* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1990); see also his *Domestic and Foreign Finance in Modern Peru, 1850–1950* (London, 1992). Shane Hunt has been instrumental in developing a data base for the analysis of patterns of economic growth: for example, see his *Real Wages and Economic Growth in Peru, 1900–1940* (Boston, 1977) and *Price and Quantum Estimates of Peruvian Exports, 1830–1962* (Princeton, N.J., 1973). Pablo Macera has not only analysed the evolution of the export economy but also published valuable data sets in his *Trabajos de historia,* 4 vols. (Lima, 1977). See also Baltazar Caravedo M., 'Economía, producción y trabajo (Perú, siglo XX)', in *Historia del Perú,* vol. 8, 189–361.

Others have written from a variety of viewpoints on the problematic of the export economy and foreign economic activity in Peru: for example, Heraclio Bonilla (ed.), *Gran Bretaña y el Perú: 1826–1919: Informes de los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cónsules británicos, 5 vols. (Lima, 1975–7), and 'Emergence of U.S. control of the Peruvian economy, 1850–1930', in Joseph S. Tulchin (ed.), *Hemispheric Perspectives on the United States* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 325–51; Rory Miller, 'The making of the Grace Contract: British bondholders and the Peruvian government, 1885–1890', *JLAS,* 8/1 (1976), 73–100, 'Railroads and economic development in Central Peru, 1890–1930', in J. Fisher (ed.), *Social and Economic Change in Modern Peru* (Liverpool, 1976), and 'British firms and the Peruvian government, 1885–1930', in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Business Imperialism 1840–1930: An Inquiry Based on British Experience in Latin America* (Oxford, 1977); and William Bollinger, 'The rise of United States influence in the Peruvian economy, 1869–1921' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972). A major data source for the fiscal history of the period is P. E. Dancuart and J. M. Rodríguez (eds.), *Anales de la hacienda pública del Perú,* 22 vols. (Lima, 1902–8). Peruvian mining in this period has been studied in Alberto Flores Galindo, *Los mineros de la Cerro de Pasco, 1900–1930* (Lima, 1974); Julian Laite, *Industrial Development and Migrant Labour in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 1981); Adrian DeWind, 'From peasants to miners: Background to strikes in the mines of Peru', *Science and Society,* 39/1 (1975), 44–72; Dirk Kruijt and Menno Vellinga, *Estado, clase obrera y empresa transnacional: El caso de minería Peruana, 1900–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); Carlos Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos en los Andes: Mercado laboral y economía campesina en la sierra central, siglo XIX,* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1988); and Elizabeth Dore, *The Peruvian Mining Industry* (Boulder, Colo., 1988). The impact of the First World War on Peru is ably analysed in Bill Albert, *South America and the First World War: The Impact of the War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). On the onset of the depression, see Rosemary Thorp and Carlos Londoño, 'The effect of the great depression on the economies of Peru and Colombia', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis* (London, 1984), 81–116.

The study of Andean agrarian society was given substantial impetus by a group of French scholars, some of them belonging to the *Annales* School: François Chevalier, 'L'expansion de la grande propriété dans le Haut-Pérou au XXe siècle', *AESC,* 21 (1966), 815–31; C. Collin-Delavaud, *Les régions côtières du Pérou septentrional* (Lima, 1968); Jean Piel, 'The place of the peasantry in the national life of Peru in the nineteenth century', *Past and Present,* 46 (1970), 108–33 and *Crise agraire et conscience créole au Pérou* (Paris, 1982); and Henri Favre, 'The dynamics of Indian peasant society

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and migration to coastal plantations in Central Peru', in Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America: Essays on the Development of Agrarian Capitalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977), 253–68. A strong additional impetus to the study of agrarian society occurred as a result of the 1969 agrarian reform by the Velasco administration. Records from various plantations and haciendas were collected in the Archivo del Fuero Agrario which is now housed in the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima. On sugar, see Peter F. Klarén, 'The social and economic consequences of modernization in the Peruvian sugar industry, 1870–1930', in Duncan and Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour,* 229–52; Bill Albert, *An Essay on the Peruvian Sugar Industry, 1880–1920* (Norwich, Eng., 1976); and Michael J. Gonzales, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru, 1875–1933* (Austin, Tex., 1984). On the cotton industry, see W. S. Bell, *An Essay on the Peruvian Cotton Industry, 1825–1920* (Liverpool, 1985). On the wool trade, see Alberto Flores Galindo, *Arequipa y el sur andino, siglos XVIII–XX* (Lima, 1977), Benjamin S. Orlove, *Alpacas, Sheep and Men: The Wool Export Economy and Regional Society in Southern Peru* (New York, 1977) and Manuel Burga and Wilson Reátegui Chávez, *Lanas y capital mercantil en el sur: la Casa Ricketts, 1895–1935* (Lima, 1981).

There are numerous good studies on peasant movements. See Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, 'Feudalismo andino y movimientos sociales (1866–1965)', in *Historia del Perú,* vol. 11, 11–112; Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Rodrigo Montoya, 'Les Luttes paysannes pour la terre au Pérou au XXe siècle' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris, 1977); Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Los movimientos campesinos en Cerro de Pasco, 1880–1963* (Huancayo, 1975) and *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879–1965: Ensayos* (Lima, 1977); Juan Martínez-Alier, *Haciendas, Plantations and Collective Farms: Agrarian Class Societies – Cuba and Peru* (London, 1977); Wilson Reátegui Chávez (ed.), *Documentos para la historia del campesinado peruano, siglo XX* (Lima, 1978); Peter Blanchard, 'Indian unrest in the Peruvian sierra in the late nineteenth century,' *TA,* 38/4 (1982), 449–62, and 'The recruitment of workers in the Peruvian sierra at the turn of the century: The enganche system', *Inter-American Economic Affairs,* 33/3 (1979), 63–83; Michael J. Gonzales, 'Neo-colonialism and Indian unrest in southern Peru, 1867–1898,' *BLAR,* 6/1 (1987), 1–26; and William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia* (Lima, 1988). An astute contemporary observation of rural life is provided by Karl Kaeger, *Condiciones agrarias de la sierra sur peruana:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1899 (Lima, 1979). Other valuable studies of rural society can be found in Nelson Manrique, *Yawar Mayu: Sociedades terratenientes serranas, 1879–1910* (Lima, 1988); Lewis Taylor, *Cambios capitalistas en las haciendas cajamarquinas, 1900–1935* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); and Carmen Diana Deere, *Household and Class Relations: Peasants and Landlords in Northern Peru* (Berkeley, 1990).

On the social consequences of the War of the Pacific, see Henri Favre, 'Remarques sur la lutte des classes au Pérou pendant la Guerre du Pacifique', in *Littérature et société au Pérou du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Grenoble, 1975), 54–81; Heraclio Bonilla, 'The War of the Pacific and the national and colonial problem in Peru', *Past and Present*, 81 (1978), 92–118 and 'The Indian peasantry and Peru during the War with Chile,' in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean World: 18th to 20th Centuries*, edited by Steve J. Stein (Madison, Wis., 1987), 192–231; Nelson Manrique, *Campesinado y nación: Las guerillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile* (Lima, 1981); and Mallon, *The Defense of Community* and 'Nationalist and anti-state coalitions in the War of the Pacific: Junín and Cajamarca, 1879–1902', in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness*, 232–80. Other important works on the war include Heraclio Bonilla, *Un siglo de la deriva: Ensayos sobre el Perú, Bolivia y la guerra* (Lima, 1980); Jorge Basadre, 'Antecedentes de la guerra con Chile' and Percy Cayo, 'La guerra con Chile,' both in *Historia del Perú*, vol. 8; Comisión Permanente de la Historia del Ejército del Perú, *Reflexiones sobre la resistencia de la Breña: Significado y proyección histórica* (Lima, 1982); Tomaso Caivano, *Historia de la guerra de América entre Chile, Perú y Bolivia*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1979), translation of *Storia della guerra d'America fra il Chili, il Peru e la Bolivia* (1881); Percy Cayo et al., *En torno a la guerra del Pacífico* (Lima, 1983) and Andres Avelino Cáceres, *Memorias del Mariscal Andres A. Cáceres*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1986). See also the collection of essays in Wilson Reátegui Chávez et al., *La guerra del Pacífico* (Lima, 1979).

On the Indian and *indigenismo*, see Efraín Kristal's important revisionist study, *The Andes Viewed from the City: Literary and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru, 1848–1930* (New York, 1987) and two excellent works by José Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima, 1980) and *Historia social e indigenismo en el altiplano* (Lima, 1982), as well as José Deustua and José Luis Renique, *Intelectuales, indigenismo y descentralismo en el Perú, 1897–1931* (Cuzco, 1984) and Thomas M. Davies, Jr., *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900–1948* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1974).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Japanese immigration has been examined in C. Harvey Gardiner, *The Japanese and Peru, 1873–1973* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1975). On the Chinese in Peru, see Humberto Rodríguez Pastor's excellent *Hijos del celeste imperio en el Perú (1850–1900): Migración, agricultura, mentalidad y explotación* (Lima, 1989). See also Henry Evans Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1894* (Stanford, Calif., 1981).

The oligarchical state is the subject of Dennis Gilbert, *The Oligarchy and the Old Regime in Peru* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977); François Bourricaud et al., *La oligarquía en el Perú* (Lima, 1969); Sinesio López J., 'El estado oligárquico en el Perú: Un ensayo de interpretación', *RMS*, 40/3 (1978), 991–1007, and Alfonso W. Quiróz, 'Financial leadership and the formation of Peruvian elite groups, 1884–1930,' *JLAS*, 20/1 (1988), 49–81. See also Rory Miller's revisionist 'The coastal elite and Peruvian politics, 1895–1919', *JLAS*, 14/1 (1982), 97–120 and Lawrence A. Clayton's excellent study, *W. R. Grace & Company: The Formative Years, 1850–1930* (Ottawa, Ill., 1985). On the military, see Víctor Villanueva, *Ejército peruano: Del caudillaje anárquico al militarismo reformista* (Lima, 1973) and Frederick M. Nunn, *Yesterday's Soldiers: European Military Professionalism in South America, 1890–1940* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983).

There is an interesting study of Billinghurst: Peter Blanchard, 'A populist precursor: Guillermo Billinghurst', *JLAS*, 9/2 (1977), 251–73. Two unpublished Ph.D. theses examine the administration of Leguía: Howard Karno, 'Augusto B. Leguía, the oligarchy and the modernization of Peru, 1870–1930' (University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), and Carl F. Herbold, 'Developments in the Peruvian administrative system, 1919–1930: Modern and traditional qualities of government under authoritarian regimes' (Yale University, 1973). On this period see also Baltazar Caravedo Molinari, *Clases, lucha política y gobierno en el Perú (1919–1933* (Lima, 1977), Carmen Rosa Balbi and Laura Madalengoitia, *Parlamento y lucha política, Perú, 1932* (Lima, 1980) and Pedro Ugarteche, *Sánchez Cerro: Papeles y recuerdos de un presidente del Perú*, 4 vols. (Lima, 1969–70).

For the origins of the Aprista party, see Peter F. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870–1932* (Austin, Tex., 1973), Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison, Wis., 1980) and Fredrick B. Pike's magisterial intellectual biography, *The Politics of the Miraculous: Haya de la Torre and the Spiritualist Tradition* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986). Also important on APRA are Jeffrey L. Klaiber, S.J., *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977) and François Bourricaud,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Poder y sociedad en el Perú contemporáneo (Buenos Aires, 1967). Other useful studies include Adam Anderle, *Los movimientos políticos en el Perú entre las dos guerras mundiales* (Havana, 1985); Imelda Vega Centeno, *Aprismo popular: Mito, cultura y historia* (Lima, 1985) and *Ideología y cultura en el aprismo popular* (Lima, 1986); Carmen Rosa Balbi, *El partido comunista y el APRA en la crísis revolucionaria de los años treinta* (Lima, 1980); and Juan Manuel Gamara Romero, *La reforma universitaria: El movimiento estudiantil de los años veinte en el Perú* (Lima, 1987). Indispensible for studying the early years of the party are the memoirs and works of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre contained in his *Obras completas,* 7 vols. (Lima, 1976–7). Another early party leader, Luís Alberto Sánchez, has written on the early period of the party, including *Apuntes para una biografía del APRA,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1978–9), *Testimonio personal: el aquelarre, 1900–1931,* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1987) and, with Haya de la Torre, *Correspondencia, 1924–1951* (Lima, 1982).

The history of the labour movement is explored in Denis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú, 1900–1956* (Lima, 1975); Piedad Pareja, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1978); Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883–1919* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1982) and Stein, *Populism in Peru.* See also Steve Stein's important *Lima obrera, 1900–1930,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986–7), as well as Wilfredo Kapsoli E., *Las luchas obreras en el Perú, 1900–1919: Por las ocho horas de trabajo* (Lima, 1976); Alberto Moya Obeso, *Sindicalismo aprista y sindicalismo clasista en el Perú, 1920–1956,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1977); Piedad Pareja, *Aprismo y sindicalismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1980); and Luís Tejada, *La cuestión del pan: El anarchosindicalismo en el Perú, 1880–1914* (Lima, 1988). Useful statistical materials and analysis are provided in Wilma Derpich, José Luís Huiza and Cecilia Israel, *Lima años 30: Salarios y costo de vida de la clase trabajadora* (Lima, 1985). Important documents for the period are provided in Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista de historia social del Perú,* 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Lima, 1974) and in the memoirs of the early labor organizer Julio Portocarrero, *Sindicalismo peruano: Primera etapa, 1911–1930* (Lima, 1987).

There is information on the church in Jeffrey L. Klaiber S.J.'s important *La iglesia en el Perú: Su historia desde la independencia,* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1988); Eng. trans. 1992.

Diplomatic relations with the United States in the period are considered in Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and the Andean Republics: Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977) and Joe E. Wilson, *The United*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

States, Chile and Peru in the Tacna and Arica Plebescite (Washington, D.C., 1979).

Major sources on intellectual history are Augusto Salazar Bondy, *Historia de las ideas en el Perú contemporáneo,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1965) and Alberto Flores Galindo's powerful *Buscando un inca: Identidad y utopia en los Andes* (Lima, 1987). See also Jesús Chavarría, 'The intellectuals and the crisis of modern Peruvian nationalism: 1870–1919', *HAHR,* 50/2 (1970), 257–78. Several works consider the ideas of José Carlos Mariátegui: Jesús Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui, 1894–1930, and the Rise of Modern Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1979); Diego Meseguer Illán, *José Carlos Mariátegui y su pensamiento revolucionario* (Lima, 1974); Harry E. Vanden, *Mariátegui: Influencias en su formación ideológica* (Lima, 1975) and *National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariátegui's Thought and Politics* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); Robert Paris, *La formación ideológica de José Carlos Mariátegui* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); José Arico (ed.), *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); and Alberto Flores Galindo, *La agonía de Mariátegui: La polémica con la Komintern* (Lima, 1980). See also Guillermo Rouillón, *Bio-bibliografía de José Carlos Mariátegui* (Lima, 1966), *La creación heróica de Jose Carlos Mariátegui: La edad de piedra, 1894–1919* (Lima, 1975) and *La edad revolucionaria* (Lima, 1984). The major work on Haya de la Torre is Pike's *The Politics of the Miraculous.*

Two good works on women in society are Deere, *Household and Class Relations,* and Florencia E. Mallon, 'Gender and class in the transition to capitalism: Household and mode of production in central Peru,' *LAP,* 13/1 (1986), 147–74.

Finally, no study of the period could be complete without consulting the writings of José Carlos Mariátegui, Alejandro Deustua, Manuel González Prada, Javier Prado, Francisco García Calderón, Manuel Vicente Villarán, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and Víctor Andres Belaúnde.

25. COLOMBIA

Two recent compilations offer an entry to Colombian history in these fifty years. A. Tirado Mejía, director, assisted by J. O. Melo and J. A. Bejarano, *Nueva historia de Colombia,* 6 vols. (Bogotá, 1989) and J. Jaramillo Uribe, J. G. Cobo Borda and S. Mutis Durán (eds.), *Manual de historia de Colombia,* 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1978–9).

For descriptions of the country in the 1880s, see M. Cané, *En viaje,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1881–1882 (Paris, 1884); E. Rothlisberger, *El Dorado* (Bogotá, 1963); A. Hettner, *Viajes por los Andes colombianos, 1882–1884* (Bogotá, 1976); R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1920–21). A later work of exceptional value is P. J. Eder, *Colombia* (London, 1913), and the diary of the Bolivian novelist, historian and diplomat Alcides Argüedas, *La danza de las sombras,* new ed. (Bogotá, 1983) describes politics and society at the end of the 1920s.

The occasional writings of Rafael Núñez are collected in *La reforma política en Colombia,* 7 vols. (Bogotá, 1946–50). The writings of Miguel Antonio Caro exist in various compilations apart from the *Obras completas,* 8 vols. (Bogotá, 1918–45). A new edition is in the course of publication by the Instituto Caro y Cuervo, and this is complemented by publications of his correspondence, much of it erudite but some of it political, and by volumes of constitutional studies and speeches. Of the correspondence, see especially E. Lemaitre (introd.), *Epistolario de Rafael Núñez con Miguel Antonio Caro* (Bogotá, 1977), especially valuable because Núñez's instructions that on his death his archive should be thrown into the sea were carried out. See also Caro's *Escritos sobre cuestiones económicas* (Bogotá, 1943).

Other important political sources are L. Martínez Delgado (ed.), *Revistas políticas publicadas en el Repertorio Colombiano,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1939); C. Holguín, *Cartas políticas* (Bogotá, 1951); R. Uribe, *Orientación republicana,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1972). Much political information is also contained in the Instituto Caro y Cuervo's edition of the *Obras Completas de Marco Fidel Suárez,* 3 vols. to date (Bogotá, 1958 –) and in the *Escritos escogidos de Luis Eduardo Nieto Caballero,* 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1984).

On politics, see I. Lievano Aguirre, *Núñez* (Bogotá, 1944); E. Rodríguez Piñeres, *Diez años de política liberal* (Bogotá, 1945); H. Delpar, *Red Against Blue: The Liberal Party in Colombian Politics, 1863–1899* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1981); L. Martínez Delgado, *República de Colombia, 1895–1910,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1970: Vol. X of the *Historia Extensa de Colombia*); E. Lemaitre, *Rafael Reyes* (Bogotá, 1967); C. Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886–1910* (Durham, N.C., 1978). There is still no coherent account of the years 1910–30, but a compilation of events is contained in J. Villegas and J. Yunis, *Sucesos colombianos* (Medellín, 1976). On the 1920s, see also P. J. Navarro, *El parlamento en pijama* (Bogotá, 1935); C. Uribe Celis, *Los años veinte en Colombia: Ideología y cultura* (Bogotá, 1935).

On the labour movement, see M. Urrutia, *The Development of the Colombian Labour Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1969); I. Torres Giraldo, *Los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Inconformes, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1973) and María Cano, *Mujer rebelde* (Bogotá, 1972). On the church, see J. Restrepo Posada, *La iglesia colombiana en dos momentos difíciles de la historia patria* (Bogotá, 1971); C. Abel, *Política, iglesia y partidos en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987). An alternative essay on this period is J. O. Melo, 'La república conservadora', in M. Arrubla (ed.), *Colombia Hoy* (Bogotá, 1978). Outstanding among memoirs is J. H. Palacio, *Historia de mi vida*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1944 and 1991).

On civil wars, see M. Deas, *Poder, gramática, pobreza, guerra civil* (Bogotá, 1992); C. E. Jaramillo, *Los guerrilleros del novecientos* (Bogotá, 1991); J. H. Palacio, *La guerra de 85* (Bogotá, 1936); L. Caballero, *Memorias de la guerra de los mil días* (Bogotá, 1939); M. Grillo, *Emociones de la guerra* (Bogotá, *c.* 1905).

On the question of Panama, see E. Lemaitre, *Panamá y su separación de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1972); T. J. Dodd, *La crisis de Panamá, 1900–1904: Cartas de Tomás Herrán* (Bogotá, 1985).

On international relations, see J. J. Caicedo Castilla, *Historia diplomática*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1974) in *Historia Extensa de Colombia;* E. T. Parks, *Colombia and the United States, 1765–1934* (Durham, N.C., 1935); R. L. Lael, *Arrogant Diplomacy: U.S. Policy toward Colombia, 1903–1922* (Wilmington, Del., 1987); S. J. Randall, *The Diplomacy of Modernization: Colombian–American Relations, 1920–1940* (Toronto, 1977) and *Hegemony and Interdependence: Columbia and the United States since the Wars of Independence* (Atlanta, Ga., 1991).

On economic history, the following are important: L. Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia, 1810–1930* (Medellín, 1955); J. A. Ocampo, *Colombia y la economía mundial, 1830–1910* (Bogotá, 1984); J. A. Ocampo (ed.), *Historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987); S. Kalmanovitz, *Economía y nación* (Bogotá, 1985); A. Pardo Pardo, *Geografía económica y humana de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1972); J. A. Ocampo and S. Montenegro, *Crisis mundial, protección e industrialización* (Bogotá, 1984); B. Tovar Zambrano, *La intervención económica del estado en Colombia, 1914–1936* (Bogotá, 1984); G. Torres García, *Historia de la moneda en Colombia*, 2nd ed. (Medellín, 1980); M. Avella, *Pensamiento y política monetaria en Colombia, 1886–1945* (Bogotá, 1987); A. Patiño Roselli, *La prosperidad a debe y la gran crisis, 1925–1935* (Bogotá, 1981); J. Villegas, *Petróleo, oligarquía e imperio*, 3rd ed. (Bogotá, 1975). P. L. Bell, *Colombia: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, D.C., 1921) is a mine of information. M. Urrutia and M. Arrubla (eds.), *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970) contains series on population, wages,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

prices, foreign trade, tobacco and coffee as well as, for example, presidential elections.

On agrarian history, J. A. Bejarano, *Economía y poder: La Sociedad de Agricultores Colombianos, 1871–1984* (Bogotá, 1985) is the best general introduction; see also his *El régimen agrario – de la economía exportadora a la economía industrial* (Bogotá, 1979); F. Leal (ed.), *El agro en el desarrollo histórico colombiano* (Bogotá, 1977); M. Arrubla (ed.), *La agricultura colombiana en el siglo XX* (Bogotá, 1977). C. Legrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1830–1936* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986) opens the theme of the appropriation of public land; it inevitably leaves much to be investigated. There are two essays on Colombian agrarian history in K. Duncan and I. Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977): M. Deas, 'A Colombian coffee estate: Santa Bárbara, Cundinamarca, 1870–1912', and M. Taussig, 'The evolution of rural wage labour in the Cauca Valley of Colombia, 1700–1970'.

On the history of coffee there is a rapidly growing bibliography: see M. Palacios, *El café en Colombia, 1850–1970: Una historia económica, política y social,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1983; *Coffee in Colombia 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980) is a shorter English version; A. Machado, *El café: De la aparcería al capitalismo* (Bogotá, 1977); M. Arango, *Café e industria* (Bogotá, 1977); M. Urrutia, 'La creación de las condiciones iniciales para el desarrollo: El café', in E. Reveiz (ed.), *La cuestión cafetera* (Bogotá, 1980); and the chapters by J. A. Ocampo in the *Nueva historia de Colombia,* cited above. Among contemporary sources: D. Monsalve, *Colombia cafetera* (Barcelona, 1927), indispensable as well as being a magnificent production (its costs ruined the author); J. M. Restrepo et al., *Memorias sobre el cultivo del café* (Bogotá, 1952); R. Uribe Uribe, *Estudios sobre café* (Bogotá, 1952); M. Rivas, *Los trabajadores de la tierra caliente,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1946)

On other agrarian themes, see P. J. Eder, *El Fundador, Santiago M. Eder* (Bogotá, 1959), which treats the origins of the Valle sugar industry; J. M. Rojas, *Empresarios y tecnología en la formación del sector azucarero en Colombia, 1860–1980* (Bogotá, 1984); A. S. Pearse, *Colombia, With Special Reference to Cotton* (Manchester, 1926); R. Herrera Soto y R. Romero Castañeda, *La zona bananera del Magdalena* (Bogotá, 1979); J. White, *Historia de una ignominia: La United Fruit Company en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978).

For regional studies, see essay V:7. Also for the Caribbean coast, see Eduardo Posada Carbó, 'Entre las olas de Caribe: Los recursos naturales de

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

la costa atlántica en el siglo XIX', in A. Hernández Gamarra (ed.), *Caribe–Colombia* (Bogotá, 1990). A lucid study on Colombia's foremost Indian politician is D. Castrillón Arboleda, *El indio Quintin Lame* (Bogotá, 1973); it can be read in conjunction with J. Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990).

Among a number of volumes of historic photographs published in recent years, two are outstanding: E. Serrano, *Historia de la fotografía en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1983) and M. Carrizosa de Umaña and R. J. Herrera de la Torre, *75 años de fotografía, 1865–1940* (Bogotá, 1978).

26. ECUADOR

The Corporación Editora Nacional is in the course of publishing the *Nueva historia del Ecuador* (Quito, 1988–), planned in fifteen volumes under the general editorship of E. Ayala Mora. Vols. 8, 9 and 10 cover the period 1870–1930. The basic historical bibliography remains R. E. Norris, *Guía bibliográfica para el estudio de la historia ecuatoriana* (Austin, Tex., 1978).

The following contemporary accounts deserve mention: J. Kolberg, *Nach Ecuador* (Freiburg, 1876); C. Weiner, *América pintoresca: Descripción de viajes al nuevo continente* (Barcelona, 1884); E. Festa, *Nel Darien e nell'Ecuador, Diario de viaggio di un naturalista* (Turin, 1909); R. Enock, *Ecuador* (London, 1914); M. Sáenz, *Sobre el indio ecuatoriano y su incorporación al medio nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1933).

On political history, see E. Ayala Mora, *Lucha política y origen de los partidos en Ecuador* (Quito, 1978); H. Malo and E. Ayala Mora (eds.), *Ecuador 1830–1930, Tomo 1, Política y sociedad* (Quito, 1980) (the two subsequent volumes deal with art and culture, and economics); L. Alexander Rodríguez, *The Search for Public Policy: Regional Politics and Government Finances in Ecuador, 1830–1940* (Berkeley, 1985); J. L. Mera, *La dictadura y la restauración en la República del Ecuador* (Quito, 1982); and I. Robalino Dávila, *Orígines del Ecuador de hoy*, 7 vols. (Puebla, Mexico, 1948–70), a series of well-documented politico-biographical studies.

Three works whose principal focus is on later years are useful for this earlier period are: O. Hurtado, *El poder político en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1977); R. Quintero, *El mito del populismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1980); G. Drekonja et al., *Ecuador de hoy* (Bogotá, 1978).

On Eloy Alfaro, see F. Guarderas, *El viejo de Montecristi* (Quito, 1953);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

W. Loor, *Eloy Alfaro,* 3 vols. (Quito, 1947); A. Pareja Diezcanseco, *La hoguera bárbara* (Mexico, D.F., 1944); R. Andrade, *Vida y muerte de Eloy Alfaro* (New York, 1916); E. Muñoz Vicuña, *La guerra civil ecuatoriana de 1895* (Guayaquil, 1976.); M. Deas (introd. and ed.), *Eloy Alfaro: Narraciones históricas* (Quito, 1983). L. A. Martínez, *A la costa* (Quito, 1904; many reprints) is a vigorous contemporary novel, and M. J. Calle, under the pseudonym Enrique de Rastignac, offers memorable portraits of the protagonists of Alfaro's revolution in *Hombres de la revuelta* (Guayaquil, 1906).

Other useful biographies include C. de la Torre Reyes, *La espada sin mancha: Biografía del General Julio Andrade* (Quito, 1962); J. Pérez Concha, *Carlos Concha Torres: Biografía de un luchador incorruptible* (Quito, 1987). There is still no biography of General Leonidas Plaza, who next to Alfaro is the outstanding political figure of the period.

On the church, see M.-D. Demélas and Y. Saint-Geours, *Jerusalén y Babilonia: Religión y política en el Ecuador, 1770–1880* (Quito, 1988); F. González Suárez, *Memorias íntimas* (Quito, 1944); E. Ayala Mora (ed.), *F. González Suárez y la polémica sobre el estado laico* (Quito, 1980); L. Dautzemberg, *El Illmo. Sr. Pedro Schumacher* (Quito, 1968).

Labour history has produced interesting recent work: P. Ycaza, *Historia del movimiento obrero ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1984); A. Páez, *El anarquismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1986); V. Polit Montes de Oca (introd.), *El 15 de noviembre de 1922 y la fundación del socialismo relatados por sus protagonistas* (Quito, 1982); L. J. Muñoz, *Testimonio de lucha* (Quito, 1988); M. Luna, *Historia y conciencia popular: El artesanado en Quito, economía, organización y vida cotidiana* (Quito, 1989).

The economy of Ecuador at the beginning of this century is most fully described in the opulent and encyclopedic *El Ecuador: Guía comercial, agrícola e industrial de la república* (Guayaquil, 1909). On cacao, see M. Chiriboga, *Jornaleros y gran proprietarios en 135 años de exportación cacaotera (1790–1925)* (Quito, 1980); L. Crawford de Roberts, *El Ecuador en la época cacaotera* (Quito, 1980); A. Guerrero, *Los oligarcas del cacao* (Quito, 1981). On agrarian history in general, M. Chiriboga (ed.), *El problema agrario en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1988); R. Baraona's CIDA report, *Tenencia de la tierra y desarrollo socio-económico del sector agrícola: Ecuador* (Washington, D.C., 1965). P. de la Torre, *Patronos y conciertos: Una hacienda serrana, 1905–1929* (Quito, 1989) is a well-documented study of the hacienda 'El Deán', near Quito. M. A. Restrepo Eusse, *El rey de la leña* (Buenos Aires, 1958), the autobiography of a Colombian entrepreneur in Ecuador, con-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tains a rare personal account of life and conflict in the Ecuadorian countryside in the 1920s and 1930s.

Other aspects of economic history are treated in J. P. Deler, *Genèse de l'espace equatorien: Essai sur la territoire et la formation de l'état national* (Paris, 1981); L. A. Carbo, *Historia monetaria y cambiaria del Ecuador desde la época colonial* (Quito, 1953); L. N. Dillon, *La crisis económico-financiera del Ecuador* (Quito, 1927); and V. E. Estrada, *Moneda y bancos en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1982). A. Flores Jirón, *La conversión de la deuda anglo–ecuatoriana,* 2nd ed. (Quito, 1979), introduction by E. Santos Alvije, is a unique account of patient late-nineteenth-century foreign debt negotiations.

The Banco Central del Ecuador, which, like the Banco de la República in Colombia and the Banco Central in Venezuela, has done much for historical studies, has established a photographic archive and is publishing a series of photographic histories, which includes A. Carrión A., *Imágenes de la vida política del Ecuador* (Quito, 1980). The portrayal of native types, a little industry in nineteenth-century Quito, is displayed in W. Hallo (ed.), *Imágenes del Ecuador del siglo XIX: Juan Antonio Guerrero* (Quito, 1988).

27. VENEZUELA

The basic bibliographical reference is J. V. Lombardi et al., *Venezuelan History: A Comprehensive Working Bibliography* (Boston, 1977). Also important is the *Diccionario de historia de Venezuela,* published by the Fundación Polar under the direction of M. Pérez Vila, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1988). Two modern short histories are J. V. Lombardi, *Venezuela* (New York, 1982) and J. Ewell, *Venezuela* (London, 1984).

The political history of the period 1870–1930 can be studied in M. Picón Salas et al., *Venezuela independiente: Evolución política y social, 1810–1960* (Caracas, 1962), and the later years in R. J. Velásquez et al., *Venezuela moderna: Medio siglo de historia, 1926–1976,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1979). Up until the year 1890 the relevant volumes of F. González Guinán, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela,* 15 vols. (Caracas, 1909–25) are still most valuable. Three collections of documents are particularly useful: P. Grases and M. Pérez Vila (eds.), *Documentos que hicieron historia* (Caracas, 1862); N. Suárez Figueroa, *Programas políticos venezolanos de la primera mitad del siglo XX,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1977); R. J. Velásquez (ed.), *El pensamiento político del siglo XX: Documentos para su estudio* (Caracas,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1983– ; two series so far). See also M. V. Magallanes, *Los partidos políticos en la evolución venezolana* (Caracas, 1973).

On Guzmán Blanco, see T. Polanco Alcántara, *Guzmán Blanco: Tragédia en tres partes y un epílogo* (Caracas, 1992); R. Díaz Sánchez, *Guzmán: Elipse de una ambición de poder,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1968); R. A. Rondón Márquez, *Guzmán Blanco, 'el autócrata civilizador'*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1944); and R. R. Castellanos V., *Guzmán Blanco íntimo* (Caracas, 1969). Two useful articles are J. Nava, ' "The illustrious American": The development of nationalism in Venezuela under Antonio Guzmán Blanco', *HAHR,* 45/4, 1965 and M. B. Floyd, 'Política y economía en tiempos de Guzmán Blanco: Centralización y desarrollo, 1870–1888', in M. Izard et al., *Política y economía en Venezuela, 1810–1976* (Caracas, 1976), which has other useful essays on this period. On Guzmán Blanco's conflict with the church, see M. Watters, *A History of the Church in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934).

Of contemporary works, see A. Guzmán Blanco, *Documentos para la historia* (Caracas, 1876) and *En defensa de la causa liberal* (Paris, 1894); and M. Briceño, *Los ilustres: Páginas para la historia de Venezuela* (Bogotá, 1884; 2nd ed., Caracas, 1953), an able attack. Briceño's analysis of Guzmán's system of government is still one of the most complete. Another Colombian description of Guzmán's Venezuela, more favourable and with interesting sociological insights, is I. Laverde Amaya, *Un viaje a Venezuela* (Bogotá, 1889). In general, the travel literature on Venezuela in these years is poor. But see M. L. Ganzenmuller de Blay, *Contribución a la bibliografía de viajes y exploraciones de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1964).

There is no modern biography of the most prominent of Guzmán's immediate successors, Joaquín Crespo, but see M. Landaeta Rosales, *Biografía del Benemérito General Joaquín Crespo* (Caracas, 1895) and A. Díaz Guerra, *Diez años en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1933). On the 1890s the fundamental work is R. J. Velásquez, *La caída del liberalismo amarillo; tiempo y drama de Antonio Paredes,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1973); see also J. A. de Armas Chitty (ed.), *El 'Mocho' Hernández: Papeles de su archivo* (Caracas, 1978). The political, social and military atmosphere of the Andean region of the country is captured vividly in the memoirs of the telegraph operator N. Parada in his *Vísperas y comienzos de la revolución de Cipriano Castro,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1973). For the central region there is an authentic though ingenuous parallel in A. Martínez Sánchez, *Nuestras contiendas civiles* (Caracas, 1949). V. Lecuna, *La revolución de Queipa* (Caracas, 1949) is an evocative and informative fragment of autobiography by the great expert on Bolívar.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cipriano Castro has attracted more attention: see W. J. Sullivan, 'The rise of despotism in Venezuela: Cipriano Castro 1899–1908' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1974); E. Bernardo Núñez, *El hombre de la levita gris* (Caracas, 1953); M. Picón Salas, *Los días de Cipriano Castro* (Caracas, 1953); I. Andrade, *Por qué triunfó la Revolución Restauradora* (Caracas, 1955); A. Paredes, *Cómo llegó Cipriano Castro al poder* (Caracas, 1954). Castro's government published *Documentos del General Cipriano Castro,* 6 vols. (Caracas, 1903–8), and E. Piño Iturrieta has edited *Castro, Epistolario presidencial (1899–1908)* (Caracas, 1974). An important contemporary witness is E. López Contreras, *El Presidente Cipriano Castro,* 2 vols. (Caracas, n.d.), with prologue by M. Burelli Rivas. On the Anglo–German–Italian blockade, see M. Rodriguéz Campos, *Venezuela 1902: La crisis fiscal y el bloqueo* (Caracas, 1977); D. Irwin (ed.), *Documentos británicos relacionados con el bloqueo de las costas venezolanas* (Caracas, 1982); H. H. Herwig, *Germany's Vision of Empire in Venezuela, 1817–1914* (Princeton, N.J., 1986). A good commentary on this era by an acute Venezuelan observer is C. Zumeta, *Las potencias y la intervención en Hispanoamérica* (Caracas, 1973). W. J. Sullivan's compilation, *Cipriano Castro en la caricatura mundial* (Caracas, 1980) is more than a curiosity. The diaries of Rufino Blanco Fombona have been republished: A. Rama (ed.), *Rufino Blanco Fombona, íntimo* (Caracas, 1975).

The bibliography of the Gómez era is extensive, though of most uneven quality. For contemporary defence, see the work of his Minister of the Interior P. M. Arcaya, *The Gómez Regime in Venezuela and Its Background* (Baltimore, 1936) and *Memorias del Doctor Pedro Manuel Arcaya* (Caracas, 1963); the latter has interesting late-nineteenth-century recollections as well. See also E. López Contreras, *Proceso político-social, 1928–1936* (Caracas, 1955). For contemporary denunciation, see J. R. Pocaterra, *Memorias de un venezolano de la decadencia* (Caracas, 1937; many subsequent editions); G. Machado and S. de la Plaza, *La verdadera situación de Venezuela* (Mexico, D.F., 1929); R. Betancourt, *Venezuela: Política y petróleo,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1967), the work of a statesman with an exceptional interest in history; and D. Córdoba, *Los desterrados y Juan Vicente Gómez* (Caracas, 1968).

The richest and most varied source for the Castro and Gómez years is the *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de Miraflores,* which draws on the presidential archive, opened with a generosity that has no parallel elsewhere in the region, under the direction of Ramón J. Velásquez.

No biography of Gómez can yet be called definitive. The most solid of recent efforts is T. Polanco Alcántara, *Juan Vicente Gómez, aproximación a*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

una biografía (Caracas, 1990); a short and judicious essay is J. M. Medrano, *Juan Vicente Gómez* (Madrid, 1987). D. A. Rangel, *Los andinos en el poder: Balance de una hegemonía, 1899–1945* (Caracas, 1965) contains many stimulating intuitions about Castro, Gómez, López Contreras and Medina Angarita, and is a text that has had many imitators. It is at times romantic. His *Gómez, el amo del poder* (Caracas, 1975) adds little. R. J. Velásquez, *Confidencias imaginarias de Juan Vicente Gómez* (Caracas, 1979) hides its interesting conclusions in an imagined monologue. Other useful studies include L. Cordero Velásquez, *Gómez y las fuerzas vivas* (Caracas, 1971) and E. Pacheco, *De Castro a López Contreras* (Caracas, 1984). Two works in English that reflect Venezuelan divisions of opinion and which are still worth consulting are T. Rourke (pseudonym of D. J. Clinton), *Tyrant of the Andes, the Life of Juan Vicente Gómez* (New York, 1937) and J. Lavin, *A Halo for Gómez* (New York, 1954).

M. Briceño-Irragory, *Los Riberas* (Caracas, 1957) is a novel less fantastic than much of the writing inspired by this persistently fascinating dictator. G. Carrera Damas has two essays on Gómez in his collections, *Tres temas de historia*, 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1978) and *Jornadas de historia crítica* (Caracas, 1983).

On the army, see A. Ziemes, *El gomecismo y la formación del ejército nacional* (Caracas, 1979), an original and well-documented work. On ideology, see E. Pino Iturrieta, *Positivismo y gomecismo* (Caracas, 1978). Of the new edition of the works of Gómez's foremost ideologue, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, see particularly N. Harwich Vallenilla and F. Brito Figueroa (eds.), *Cesarismo democrático* (Caracas, 1983).

The economic history of these decades has been only partially explored. There is no satisfactory study of Venezuelan coffee, although there are insights and scattered data in A. Ardao, *El café y las ciudades en los Andes venezolanos* (Caracas, 1984). On Táchira there is an excellent monograph, A. G. Muñoz, *El Táchira fronterizo: El aislamiento regional y la integración nacional en el caso de los Andes (1881–1899)* (Caracas, 1985). Agriculture and agrarian history have received little attention from historians, who are too content repeating the conclusions of S. de la Plaza, *El problema de la tierra* (Mexico, D.F., 1938). L. C. Rodríguez, *Gómez, agricultura, petróleo y dependencia* (Caracas, 1983) is a study of government policy taken from official documents.

Much more has been written about petroleum: see in particular E. Lieuwen, *Petroleum in Venezuela: A History* (Berkeley, 1954) and B. S. McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Cambridge, Eng., 1983), which analyses its chosen theme in great detail with much new material. Both authors touch on the question of the impact of oil on the rest of the economy, but do not explore it in detail.

Valuable statistical compilations include: M. Izard, *Series estadísticas para la historia de Venezuela* (Mérida, Ven., 1970); R. Veloz, *Economía y finanzas de Venezuela, 1830–1944* (Caracas, 1945); M. Landaeta Rosales, *Gran recopilación geográfica, estadística e histórica de Venezuela,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1889; 2nd ed., 1963). On public works, see E. Arcila Farías, *Centenario del Ministerio de Obras Públicas: Influencia de este ministerio en el desarrollo, 1874–1974* (Caracas, 1974). O. Gerstl, in his modest memoirs, *Memorias e historias* (Caracas, 1974), describes the world of the German commercial houses and the Casa Boulton in particular in the first decades of the century.

For illustration, see C. E. Misle, *Venezuela: Siglo XIX en fotografía* (Caracas, 1951) and C. Posani (ed.), *Apenas ayer . . . 20 años de fotografía de Luís F. Toro* (Caracas, 1972), which contains the best photographs of the photogenic General Gómez, taken by his official photographer.

28. BRAZIL: ECONOMY

The historiography of the period 1870–1930 may be approached through Nícia Vilela Luz, 'Brazil', in Roberto Cortés Conde and Stanley Stein (eds.), *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930* (Berkeley, 1977), which contains several hundred annotated entries of primary and secondary sources, as well as a valuable interpretive article. Important collections include various contributions on economic subjects to Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira; Tomo II, O Brasil monárquico,* vols. 3 and 4 (São Paulo, 1967, 1971); and the same series, edited by Boris Fausto, *Tomo III, O Brasil republicano,* vol. 1 (São Paulo, 1975); Colloque Internationale sur l'Histoire Quantitative du Brésil, *L'Histoire quantitative du Brésil de 1800 à 1930* (Paris, 1971); Paulo Neuhaus (ed.), *Economia brasileira: Uma visão histórica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980); Carlos Manuel Peláez and Mircea Buescu (eds.), *A moderna história econômica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976); and Werner Baer et al., *Dimensões do desenvolvimento brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). Marcelo de Paiva Abreu (ed.), *A ordem do progresso; cem anos de política econômica republicana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990) contains excellent summary articles by Winston Fritsch and Gustavo H. B. Franco. See also Albert Fishlow, 'Brazilian develop-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ment in long-term perspective', *American Economic Review,* 70/2 (1980). Among general studies of the Brazilian economy in historical perspective the following deserve mention: Werner Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1989); Mircea Buescu, *Problemas econômicas e experiência histórica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); João Manuel Cardoso de Mello, *O capitalismo tardio: Contribuição à revisão crítica da formação e do desenvolvimento da economia brasileira* (São Paulo, 1982); and Carlos Manuel Peláez, *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1979). Raymond W. Goldsmith, *Brasil 1850–1984: Desenvolvimento financeiro sob um século de inflação* (São Paulo, 1986) studies the structure and functioning of banking and capital markets, and estimates growth and capital formation, the effect of terms of trade, inflation, and foreign debt. Valuable data series are found in Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil,* 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Rio de Janeiro, 1990). See also tables in Abreu, *A ordem do progresso.*

The study of Brazilian economic history owes much to three central figures, whose works have been much debated and who represent significant tendencies in policy debates. Roberto Simonsen was an industrialist and statesman whose essays were designed to demonstrate the feasibility of industrialization. Some of these have been collected in *Evolução industrial do Brasil e outros ensaios* (São Paulo, 1973). Caio Prado Júnior, a Marxist historian, wrote mainly on the colonial period, but his *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1949) and *História e desenvolvimento* (São Paulo, 1972) deserve mention. Celso Furtado sought specifically to defend a structuralist position in his *A economia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1954) and in his influential *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959); Eng. trans. *The Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1963). Two other earlier studies of importance are J. F. Normano, *Brazil, a Study of Economic Types* (New York, 1935; 1968) and Roy Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil* (New York, 1926; 1968).

The early economic historiography of Brazil was largely institutional, in fact more sociological than economic. Nevertheless, a number of monographs which deal in part with economic processes deserve mention. On the plantation system, see the classic Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); Peter Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco (1840–1910)* (Berkeley, 1974); Jaime Reis, 'From bangüé to usina', in K. Duncan and I. Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); J. H. Galloway, 'The sugar industry of Pernambuco during the nineteenth century', *Annals of the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Association of American Geographers, 58/2 (1968); Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System* (Stanford, Calif., 1976); and the various essays in II Congresso de História de São Paulo, *O Café* (São Paulo, 1975). Richard Graham assesses the impact of Britain on Brazilian development in *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968). Two excellent regional studies are Pierre Monbeig, *Pionniers et planteurs de São Paulo* (Paris, 1952) and Jean Roche, *A colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul*, 2 vols. (Porto Alegre, 1969). The regional studies by Joseph Love on Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo, John Wirth on Minas Gerais and Robert Levine on Pernambuco (see essay VI:30), though primarily political, contain useful information on regional economies. An important study of the Amazon region is Roberto Santos, *História econômica da Amazônia 1800–1920* (São Paulo, 1980).

Economic policy in this period has been much studied. A classic is A. G. Ford, *The Gold Standard, 1880–1914; Brazil and Argentina* (Oxford, 1962). A general institutional approach is taken by Edgard Carone, *A república velha* (São Paulo, 1970). Steven Topik shows that the government adopted interventionism despite its liberal rhetoric: *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1987). Aníbal Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), Eng. trans. *Government Policy and Economic Growth of Brazil, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977), is an important study that emphasizes distortions introduced by coffee support schemes. Gustavo Maia Gomes seeks to show that the dominant class has always taken decisions in its own behalf: *The Roots of State Intervention in the Brazilian Economy* (New York, 1986). Nícia Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1961) analyses pro-developmental debates. Useful regional studies are Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O norte agrário e o império, 1871–1889* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984); Gabriel Bittencourt, *Esforço industrial na república do café: O caso do Espírito Santo, 1889–1930* (Vitória, 1982); and Janice Teodoro da Silva, *Raizes da ideologia do planejamento: Nordeste, 1889–1930* (São Paulo, 1978). Thomas Holloway, *The Brazilian Coffee Valorization of 1906* (Madison, Wis., 1975), and Carlos Manuel Peláez's essay in *Ensaios sobre café e desenvolvimento econômico* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) deal with coffee support. On government-sponsored cartels, see Joan Bak, 'Cartels, cooperatives and corporativism: Getúlio Vargas in Rio Grande do Sul on the eve of Brazil's 1930 revolution', *HAHR*, 63/2

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(1983), 255–75. Government policy in agriculture and railways is discussed by Eulália Lahmeyer Lobo in *História político-administrativa da agricultura brasileira, 1808–1889* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980). An analysis of the impact of tariffs can be found in Maria Teresa R. O. Versiani, 'Proteção tarifária e crescimento industrial nos anos 1906–12: O caso de cerveja', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 12/2 (Rio de Janeiro, 1982). A superb study of the consequences of state indebtedness is Winston Fritsch, *External Constraints on Economic Policy in Brazil, 1889–1930* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1988). See also W. Fritsch and E. M. Modiano, 'A restrição externa ao crescimento econômico: Uma perspectiva de longo prazo', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 18/2 (1988) and Gustavo H. B. Franco, 'Abertura financeira e crises, 1870–1900', in XVII Encontro Nacional de Economia, *Anais* (Belo Horizonte, 1988).

The collected works of several of the economic policy makers of the period have been published. See: Leopoldo Bulhões, *Discursos parlamentares* (Brasília, 1979); Serzedelo Correia, *O problema econômica do Brasil* (Brasília, 1980); Miguel Calmon, *Idéias econômicas* (Brasília, 1980); Joaquim Murtinho, *Idéias econômicas* (Brasília, 1980); and Jorge Street, *Idéias sociais* (Brasília, 1980). Brazil, Ministério da Fazenda, Museu da Fazenda Federal, *Ministros da Fazenda, 1808–1983* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983) contains biographical and economic data.

Eulália Lahmeyer Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro, do capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978) studies economic aspects of urbanization, with important price and wage data. Another valuable urban study, concentrating on taxation and growth, is Nelson H. Nozoe, *São Paulo: Economia cafeeira e urbanização, 1889–1933* (São Paulo, 1984). Regional diversity is treated in Antônio Barros de Castro, *Sete ensaios sobre a economia brasileira,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), David Denslow, 'As orígens da desigualdade regional no Brasil', *Estudos Econômicos* (1973), and Nathaniel Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil,* 2 vols. (London, 1982).

Macroeconomic studies began with O. Dias Carneiro, 'Past trends in the economic evolution of Brazil, 1920–1965' (mimeo, Cambridge, Mass., 1966). Important estimates of national product are to be found in C. Contador and C. Haddad, 'Produto real, moeda e preços: A experiência brasileira no período 1861–1970', *Revista Brasileira de Estatística* (1975), Claudio Haddad, *Crescimento do produto real no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); and Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development,* which brings together earlier essays. On terms of trade, see R. Gonçalves and A. Coelho,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'Tendências dos termos-de-troca: A tese de Prebisch e a economia brasileira, 1850–1979', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 12/2 (1982). Inflation has received less attention from historians than might be supposed, assuming the pull of presentism. See Oscar Onody, *A inflação brasileira, 1820–1958* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960), a pioneering study; Mário Henrique Simonsen, *A experiência inflacionária no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963); Mircea Buescu, *300 anos de inflação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973); and Paulo Neuhaus, 'A inflação brasileira em perspectiva histórica', *RBE,* 32 (1978).

The classic study of monetary policy is J. Pandiá Calógeras, *A política monetária do Brasil* (1910; São Paulo, 1960). The first scholarly work on the subject was Dorival Teixeira Vieira, *Evolução do sistema monetária brasileiro* (1947; São Paulo, 1981). Paulo Neuhaus, *História monetária do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975) and Carlos Manuel Peláez and Wilson Suzigan, *História monetária do Brasil,* 2nd ed., rev. and amp. (Rio de Janeiro, 1981) are recent works informed by theoretical concerns. The speculative boom that accompanied the installation of the republican government is analysed by Luiz Antonio Tannuri, *O Encilhamento* (São Paulo, 1981) and Gustavo H. B. Franco, *Reforma monetária e instabilidade durante a transição republicana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). The latter attempts to judge the influence of exchange rates in 'Taxa de câmbio e oferta de moeda – 1880–1897: Uma análise econométrica', *RBE,* 40/1 (1986). Eliana Cardoso studies the question over a longer span: 'Desvalorização cambial, indústria, e café: Brasil 1862–1906', *RBE,* 35/2 (1981). See also a study of an earlier crisis: Maria T. Ferraz Negrão de Lima, '1875: Crise na praça do Rio de Janeiro', *Anais do Museu Paulista,* 34 (1985).

The profitability of slavery in its final stage is studied in Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development;* H. O. Portocarrero, 'Viabilidade econômica de escravidão no Brasil, 1880–1888', *RBE,* 27/1 (1973); and Jaime Reis, 'Abolition and the economics of slavery in northeastern Brazil', *BELC,* 17 (1974). Theoretically significant are Robert Slenes, 'The demography and economics of Brazilian slavery: 1850–1888' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1975) and Pedro Carvalho de Melo, *A economia de escravidão nas fazendas de café, 1850–1888* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984). A valuable collection is the special issue of *Estudos Econômicos* devoted to slavery: 13/1 (1983). Regional studies of the labour transition reveal considerable contrasts: see Vilma P. F. Almada, *Escravismo e transição; o Espírito Santo, 1850–1888* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984); Diana S. de Galliza, *O declínio da escravidão na Paraíba (1850–1888)* (João Pessoa, Paraíba, 1979). And see especially Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'Slavery in a non-export economy: Nineteenth-century Minas Gerais revisited', *HAHR*, 63/3 (1983), 537–68, which suggests that exports were not essential to maintaining Brazilian slavery. A valuable collection containing a few essays of economic interest is Antônio Barros de Castro (ed.), *Trabalho escravo, economia e sociedade* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983).

The transition from slave to wage labour has been much analysed, especially the phenomenon of European immigration. The essential study of population growth and mobility is T. W. Merrick and D. H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979). See also IV Simpósio Nacional dos Professores Universitários de História, *Anais: Colonização e migração* (São Paulo, 1969) and Chiara Vangelista, *Le braccia per la fazenda: Immigranti e caipiras nella formazione del mercato del lavoro paulista (1850–1930)* (Milan, 1982). In addition to his *Immigrants on the Land,* Thomas Holloway has contributed essays on this subject in D. Alden and W. Dean (eds.), *Essays in the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Fla., 1979) and Duncan and Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour.* Also important is Michael Hall, 'The origins of mass immigration in Brazil 1871–1914' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1969). Verena Stolcke demonstrates the importance of family wages in *Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives; Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850–1980* (New York, 1988). The integration of immigrants into an industrial system is discussed by Francisco Foot Hardman, *História da indústria e do trabalho no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1982).

A concern of Brazilian economic historiography has been that of tracing the origin of capital applied to the export sector. Alcir Lenharo, *As tropas da moderação* (São Paulo, 1979) shows the transfer of resources out of internal trade in the early stages of the coffee cycle. Urban food supply is dealt with in Maria Yedda Leite Linhares, *História do abastecimento, uma problemática em questão, 1530–1918* (Brasília, 1979) and M. Y. Leite Linhares and F. C. Teixeira da Silva, *História política do abastecimento* (Brasília, 1979). The questions of land rights, the alienation of public lands, and land reform are analysed by Maria Teresa Schorer Petrone, *O imigrante e a pequena propriedade, 1824–1930,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1984); and Luiza H. Schmitz Kliemann, *RG [Rio Grande do Sul]: Terra e poder; história da questão agrária* (Porto Alegre, 1986).

On foreign investment and trade during this period, see Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development;* Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization;* Ana Célia Castro, *As empresas estrangeiras no Brasil, 1860–1913* (Rio de Janeiro,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1979); and Victor Valla, *A penetração norte-americana na economia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). See also B. R. Magalhães, 'Investimentos ingleses no Brasil e o Banco Londrino e Brasileiro', *Revista Brasileiro de Estudos Políticos,* 49 (1979); R. Fendt, 'Investimentos ingleses no Brasil, 1870–1913, uma avaliação da política brasileira', *RBE,* 31 (1977); and R. F. Colson, 'European investment and the Brazilian "boom", 1886–1892', *I–AA,* 9/3–4 (1983). R. Greenhill, 'The Brazilian coffee trade', in D. C. M. Platt (ed.), *Business Imperialism 1840–1930* (Oxford, 1978), contests the thesis of neo-imperialism. Maria da Guia Santos presents considerable data on German connections in *Aussenhandel und industrielle Entwicklung brasiliens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zu Deutschland (1889–1914)* (Munich, 1984). Emily Rosenberg, 'Anglo–American economic rivalry in Brazil during World War I', *Diplomatic History,* 2 (1978), provides insight into the rise of U.S. influence. Richard Graham, 'A British industry in Brazil: Rio Flour Mills, 1886–1920', *Business History,* 17/1 (1966) examines the largest British manufacturing investment of the time and demonstrates the difficulties of control of overseas firms before the First World War. Marshall C. Eakin provides a detailed analysis of the most important mining firm: *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company* (Durham, N.C., 1989).

Aside from those studies of foreign-owned firms, companies have been little studied. An exception is Gerald Dinu Reiss, 'O crescimento da empresa industrial na economia cafeeira', *Revista de Economia Política,* 3/2 (1983), which discusses the strategies of Matarazzo. See also Alisson Mascarenhas Vaz, 'A indústria textil em Minas Gerais', *Revista de História,* 56/3 (1977) and W. Dean, 'A fábrica São Luiz de Itu: Um estudo de arqueologia industrial', *Anais de História,* 8 (1976). There is also remarkably little available on the economic history of agriculture. See Nadir Aparecida Cancián, *Cafeicultura paranaense 1900/1970* (Curitiba, 1981) and Claudio Gontijo, 'A revolução agrícola no Brasil: Singularidades do desenvolvimento do capitalismo na agricultura brasileira, 1850–1930', *Revista de Economia Política,* 8/2 (1988); Warren Dean, 'The "green wave" of coffee; Beginnings of tropical agricultural research in Brazil', *HAHR,* 69/1 (1989), 91–115. David Denslow, *Sugar Production in Northeastern Brazil and Cuba, 1858–1908* (New York, 1987), emphasizes growing conditions. On the extractive sector, see Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1983). Warren Dean offers an ecological explanation for the failure to grow rubber in *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber* (New York, 1987).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The agricultural sector has been of interest largely in relation to its contribution to the development of the industrial economy. Antonio Delfim Netto has argued that the international market, up to 1906, permitted Brazil to gain from the trade in coffee: see *O problema do café no Brasil* (1958; São Paulo, 1979). Thereafter, coffee profits were artificially maintained, and the issue has arisen whether the coffee trade or cyclical crises in the trade stimulated further development. Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969); W. Baer and A. Villela, 'Industrial growth and industrialization: Revisions in the stages of Brazil's economic development', *Journal of Developing Areas*, 7/1 (1973); and C. M. Peláez, *História da industrialização brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972) view export orientation as favouring industrialization, while a contrary view was expressed by Sérgio Silva, *Expansão cafeeira e orígens da indústria no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1976); José de Souza Martins, 'O café e a gênese da industrialização em São Paulo', *Contexto*, 3 (1977); and Wilson Cano, *Raizes da concentração industrial em São Paulo*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1981). Albert Fishlow's attempted synthesis 'Origins and consequences of import substitution in Brazil' is in L. di Marco (ed.), *International Economics and Development* (New York, 1971). A guide to this dispute is Flávio A. M. de Saes, 'A controvérsia sobre a industrialização na Primeira República', *Estudos Avançados*, 3/7 (1989). Saes provided his own contribution in *A grande empresa de serviços públicos na economia cafeeira, 1850–1930* (São Paulo, 1986). See also Gabriel Bittencourt, *Café e modernização: O Espírito Santo no século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987) and Kit Sims Taylor, *Sugar and the Underdevelopment of Northeastern Brazil, 1570–1970* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978). Maurício Font turns the discussion in a new direction with his study of the shifts in the politics of São Paulo caused by the emergence of a non-plantation rural sector: *Coffee, Contention and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). At the federal level, Amilcar Vianna Martins Filho sees no economic motive behind the dominant collaboration of São Paulo and Minas Gerais: *A economia política do café com leite, 1900–1930* (Belo Horizonte, 1981). See also an interesting local study: Oswaldo Truzzi, *Café e indústria: São Carlos (1850–1950)* (São Carlos, São Paulo, 1986).

On industrialization, see Wilson Suzigan, *Indústria brasileira; orígem e desenvolvimento* (São Paulo, 1986) and *Indústria: Política, instituições, e desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); F. R. Versiani and José Roberto Mendonça de Barros (eds.), *Formação econômica do Brasil: A experiência da industrialização* (São Paulo, 1977); and Frédéric Mauro (ed.), *La préindus-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

trialisation du Brésil (Paris, 1984). See also F. R. Versiani, *Industrial investment in an export economy: The Brazilian experience before 1914* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies working paper, 1979) and *A década de 20 na industrialização brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987), which appeared in briefer form in 'Before the depression: Brazilian industry in the 1920s', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s* (London, 1984). See also Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo*. Other notable studies of industrialization include Armen Mamagonian, 'Notas sobre o processo de industrialização no Brasil', *Boletim do Departamento de Geografia do FFCL de Presidente Prudente* (1969); Edgard Carone (ed.), *O pensamento industrial no Brasil, 1880–1945* (São Paulo, 1977), a documentary collection, and a historiographical study by E. Salvadori de Decca, 'O tema da industrialização: Política e história', *Tudo E História: Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 2 (1978). An important sectoral study is Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957). See also Francisco Magalhães Gomes, *História da siderurgia no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte, 1983). Douglas Cole Libby, *Transformação e trabalho em uma economia escravista: Minas Gerais no século XIX* (São Paulo, 1988) presents valuable information on iron-making, textiles and mining.

The history of capital markets, banking, and commercial intermediaries has been explored by David Joslin in *A Century of Banking in Latin America* (London, 1963) and by F. A. Arinos de Melo Franco, *História do Banco do Brasil* (1947; Rio de Janeiro, 1973). Maria Bárbara Levy's two studies, *História dos bancos comerciais no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972) and *História da Bolsa de Valores do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977) are valuable institutional contributions. Joseph E. Sweigart offers a detailed portrait of the coffee brokers that modifies considerably current understanding of the commercialization of that product: *Coffee Factorage and the Emergence of a Brazilian Capital Market, 1850–1888* (New York, 1987). See also Flávio A. M. de Saes, 'Crédito e desenvolvimento em economias agroexportadoras: O caso de São Paulo, 1850–1930', *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, 29 (1988).

29. BRAZIL: SOCIETY AND POLITICS, 1870–1889

Rubens Borba de Moraes and William Berrien, *Manual de estudos brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), although outdated, is still the most important

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bibliographical guide. Specifically about the Empire but now also somewhat outdated are Stanley Stein, 'The historiography of Brazil, 1808–1889', *HAHR*, 40/2 (1960), 234–78; George Boehrer, 'Brazilian historical bibliography: Some lacunae and suggestions', *RIB*, 11/2 (1961), 137–49, and 'The Brazilian Republican Revolution, old and new views', *L-BR*, 3/2 (1966), 43–57. A more recent analysis of the historiography of the last two decades of the Empire is Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Sobre as orígens da república' in *Da monarquia à república: Momentos decisivos* (São Paulo, 1977), 243–90.

A variety of interesting data can be found in the travellers' accounts published in the nineteenth century. Particularly informative and containing many useful tables is Santa-Anna Nery, *La Brésil en 1889* (Paris, 1889). Also relevant for the study of the last decade of the Empire is Louis Couty, *Le Brésil en 1884* (Rio de Janeiro, 1884); C. F. Van Delden Laerne, *Le Brésil et Java: Rapport sur la culture du café en Amérique, Asie, et Afrique (avec chartes, planches et diagrammes)* (The Hague, 1885); Max Leclerc, *Cartas do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1942); and Alfred Marc, *Le Brésil, excursion à travers de ses 20 provinces* (Paris, 1890).

The years between 1870 and 1889 have been seen as years of crisis for the monarchical institutions. The first versions of the fall of the Empire were written either by monarchists or by republicans. The monarchists overestimated the role of the military in the 1889 coup while the republicans stressed the failure of monarchical institutions and the success of the republican campaign. Written from a republican perspective is José Maria Bello, *História da república, 1889–1954*, 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1959), Eng. trans. by James L. Taylor, *A History of Modern Brazil 1889–1954* (Stanford, Calif., 1966); from a monarchist perspective, F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *O ocaso do império* (São Paulo, 1925) and Heitor Lyra, *História da queda do império*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1964). During the 1940s and 1950s Marxist historians offered a new interpretation: see, for example, Caio Prado Júnior, *Evolução política do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933) and Nelson Werneck Sodré, *Formação histórica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1944). Practically ignored has been the psychoanalytical study of the fall of the Empire by Luís Martins, *O patriarca e o bacharel* (São Paulo, 1953), which relied on Gilberto Freyre's generational model described in *The Mansions and the Shanties*, trans. Harriet de Onis (New York, 1963). In the 1960s and 1970s academic historiography made important contributions to the revisions of traditional interpretations. The best synthesis of this period appears in a collective work published under the direction of Sérgio Buarque de

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Holanda, *História geral da civilização brasileira, II: O Brasil monárquico,* 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1962–72), especially vol. 4, *Declínio e queda do império* and vol. 5, *Do império à república.* Although the quality of the essays is uneven and the connections between economic, social, political and ideological changes is often left to the reader, this is the most complete synthesis available. Well informed but somewhat chaotic is João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, *A democracia coroada* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957), a book written from a conservative perspective. For a liberal perspective see Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder: Formação do patronato político brasileiro,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1975). Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil (1850–1914)* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968) describes several important changes occurring in Brazilian politics and society during this period and is the best synthesis available in English.

For a long time the history of Brazil was seen as the history of masters and slaves. Historians neglected the population of small farmers, tenants and sharecroppers that constituted the great majority of the population in the nineteenth century. More recently these groups have been the subject of several studies. Some of the most important problems confronting the free population are discussed in Maria Sylvia de Carvalho Franco, *Homens livres na ordem escravocrata* (São Paulo, 1969) and Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, *Ao sul da história: Lavradores pobres na crise do trabalho escravo* (São Paulo, 1987). Particularly interesting is G. I. Joffley, 'O quebraquilos, a revolta dos matutos contra os doutores', *Revista de História,* 34 (1978), 69–145. See also Roderick Barman, 'The Brazilian peasantry reexamined: The implications of the Quebra-Quilos revolt (1874–1875)', *HAHR,* 57/3 (1977), 401–25. Armando Souto Maior, *Quebra-Quilos: Lutas sociais no outono do império* (São Paulo, 1978) considers the *quebra-quilos* as an expression of class tensions and social dislocations in the Brazilian Northeast caused by the impact of capitalist development in the backlands. Analogous is Janaina Amado's conclusion in her study on the Muckers: *Conflito social no Brasil: A revolta dos Muckers: Rio Grande do Sul (1868–1878)* (São Paulo, 1978).

Labour history is relatively new in Brazil. For a long time the study of the workers was in the hands of political militants or sociologists more interested in the twentieth-century labour movement. As a consequence the emerging working class of the nineteenth century has received little attention. Edgard Carone, *Movimento operário no Brasil (1877–1944)* (São Paulo, 1979) is a collection of documents. We are still waiting for studies on workers' conditions of living, forms of organization and participation

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in the political system. The same lacunae can be found in the study of urban demonstrations and urban riots that multiplied towards the end of the nineteenth century. Sandra Lauderdale Graham, 'The vintem riot and political culture: Rio de Janeiro, 1880', *HAHR*, 60/2 (1980), 431–50 shows the many possibilities that the study of these urban crowds offer. Another group waiting for a historian are the *capoeiras* – free blacks and mulattos, and perhaps some slaves, who threatened the Rio de Janeiro urban population and who seem to have played an important role in the political life of the last years of the Empire, particularly in the abolitionist campaign. Women also have not received much attention. In a pioneering article, June Hahner has identified several organizations created by middle- and upper-class women in the last decades of the Empire: 'Feminism, women's rights and the suffrage movement in Brazil', *LARR*, 16/1 (1980), 41–64. See also Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988).

The best study of urbanization is Paul Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana* (São Paulo, 1968). See also Richard Morse, 'Cities and societies in nineteenth century Latin America: The illustrative case of Brazil' in R. Schaedel, J. Hardoy and N. S. Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to the Present* (The Hague, 1978). For a different perspective, see Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Urbanização no Brasil no século XIX' in *Da monarquia à república,* and 'Town and country', in *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985). On immigration, see essay VI:30.

A detailed description of political institutions can be found in Oliveira Torres, *A democracia coroada;* Buarque de Holanda, *História geral da civilização brasileira, II: O Brasil monárquico,* vols. 4 and 5; Faoro, *Os donos do poder;* and Nestor Duarte, *A ordem privada e a organização política nacional* (São Paulo, 1938). Many institutions have been the object of specific studies. The Senate is described in Beatriz Westin Cerqueira Leite, *O Senado nos anos finais do império, 1870–1889* (Brasília, 1978), which supersedes A. E. Taunay, *O Senado do império* (São Paulo, 1941). For the Chamber, A. E. Taunay, *A Câmara dos deputados* (São Paulo, 1950) remains valuable. The Council of State is examined in Fernando Machado, *O Conselho de Estado e sua história no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1972).

The best study on political parties and political elites is José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Elite and state building in imperial Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1974). The first part, revised and expanded,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

has been published in *A construção da ordem: A elite política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), and the second, also revised and expanded, in *Teatro de sombras: A política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). See also his 'A composição social dos partidos políticos imperiais', *Cadernos do Departamento de Ciências Políticas,* Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 2 (1974), 1–34, and 'Political elites and state building: The case of nineteenth-century Brazil', *CSSH,* 24/3 (1982). Carvalho revises many traditional notions that have prevailed in the literature. For the study of the imperial elites, see also Olavo Brasil de Lima, Jr., and Lúcia Maria de Klein, 'Atores políticos do império', *Dados,* 7 (1970), 62–88, and Ron L. Seckinger and Eul-Soo Pang, 'The mandarins of imperial Brazil', *CSSH,* 9/2 (1972). For a study of the political party system from a juridical point of view, Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, *História e teoria do partido político no direito constitucional brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948) remains valuable.

Although there are no monographic studies of the two main parties, there are several studies of the Republican party. Goerge Boehrer, *Da monarquia à república: História do Partido Republicano no Brasil, 1870–1889* (Rio de Janeiro, 1954), is the main source for the study of the party at the national level. For the study of the party in São Paulo, see Emília da Costa Nogueira, 'O movimento republicano em Itú: Os fazendeiros do oeste paulista e os pródromos do movimento republicano', *Revista de História,* 20 (1954), 379–405, and José Maria dos Santos, *Bernardino de Campos e o Partido Republicano Paulista, subsídios para a história da república* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960). The ambiguous position of the Paulista Republican party toward abolition was described by José Maria dos Santos, *Os republicanos paulistas e a abolição* (São Paulo, 1942). Nícia Vilela Luz, 'O papel das classes médias brasileiras no movimento republicano', *Revista de História* 28/57 (1964), 213–28, calls attention to the important role played by the sons of traditional elites who had lost status. Two studies have examined political participation during the last decades of the Empire: Joseph Love, 'Political participation in Brazil, 1881–1969', *L-BR,* 7/2 (1970), 3–24, and Maria Antonieta de A. G. Parahyba, 'Abertura social e participação política no Brasil, 1870–1920', *Dados,* 7 (1970), 89–102.

Much more needs to be investigated before we can begin to understand the sociology of electoral behaviour during the Empire. Meanwhile, several studies have been published about the system of patronage. The most complete study is still Faoro, *Os donos do poder.* It can be supplemented by Simon Schwartzman, 'Regional cleavages and political patriarchalism in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1973). An important recent study of political patronage during the Empire is Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth Century Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1990). A colourful description of the system of clientele and patronage is found in Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *O mandonismo local na vida política brasileira* (São Paulo, 1969), reprinted from the original essay published in the journal *Anhembi*, 24–6 (São Paulo, 1956–7). Administration at the local level in one province is examined in Francisco Iglésias, *Política económica do governo provincial mineiro, 1835–1889* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958).

More research on the formal and informal connections between businessmen and politicians needs to be done. The articles published by Eugene W. Ridings point in the right direction. Particularly interesting are 'Elite conflicts and cooperation in the Brazilian Empire: The case of Bahian businessmen and planters', *L-BR*, 12/1 (1975), 80–99; 'The merchant elite and the development of Brazil during the Empire', *JIAS*, 15 (1973); 'Class sector unity in an export economy: The case of nineteenth-century Brazil', *HAHR*, 58/3 (1978), 432–50; and 'Internal groups and development: The case of Brazil in the nineteenth century', *JLAS*, 9/2 (1977), 225–50. And we still have much to learn about the political role of economic groups, family links and the importance of patronage in determining party affiliation and party performance. However, see Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics*, mentioned above. A reading of the biographies of important political figures provides interesting information. Particularly useful are Joaquim Nabuco, *Um estadista do império: Nabuco de Araújo, sua vida, suas opiniões e sua época*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1936); Luis Viana Filho, *A vida de Rui Barbosa* (São Paulo, 1965); Hermes Vieira, *Ouro Preto, o homem e a época* (São Paulo, 1948); José Wanderley Pinho, *Cotegipe e seu tempo* (São Paulo, 1937); João Craveiro Costa, *O visconde de Sinimbú, sua vida e sua atuação na política nacional, 1840–1889* (São Paulo, 1937); Luis Viana Filho, *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo, 1944); José Antônio Soares de Souza, *A vida do Visconde de Uruguai, 1807–1866* (São Paulo, 1944); Luís Viana Filho, *A vida do Barão do Rio Branco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). The best biography of Pedro II is Heitor Lyra, *História do Imperador Pedro II*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1938–40). In English, see Mary Wilhelmine Williams, *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937).

A few politicians of the Empire published their memoirs. Particularly interesting are Afonso Celso, *Oito anos de parlamento* (São Paulo, n.d.); Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, *Memórias* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960), *Homens e*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

coisas do império (São Paulo, 1924), and *Cartas políticas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889); Albino José Barbosa de Oliveira, *Memórias de um magistrado do império* (São Paulo, 1943); Júlio Belo, *Memórias de um Cavalcanti: Trechos de um livro de assentos de Felix Cavalcanti de Albuquerque e Melo (1821–1901)* (São Paulo, 1940); Visconde de Mauá, *Autobiografia (Exposição aos credores e ao público seguida de o meio circulante no Brasil)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942). Equally interesting is the correspondence exchanged between political or intellectual figures. Particularly relevant for this period are Raymundo de Menezes (ed.), *Cartas e diário de José de Alencar* (São Paulo, 1967); José Honório Rodrigues (ed.), *Correspondência de Capistrano de Abreu,* 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1954–6); *Correspondência de Machado e Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo, 1933); Raymundo de Magalhães (ed.), *D. Pedro II e a Condessa do Barral* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956); José Wanderley de Araújo Pinho (ed.), *Cartas do Imperador D. Pedro II ao Barão de Cotegipe* (São Paulo, 1933); *Correspondência entre D. Pedro II e o Barão do Rio Branco (1889–1891)* (São Paulo, 1957). These last two publications constitute important sources for the study of the emperor's view of the Brazilian system. Even more relevant in this respect is D. Pedro II, *Conselhos à Regente,* introduction and notes by J. C. de Oliveira Torres (Rio de Janeiro, 1958).

The abolition of slavery has attracted the attention of many scholars. The most complete bibliography available is Robert Conrad, *Brazilian Slavery: An Annotated Research Bibliography* (Boston, 1977). Conrad is also the author of the most complete study available in English, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery 1850–1889* (Berkeley, 1971). For a different approach, see Robert Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York, 1972). Two essays which analyse the causes of the gradual decline and final abolition of slavery in Brazil in this period are Richard Graham, 'Causes of the abolition of negro slavery in Brazil: An interpretive essay', *HAHR,* 46/2 (1966) and Leslie Bethell, 'The decline and fall of slavery in nineteenth-century Brazil', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th series, vol. I (1991). Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo, 1966; 2nd ed., 1982) remains the most comprehensive study of the process of transition from slave to free labour in Brazil. See also Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Masters and slaves: From slave labor to free labor', in *The Brazilian Empire.* An interesting more recent work is Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da liberdade: Uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na Corte* (São Paulo, 1990). On the profitability of slavery in its final stage, see essay VI:28. There is still no satisfactory account of the origins, passage and consequences of the 1871 law of free birth and the attempt, especially

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

under the law of 1879, to structure a 'free labour market'. But see Ademir Gebara, *O mercado de trabalho livre no Brasil (1871–1888)* (São Paulo, 1986) and Maria Lúcia Lamounier, *Da escravidão ao trabalho livre (a lei de locação de serviços de 1879)* (Campinas, 1988). In spite of the many studies on abolition we still lack information about the grass roots of abolitionism. Evaristo de Morais, *A campanha abolicionista (1879–1888)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1924) is still useful in this respect. The *caifazes*, an abolitionist organization operating in São Paulo, was examined by Alice Barros Fontes, 'A prática abolicionista em São Paulo: Os caifazes, 1882–1888' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1976). Paula Beiguelman, *Teoria e ação no pensamento abolicionista* (São Paulo, 1962) called attention to the importance of political mechanisms in the abolition of slavery. Richard Graham in 'Landowners and the overthrow of the Brazilian monarchy', *LBR*, 7/2 (1970), 44–56 analyses the impact of abolitionism and abolition on planters. See also Eul-Soo Pang, 'Modernization and slavocracy in nineteenth century Brazil', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4/4 (1979).

Relations between church and state are examined in George Boehrer, 'The church in the second reign, 1840–1889', in Henry Keith and S. F. Edwards (eds.), *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia, S.C., 1963), 113–40; George Boehrer, 'The church and the overthrow of the Brazilian monarch', *HAHR*, 48/3 (1968), 380–401; and Mary C. Thornton, *The Church and Freemasonry in Brazil, 1872–75* (Washington, D.C., 1948). See also David Gueirós Vieira, 'Protestantism and the religious question in Brazil, 1855–1875' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, American University, Washington D.C., 1972); Antônio Carlos Villaça, *A história da questão religiosa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974); Nilo Pereira, *Conflicto entre igreja e estado* (Recife, 1976); and Antônio Carlos Villaça, *O pensamento católico no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975). For an understanding of the elite's behaviour during the conflict, there is interesting information in Joaquim Nabuco, *Um éstadista do império*.

There are four important essays on the role of the Brazilian military in the proclamation of the Republic: John Schulz, 'O exército e o império', in Buarque de Holanda (ed.), *História geral de civilização brasileira, II*, vol. 4, 235–49; W. S. Dudley, 'Institutional sources of officer discontent in the Brazilian army, 1870–1889', *HAHR*, 55/1 (1975), 44–65, and 'Professionalisation and politicisation as motivational factors in the Brazilian army coup of 15 November 1889', *JLAS*, 8/1 (1976), 101–25; and June Hahner, 'The Brazilian armed forces and the overthrow of the monarchy: Another perspective', *TA*, 26/2 (1969), 171–82. For a more theoretical

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

analysis, see Fredrick Nunn, 'Military professionalism and professional militarism in Brazil, 1870–1970: Historical perspectives and political implications', *JLAS*, 4/6 (1972), 29–54. A more detailed study of the army during the Empire is John Schulz, 'The Brazilian army in politics, 1850–1894' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1973). Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História militar do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968) is also informative. Some biographical studies focusing on important figures in the army add interesting details: for example, Raymundo de Magalhães, *Deodoro e a espada contra o império* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957), a biography of the general who led the coup in November 1889. There is a biographical study of Deodoro in English: Charles Willis Simmons, *Marshal Deodoro and the Fall of Dom Pedro II* (Durham, N.C., 1966). The intriguing personality of Benjamin Constant and his role as a republican and as a positivist is examined by Raymundo Teixeira Mendes, *Benjamin Constant*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1913). The hostility with which some loyal monarchists evaluated the military and its role in the overthrow of the Empire is well documented in Visconde de Ouro Preto, *Advento da ditadura militar no Brasil* (Paris, 1891) and Eduardo Prado, *Fastos da ditadura militar no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1902). This unsympathetic view was kept alive in the works of historians like Oliveira Vianna, who did not hide their identification with the monarchy and monarchical institutions. For an opposite point of view one should consult A. Ximeno de Villeroy, *Benjamin Constant e a política republicana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1928). And for a more balanced discussion, see Emília Viotti da Costa, 'A proclamação da república' in *Da monarquia à república* and 'The fall of the monarchy' in *The Brazilian Empire*.

Antônio Cândido de Mello e Souza, *Formação da literatura brasileira*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1964) has in an appendix short biographies of the most important writers of this period. Also useful is José Aderaldo Castello, *Presença da literatura brasileira: História e antologia*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1964). For an overview of the history of ideas the best source is João Cruz Costa, *História das ideias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956), Eng. trans. by Suzette Macedo, *A History of Ideas in Brazil* (Berkeley, 1964). Several books have been published about positivism in Brazil. Most of them associate the middle classes and positivism. Typical is Robert Nachman, 'Positivism, modernization and the Brazilian middle-class', *HAHR*, 57/1 (1977), 1–23. The most reliable source published in Portuguese is Ivan Lins, *História do positivismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1964). See also João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, *O positivismo no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1952). For a

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

critical examination of liberalism, see Maria Stella Martins Bresciani, 'Liberalismo, ideologia e controle social', 2 vols. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1976). On the idea of a republic, see José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas: O imaginário da república no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1990).

The problem of cultural dependency and the contradictions generated by the import of European ideas, first discussed by Nelson Werneck Sodré in *Ideologia do colonialismo: Seus reflexos no pensamento brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961), became the subject of an important controversy with the publication of Roberto Schwarz's essay 'As ideias fora do lugar' in *Estudos CEBRAP*, 3 (1973), 151–61, later reproduced and expanded in his study of Machado de Assis, *Ao vencedor as batatas* (São Paulo, 1977); Eng. trans. in *Misplaced Ideas* (London, 1992). Applying to the study of ideas the 'dependency theory' model, Schwarz noticed a contradiction between the ideology of patronage characteristic of Brazilian society and European liberalism. This contradiction was denied in Maria Sylvia de Carvalho Franco, 'As ideias estão no lugar', *Debates* (1976).

Brazilian racial ideology is examined in Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974) which includes an extensive bibliography about different aspects of Brazilian society during the Empire and First Republic. See also Thomas Skidmore, 'Racial ideas and social policy in Brazil, 1870–1940', in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1990). For a different interpretation, see Emília Viotti da Costa, 'The myth of racial democracy: The legacy of the Empire', in *The Brazilian Empire.*

Few studies have been published about cultural institutions. For an overview, see Fernando de Azevedo, *Brazilian Culture, an Introduction to the Study of Culture in Brazil,* trans. William Rex Crawford (New York, 1950). More specific is Robert Havighurst and Roberto Moreira, *Society and Education in Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1965). The São Paulo law school which was the incubator of most of the professional politicians of the Empire was the subject of two important books: *A Academia de São Paulo: Tradições e reminiscências,* 9 vols. (São Paulo, 1906–9), and Spencer Vampre, *Memorías para a história da Academia de São Paulo,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1924). Maria de Lourdes Marioto Haidar examines the secondary school system in her book *O ensino secundário no império brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1972). Valuable information about the debate over the creation of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the university in the nineteenth century can be found in Roque Spencer Maciel de Barros, *A ilustração brasileira e a ideia de universidade* (São Paulo, 1959).

30. BRAZIL: SOCIETY AND POLITICS, 1889–1930

On the bibliography of Brazil during the period from 1889 to 1930, see Thomas E. Skidmore, 'The historiography of Brazil, 1889–1964', *HAHR*, 55/4 (1975), 716–48, and 56/1 (1976), 81–109, and Angela de Castro Gomes and Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, 'Primeira República: Um balanço historiográfico', *Estudos Históricos*, 4 (1989), 244–80. An analysis of the modern trends in Brazilian historiography, in which there are references to works written on the period from 1889 to 1930, can be found in José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A história em questão* (Petrópolis, 1976).

A general history of the period is Boris Fausto (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira, III: Brasil republicano*, vols. 1 and 2 (São Paulo, 1977). See also three valuable books by Edgard Carone: *A República Velha: Instituições e classes sociais* (São Paulo, 1970), *A República Velha: Evolução política* (São Paulo, 1971) and a collection of documents, *A Primeira República, 1889–1930: Texto e contexto* (São Paulo, 1969). Among older studies, worthy of particular note are José Maria Bello, *História da república, 1889–1954*, 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1959), Eng. trans. by James L. Taylor, *A History of Modern Brazil, 1889–1954* (Stanford, Calif., 1966); and Leôncio Basbaum, *História sincera da República*, 4 vols. (São Paulo, 1962–68). On the relationship between agrarian society and the process of authoritarian modernization, see Elisa M. Pereira Reis, 'The agrarian roots of authoritarian modernization in Brazil, 1880–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1979). The class nature of the state is the subject of Décio Saes, *A formação do estado burguês no Brasil, 1889–1891* (São Paulo, 1987). Steven Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1987) analyses the frankly interventionist role of the state in the economy.

Few scholars have attempted a global analysis of the system and the political process of the period. Most noteworthy is Maria do Carmo Campello de Souza, 'O processo político-partidário na Primeira República', in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *Brasil em perspectiva* (São Paulo, 1968), 181–252. See also Joseph L. Love, 'Political participation in Bra-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

zil, 1881–1969', *L-BR*, 7/2 (1970), 3–24; and Maria Antonieta de A. G. Parahyba, 'Abertura social e participação política no Brasil, 1870–1920', *Dados*, 7 (1970), 89–102. An analysis that emphasises the 'política de governadores' can be found in Renato Lessa, *A invenção republicana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). A general study of the electoral system and political participation containing some chapters on the period 1889–1930 is Maria D'Alva Gil Kinzo, *Representação política e sistema eleitoral no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1980). There are few studies of political parties, except the Communist Party (on which see below). The most important relate to the state of São Paulo: José Enio Casalechi, *O Partido Republicano Paulista* (São Paulo, 1987) and Maria Ligia Coelho Prado, *A democracia ilustrada: O Partido Democrático de São Paulo, 1926–1934* (São Paulo, 1986).

There are several important studies on the individual states and their role in national politics. On the state of São Paulo, see Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); Eduardo Kugelmas, 'Difícil hegemonia: Um estudo sobre São Paulo na Primeira República' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1986) and Mauricio A. Font, *Coffee, Contention and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford, 1990). Although it essentially deals with economic policy, there are interesting observations on the hegemony of the coffee bourgeoise in Winston Fritsch, *External Constraints on Economic Policy in Brazil, 1889–1930* (London, 1988). See also by the same author, 'Sobre as interpretações tradicionais da lógica da política econômica na Primeira República', *Estudos Econômicos*, 15/2 (1985), 339–46. On Rio Grande do Sul, see Joseph L. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1971), Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, *República Velha gaúcha* (Porto Alegre, 1980) and Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca, *Vargas: O capitalismo em formação* (São Paulo, 1989). On Minas Gerais, the most important works are: John D. Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1977); Amilcar Martins Filho, *A economia política do café como leite* (Belo Horizonte, 1981); Paul Cammack, 'The political economy of the "politics of the states": Minas Gerais and the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1900', *BLAR*, 2/1 (1982), 51–65; and Amilcar Martins Filho, 'The White Collar Republic: Patronage and interest representation in Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1889–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1987). The latter develops the view that under the Old Republic patronage prevailed over interest representation. On this theme, see also Simon Schwartzman, *As bases do autoritarismo brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1982). On Pernambuco, see

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Robert M. Levine, *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978), and on Bahia, Eul-Soo Pang, *Bahia in the First Brazilian Republic: Coronelismo and Oligarchies, 1889–1934* (Gainesville, Fla., 1979).

Judith Edith Hahner, *Civilian-Military Relations in Brazil 1889–1898* (Columbia, S.C., 1969) is one of the best studies on the years which followed the proclamation of the Republic up until the time when the oligarchic system was firmly established. Maria de Lourdes M. Janotti deals with the monarchists during the early years of the Republic in *Os subversivos da república* (São Paulo, 1986). An analysis of political changes through government expenditure can be found in Richard Graham, 'Government expenditure and political change in Brazil, 1880–1899: Who got what', *JIAS,* 19/3 (1977), 339–67. See also Eduardo Kugelmas, 'A Primeira República no período de 1891 a 1909', in Paula Beiguelman (ed.), *Pequenos estudos de ciência política,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1973). An important biography is Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, *Rodrigues Alves: Apogeu e declínio do presidencialismo,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). Very little has been written on the years following the presidential succession crisis of 1909 or on the political effects of the First World War, apart from texts of an apologetic or superficial type. On the other hand, the crisis of the 1920s and the Revolution of 1930 have been the subject of more serious consideration. A general study on the 1920s is Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, *Política e trabalho no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975). There are several works on the *tenentista* movement. A starting point is Virgínio Santa Rosa, *O sentido do tenentismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933). A general analysis can be found in John D. Wirth, 'Tenentismo in the Brazilian Revolution of 1930', *HAHR,* 44/2 (1964), 229–42. With regard to episodes in the *tenentista* movement, see Hélio Silva, *1922: Sangue na areia de Copacabana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964) and *A grande marcha* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965); and Neill Macaulay, *The Prestes Column: Revolution in Brazil* (New York, 1974). A collection of documents has been published by Edgard Carone, *O tenentismo: Acontecimentos – personagens – programas* (São Paulo, 1975). A comprehensive study is José Augusto Drummond, *O movimento tenentista: Intervenção militar e conflito hierárquico, 1922–1935* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985). The relation between *tenentismo* and the middle class and the role of the *tenentes* in the Revolution of 1930 are discussed in Maria Cecilia Spina Forjaz, *Tenentismo e política* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); *Tenentismo e Aliança Liberal (1927–1930)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978) and *Tenentismo e forças armadas na Revolução de 1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). An analysis of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Prestes Column by the daughter of its principal leader is Anita Leocádia Prestes, *A coluna Prestes* (São Paulo, 1990). One of the most important contemporary studies on the Revolution of 1930 is Alexandre Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *A verdade sobre a Revolução de Outubro* (São Paulo, 1933). A historiographical analysis can be found in Boris Fausto, *A Revolução de 1930: Historiografia e história*. See also Celina do Amaral Peixoto Moreira Franco et al., 'O contexto político da Revolução de 1930', in *Brasil em perspectiva*, 253–84. The relations between Getúlio Vargas and the Paulista political elite is the theme of Vavy Pacheco Borges, *Getúlio Vargas e a oligarquia paulista* (São Paulo, 1979).

Although a great deal has been written on the *tenentista* movement, specific studies on the armed forces are few. Worthy of note is José Murilo de Carvalho, 'As forças armadas na Primeira República: O poder desestabilizador', in Boris Fausto (ed.), *História geral de civilização brasileira, III: O Brasil republicano*, vol. 2, 183–234. In addition to Hahner, *Civilian–Military Relations*, a valuable analysis which takes in the first years of the Republic is John Schulz, 'The Brazilian army in politics, 1850–1894' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1973). An attempt to understand the role of the army in society and politics can be found in Edmundo Campos Coelho, *Em busca de identidade: O exército e a política na sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976). Enlightening data on the socialization process of the military can be found in Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História militar do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965). Compulsory military service is the theme of the work by Frank D. McCann, 'The nation in arms: Obligatory military service during the Old Republic', in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977), 211–43. There are one or two useful volumes of memoirs and biographies of military figures. Among these are the books by Estévão Leitão de Carvalho, *Dever militar e política partidária* (São Paulo, 1959) and *Memórias de um soldado legalista*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1961–); Pantaleão Pessoa, *Reminiscências e imposições de uma vida, 1885–1965* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972); Tristão de Alencar Araripe, *Tasso Fragoso: Um pouco da história de nosso exército* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960). Almost nothing has been written on the state militias. One of the few works of quality is Heloísa Fernandes, *Política e segurança: Força pública do estado de São Paulo; fundamentos histórico-sociais* (São Paulo, 1974).

The classic study on clientalistic relations within the power structure is Victor Nunes Leal, *Coronelismo, enxada e voto: O município e o regime repre-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sentativo no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), Eng. trans. by June Henfrey, *Coronelismo: The Municipality and Representative Government in Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977). An important analysis of clientalism in the north and north-east of Brazil, particularly in the state of Ceará, can be found in Ralph Della Cava's study on Padre Cícero, *Miracle at Joazeiro* (New York, 1970). With regard to the state of Bahia, see Eul-Soo Pang, *Bahia in the First Brazilian Republic*. The links between kinship, family organization and client relations in a north-eastern state are explored in Linda Lewin, *Politics and Parentela in Paraíba: A Case Study of Family-based Oligarchy in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). See also Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *O mandonismo local na vida política brasileira* (São Paulo, 1969). On the debate about the nature of 'coronelismo', see Paul Cammack, 'O coronelismo e o compromisso coronelista: Uma crítica', *Cadernos do Departamento de Ciência Política*, 5 (1979), 1–20, and Amilcar Martins Filho, 'Clientelismo e representação em Minas Gerais durante a Primeira República: Uma crítica a Paul Cammack', *Dados*, 27 (1984), 175–97.

Labour relations on the coffee *fazendas* is the subject in part of various books and articles that deal with immigation and the development of capitalism in São Paulo. Verena Stolcke, *Cafeicultura: Homens, mulheres e capital, 1850–1980* (São Paulo, 1986), Eng. trans., *Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Coffee Plantations 1850–1980* (New York, 1988) is the most comprehensive. The studies on the socio-economic and cultural role of immigrants mostly refer to the state of São Paulo. A general work on the subject is Manuel Diegues, Jr., *Imigração, urbanização e industrialização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964). A good analysis of the statistical data is Maria Stella Ferreira Levy, 'O papel da migração internacional na evolução da população brasileira, 1872–1972', *Revista de Saúde Pública*, 8 (1974), 49–90. An excellent critical study of the bibliography on German immigration is Giralda Syferth, 'Imigração e colonização alemã no Brasil: Uma revisão da bibliografia', *Boletim Informativo Bibliográfico*, 25 (1988), 3–55. On Italian immigrants, see Luis A. De Boni (ed.), *A presença italiana no Brasil*, 2 vols. (Porto Alegre, 1987 and 1990), Herbert S. Klein, 'A integração dos imigrantes italianos no Brasil, Argentina e Estados Unidos', *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, 25 (1989), 95–117, and Angelo Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: Um século de imigração italiana para o Brasil* (São Paulo, 1989). On Spanish and Portuguese immigrants, see Herbert S. Klein, 'A integração social e econômica dos imigrantes espanhóis no Brasil', *Estudos Econômicos*, 19/3 (1989), 443–56, and 'The social and economic integration of Portu-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

guese immigrants in Brazil in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries', *JLAS*, 23 (1991), 309–37. There are few studies of Jewish immigration, the most notable being Jeffrey H. Lesser, 'Pawns of the powerful: Jewish immigration to Brazil, 1904–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1989). On the Japanese, see Hiroshi Saito and Takashi Maeyama, *Assimilação e integração dos japoneses no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1973) and Nobuya Tsuchida, 'The Japanese in Brazil, 1908–1941' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978).

All these general works on immigration in Brazil give a great deal of attention to the state of São Paulo. For a bibliography on immigration in São Paulo, see Boris Fausto, *Historiografia da imigração para São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1991). Of the many studies specifically on São Paulo, the most outstanding are Michael M. Hall, 'The origins of mass immigration in Brazil, 1871–1914' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1969); Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); Zuleika Alvim, *Brava gente! Os italianos em São Paulo, 1870–1920* (São Paulo, 1986); Arlinda Rocha Nogueira, *A imigração japonesa para a lavoura cafeeira paulista, 1908–1922* (São Paulo, 1973). Immigration and the transition in the coffee areas from slave labour relations known as the 'colonato' is the theme of José de Souza Martins, *O cativeiro da terra* (São Paulo, 1979). For a suggestive debate on the upward social mobility of immigrants, economic diversification and the creation of political parties in São Paulo, see Mauricio Font, 'Coffee planters, politics and development in Brazil', *LARR*, 24/3 (1989), 127–35'; Verena Stolcke, 'Coffee planters, politics and development in Brazil: A comment on Mauricio Font's analysis, *LARR*, 24/3 (1989), 136–42; Mauricio Font, 'Perspectives on social change and development in São Paulo: A reply', *LARR*, 24/3 (1989), 143–57.

Among the social movements in rural areas, the Canudos episode is dealt with in Euclides da Cunha's classic account, *Os sertões* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), Eng. trans. by Samuel Putnam, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Chicago, 1944). An important recent study is Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeast Brazil, 1893–1897* (Berkeley, 1992). The so-called War of the Contestado is the subject of Maurício Vinhas de Queiroz, *Messianismo e conflito social: A guerra sertaneja do Contestado, 1912–1916* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), Duglas Teixeira Monteiro, *Os errantes do novo século: Um estudo sobre o surto milenarista do Contestado* (São Paulo, 1974) and, most recently, Todd A. Diacon, *Millenarian Vision,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912–16 (Durham, N.C., 1991). The relationship between messianic movements and national politics had been studied by Ralph Della Cava, 'Brazilian messianism and national institutions: A reappraisal of Canudos and Joaseiro', *HAHR*, 48/3 (1968), 402–20. On the phenomenon of banditry in Brazil, see Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Os cangaceiros* (São Paulo, 1979); Linda Lewin, 'The oligarchical limitations of social banditry in Brazil: The case of the "good" thief Antônio Silvino', *Past and Present*, 82 (1979); Amaury de Souza, 'The *cangaço* and the politics of violence in northeast Brazil', in Ronald H. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil: Comparative Studies* (Berkeley, 1972), 109–31; and Billy Jaynes Chandler, *The Bandit King: Lampião of Brazil* (College Station, Tex., 1978).

There are few historical studies devoted to urbanization in this period. The most wide-ranging study is Paul Singer, *Desenvolvimento econômico e evolução urbana: análise da evolução econômica de São Paulo, Blumenau, Porto Alegre e Recife* (São Paulo, 1968). On the city of São Paulo, see Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (New York, 1974). For the history of Rio de Janeiro, see Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro: Do capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). Michael L. Conniff, 'Rio de Janeiro during the great depression, 1928–1937: Social reform and the emergence of populism in Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1976), although referring more to the post-1930 period, nevertheless contains a good analysis of the politics of the oligarchy of the city during the 1920s. On the transformation of the city of Rio de Janeiro, see Jaime Larry Benchimol, 'Pereira Passos – um Haussmann tropical' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Jeffrey D. Needell, 'Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the century: Modernization and the Parisian ideal', *JIAS*, 25/1 (1983), 83–103; and Oswaldo Porto Rocha, 'A era das demolições: Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: 1870–1920' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 1983). An important study is Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987).

Studies on the urban social movements have beeen mainly limited to the working class. Notable exceptions are Décio Saes, *Classe média e política na Primeira República brasileira* (Petrópolis, 1975) and June E. Hahner, 'Jacobinos versus Galegos', *JIAS*, 18/2 (1976), 125–54, which deals with the nationalist and multi-class movement in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the nineteenth century. For a more detailed study of the same theme, see

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Suely Robles Reis de Queiroz, *Os radicais da República* (São Paulo, 1986). A more wide-ranging study of the urban poor in politics is June E. Hahner, *Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870–1920* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986). Sidney Chalhoub, *Trabalho, lar e botequim: O cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da 'belle epoque'* (São Paulo, 1986) is a pioneering study of the daily life of the working class of Rio de Janeiro. The relations between the Republic, the urbanisation of Rio de Janeiro and the popular classes are explored in a most innovative way by José Murilo de Carvalho in *Os bestializados: O Rio de Janeiro e a república que não foi* (São Paulo, 1985). The popular protest movement against obligatory vaccination that occurred in the capital in 1904 is the theme of Nicolau Sevcenko, *A revolta da vacina: Mentes insanas e corpos rebeldes* (São Paulo, 1984). Among studies on the working-class movement and organization from a predominantly sociological point of view, the most outstanding are Azis Simão, *Sindicato e estado: Suas reações na formação do proletariado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1966); José Albertino Rodrigues, *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1968); Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, *Conflito industrial e sindicalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1966). From the point of view of social history, see Sheldon L. Maram, *Anarquistas, imigrantes e o movimento operário brasileiro, 1890–1920* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979) and Boris Fausto, *Trabalho urbano e conflito social* (São Paulo, 1976). Michael M. Hall, 'Immigration and the early São Paulo working class', *JGSWGL*, 12 (1975) provides a convincing criticism of the theory that the foreign immigrant in São Paulo was predisposed to radical ideology. On anarchist influences on working-class culture, see Francisco Foot Hardman, *Nem pátria, nem patrão! Vida operária e cultura anarquista no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1984). A detailed description of the anarchist and communist organizations can be found in John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–1935* (Austin, Tex., 1973). On the formation of the Brazilian Communist party, see Astrogildo Pereira, *Formação do PCB, 1922–1928: Notas e documentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962), Ronald H. Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party: Conflict and Integration, 1922–1972* (New York, 1974), and Michel Zaidan Filho, *PCB (1922–1929): Na busca das origens de um marxismo nacional* (São Paulo, 1985). An important more recent study is Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, *Estratégias da ilusão: A revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935* (São Paulo, 1991). Documents on the labour movement during the period have been published in Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro and Michael M. Hall, *A classe operária no Brasil, 1889–1930: Documentos*, vol. 1, *O movimento operário* (São Paulo, 1979), vol. 2, *Condições*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

da vida e de trabalho, relações com os empresários e o estado (São Paulo, 1981); and in Edgard Carone, *Movimento operário no Brasil, 1877–1944* (São Paulo, 1979). The following testimonies of old militants are worthy of note: Leôncio Basbaum, *Uma vida em seis tempos* (São Paulo, 1976); Octavio Brandão, *Combates e batalhas* (São Paulo, 1978); and Angela Maria de Castro Gomes (ed.), *Velhos militantes: Depoimentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). On labour legislation in the 1920s, see Luiz Werneck Vianna, *Liberalismo e sindicato no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978) and Angela Maria de Castro Gomes, *Burguesia e trabalho: Política e legislação social no Brasil, 1917–1937* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979).

On relations between blacks and whites in Brazil, see Florestan Fernandes, *A integração do negro à sociedade de classes* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964), translated and abridged under the title *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York, 1969), Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974) and, specifically on São Paulo after the abolition of slavery, George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison, Wis., 1991). On the role of women in Brazilian society, feminism and women's rights, see June E. Hahner, 'Women and work in Brazil, 1850–1920: A preliminary investigation', in Alden and Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India,* 87–117, 'Feminism, women's rights and the suffrage movement in Brazil, 1850–1932', *LARR,* 15/1 (1980), 65–111, and *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850–1940* (Durham, N.C., 1990); and Branca Moreira Alves, *Ideologia e feminismo: A luta da mulher pelo voto no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1980). A bibliography on women, including a general history of women, family organization and the feminist movement, was published by the Fundação Carlos Chagas in São Paulo: *Mulher brasileira: Bibliografia anotada* (São Paulo, 1979). A rare study of an elite family is Darrell E. Levi, *A família Prado* (São Paulo, 1977); Eng. trans., *The Prados of Brazil* (Athens, Ga., 1987).

There are few studies of the Catholic church in this period. Worthy of note are Margaret Patricia Todaro, 'Pastors, prophets and politicians: A study of the Brazilian Catholic church, 1916–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1971); Thomas C. Bruneau, *O catolicismo brasileiro em uma época de transição* (São Paulo, 1974); Ralph Della Cava, 'Catholicism and society in twentieth-century Brazil', *LARR,* 11/2 (1976), 7–50. Sérgio Miceli, *A elite eclesiástica brasileira* (São Paulo, 1988) maintains that the Catholic church did not lose its influence during the first republican regime.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The best studies on the role of the intellectuals and education are, respectively, Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil, 1920–1945* (São Paulo, 1979) and Jorge Nagle, *Educação e sociedade na Primeira República* (São Paulo, 1974). There are few studies of the role of higher education on the formation of the political elite, but on graduates in law, see Alberto Venâncio Filho, *Das arcadas ao bacharelismo* (São Paulo, 1977). An important work on the cultural life of Rio de Janeiro during the Old Republic is Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão: Tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). And on São Paulo, see Nicolau Sevcenko, *Orfeu extático na metrópole: São Paulo, sociedade e cultura nos frementes anos 20* (São Paulo, 1992). José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas* (São Paulo, 1990) is an imaginative work on the construction of various images of the Republic. On Brazilian art and architecture, music and literature in this period, see also essay IX:2. A pioneer work on the violence of the state against the popular classes is Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, 'Violencia do estado e classes populares', *Dados,* 22 (1979), 5–24. An historico-sociological study of criminality is Boris Fausto, *Crime e quotidiano: A criminalidade em São Paulo, 1880–1924* (São Paulo, 1984). Finally, for a rare study of prostitution, see Margaret Rago, *Os prazeres da noite* (São Paulo, 1991).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

VII

LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS, 1930 to *c.* 1990

1. POPULATION

Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The Population of Latin America: A History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974) provides a general overview of population in Latin America; chaps. 6–8 cover trends in the twentieth century. A second Spanish edition, *La población de América Latina: Desde los tiempos precolombinos al año 2000* (Madrid, 1977) includes revisions and an extensive bibliography. Another, more recent overview in Carmen A. Miró, 'América Latina: Transición demográfica y crisis económica, social y política', in *Memorias del Congresso Latinoamericano de Población y Desarrollo,* vol. 1 (Mexico, D.F., 1984), 65–114. In preparation for the 1974 World Population Conference, the Comité Internacional de Coordinación de Investigaciones Nacionales en Demografía (CICRED) sponsored a series of national monographs in collaboration with Latin American demographic research centers. This series includes *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975); *La population du Brésil* (Paris, 1974); *La población de Chile* (Paris, 1974); *La población de Colombia* (Bogota, 1974); *La población de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1976); *La población de Cuba* (Havana, 1976); *La población de Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1976); *La población de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); *La población del Perú* (Lima, 1974); and *La población de Venezuela* (Caracas, n.d.). Other general country studies include Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore and London, 1979) and Francisco Alba, *The Population of Mexico: Trends, Issues, and Policies* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982).

A useful, but now dated, bibliography is Robert N. Thomas, *Population Dynamics of Latin America: A Review and Bibliography* (East Lansing, Mich., 1973). A review of the coverage and quality of basic demographic data can be found in Valdecir F. Lopes, 'The traditional sources of demographic

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

data in Latin America', in International Union for the Study of Population, *Proceedings: International Population Conference,* vol. 2 (Liège, 1973), 355–66. In 1940, representatives of government statistical offices in the region formed the Inter-American Statistical Institute (IASI), and its journal, *Estadística,* provides information on the planning and implementation of statistical programs. Summary descriptions of the contents of Latin American censuses have been published in Doreen S. Goyer and Eliane Domschke, *The Handbook of National Population Censuses: Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, and Oceania* (Westport, Conn., 1983). See also Doreen S. Goyer, *International Population Census Bibliography. Revision and Update 1945–77* (New York, 1980) and Carole Travis (ed.), *A Guide to Latin American and Caribbean Census Material: A Bibliography and Union List* (London, 1990). Official publications of census and vital statistical agencies have been reported in the journal *Population Index* on a regular basis since the 1930s.

Given the variability in timing and reliability of official reports, many demographers rely on compilations of data by the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE), whose *Boletín Demográfico* provides periodic summaries of important demographic indicators. CELADE adjusts for differences in time references as well as reporting errors. CELADE data are available in machine-readable form, as described in its *Boletín de Banco de Datos.* CELADE compilations are also included in United Nations publications, for example United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1982* (New York, 1985).

Mortality patterns in Latin America and their implications are mapped in Eduardo E. Arriaga, *New Life Tables for Latin American Populations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1968) and *Mortality Decline and Its Demographic Effects in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1970), as well as Eduardo E. Arriaga and Kingsley Davis, 'The pattern of mortality decline in Latin America', *Demography,* 6 (1969), 223–42, and in Jorge L. Somoza, 'The trend of mortality and the expectation of life in Latin America', *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* 43 (1965), 219–33. Shifts in causes of death are further outlined in Alberto Palloni, 'Mortality in Latin America: Emerging patterns', *Population and Development Review,* 7 (1981), 623–49, and Alberto Palloni and Randy Wyrick, 'Mortality decline in Latin America: Changes in the structure of causes of death', *Social Biology,* 28 (1981), 187–236. A comparison of Latin America and other regions is made in George J. Stolnitz, 'Recent mortality trends in Latin America,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Asia, and Africa', *Population Studies,* 19 (1965), 111–38. General discussion of the causes of the mortality transition can be found in Thomas McKeown, *The Modern Rise of Population* (New York, 1976), and Samuel H. Preston, *Mortality Decline in National Populations* (New York, 1976) and 'Causes and consequences of mortality decline in less developed countries during the twentieth century', in Richard A. Easterlin (ed.), *Population and Economic Changes in Developing Countries* (Chicago, 1980), 289–360. The topic of natural immunity is addressed in William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976). The issue of social class differences in mortality is discussed in Ruth R. Puffer and Wynne G. Griffith, 'The Inter-American investigation of mortality', in United Nations, *World Population Conference 1965,* vol. 2 (New York, 1967), 426–32; Hugo Behm, 'Socio-economic determinants of mortality in Latin America', *Population Bulletin of the United Nations,* 13 (1980), 1–15; and Charles Wood and José A. Magno de Carvalho, 'Mortality, income distribution, and rural-urban residence in Brazil', *Population and Development Review,* 4 (1978), 405–20. Further information on mortality trends can be found in Mark Farren, *Infant Mortality and Health in Latin America: An Annotated Bibliography* (Ottawa, 1984).

Data on birth rates in Latin America are assessed in Andrew Collver, *Birth Rates in Latin America: New Estimates of Historical Trends and Fluctuations* (Berkeley, 1965). The Committee on Population and Demography of the U.S. National Research Council reviewed fertility and mortality trends in a number of Latin American countries. Their reports include: *Fertility and Mortality Changes in Honduras* (Washington, D.C., 1980); *Levels and Recent Trends in Fertility and Mortality in Colombia* (Washington, D.C., 1982); *Levels and Recent Trends in Fertility and Mortality in Brazil* (Washington, D.C., 1983); and *Fertility and Mortality in Bolivia and Guatemala* (Washington, D.C., 1985).

Fertility determinants and their implications are traced by Arthur M. Conning, 'Latin American fertility trends and influencing factors', in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, *International Population Conference,* vol. 2 (Liège, 1973), 125–47, and in Eduardo E. Arriaga, 'The nature and effects of Latin America's non-western trends in fertility', *Demography,* 7 (1970), 483–501. Alternative views of the comparability of Latin American fertility patterns to those of industrialized countries are found in Steven E. Beaver, *Demographic Transition Theory Reinterpreted: An Application to Recent Natality Trends in Latin America* (Lexington, Mass., 1975) and Frank W. Oechsli and Dudley Kirk, 'Moderniza-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tion and the demographic transition in Latin America and the Caribbean', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 23 (1975), 391–419.

On intermediate variables affecting fertility, see Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake, 'Social structure and fertility: An analytical framework', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 4 (1956), 211–35, and John Bongaarts, 'Intermediate variables and marital fertility', *Population Studies,* 30 (1976), 227–41. Calculations of the contribution of each proximate determinant to fertility decline in several Latin American countries are found in John Bongaarts and Robert G. Potter, *Fertility, Biology and Behavior: An Analysis of the Proximate Determinants* (New York, 1980). Survey data on fertility trends in the region are summarized in Robert Lightbourne and Susheela Singh, 'The World Fertility Survey, charting global childbearing', *Population Bulletin,* 37 (1978); Leo Morris et al., 'Contraceptive prevalence surveys: A new source of family planning data', *Population Reports,* Series M, No. 5 (1981), and Kathy A. London et al., 'Fertility and family planning surveys: An update', *Population Reports,* Series M. No. 8 (1985). On breastfeeding and fertility in Latin America, see Phyllis T. Piotrow et al., 'Breastfeeding, fertility and family planning', *Population Reports,* Series J, No. 24 (1981). Information on abortion is found in Christopher Tietze, *Induced Abortion: A World Review,* 5th ed. (New York, 1983) and Santiago Gaslonde Sainz, 'Abortion research in Latin America', *Studies in Family Planning,* 7 (1976), 211–17.

The literature on declines in fertility in Latin America is reviewed in Raúl Urzua, 'Social science research on population and development in Latin America', *Report of the International Review Group on Social Science Research on Population and Development* (México, D.F., 1978), Appendix 11. Country studies include Thomas W. Merrick and Elza Berquó, *The Determinants of Brazil's Recent Rapid Fertility Decline* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Luis Hernando Ochoa, 'Patterns of fertility decline in Latin America with special reference to Colombia', in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, *International Population Conference,* vol. 1 (Manila, 1981), 25–48; Paula E. Hollerbach and Sergio Díaz-Briquets, *Fertility Determinants in Cuba* (Washington, D.C., 1983); and Francisco Alba and Joseph E. Potter, 'Population and development in México since 1940: An interpretation', *Population and Development Review,* 12 (1986), 415–29.

Data on marriage patterns and their impact on fertility are reported in Alice Henry and Phyllis T. Piotrow, 'Age at marriage and fertility', *Population Reports,* Series M, No. 4 (1979) and Jane S. Durch, *Nuptiality Patterns in Developing Countries: Implications for Fertility* (Washington, D.C., 1980).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The European marriage pattern that Latin American countries follow to a limited extent is described in John Hajnal, 'Age at marriage and proportions marrying', *Population Studies,* 7 (1953), 111–36. Further discussion of these patterns is found in Zulma C. Camisa, *La nupcialidad de las mujeres solteras en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1977) and Carmen Arretx, 'Nuptiality in Latin America', in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, *International Population Conference: London 1969,* vol. 3 (Liege, 1971), 2127–53. The questions of family structure and kin relationships are examined in Thomas K. Burch and Murray Gendell, 'Extended family structure and fertility: Some conceptual and methodological issues', *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 32 (1970), 227–36 and Francesca M. Cancian, Louis Wolf Goodman, and Peter H. Smith, 'Capitalism, indistrialization, and kinship in Latin America', *Journal of Family History,* 3 (1978), 319–36. The latter article is an introduction to a special issue of the journal on the family in Latin America.

An international comparison of data on households headed by women is presented in Nadia H. Youssef and Carol Hetler in 'Establishing the economic condition of woman-headed households in the Third World: A new approach', in Mayra Buvinic, Margaret A. Lycette, and William McGreevey (eds.), *Women and Poverty in the Third World* (Baltimore, 1983). The literature on survival strategies is reviewed in Marianne Schmink, 'Household economic strategies: Review and research agenda', *LARR,* 19/3 (1984), 35–56, with further discussion in Thomas W. Merrick, 'Perspectives on Latin American population research', *Items,* 37 (1983), 17–21. Links between reproduction of population and the labour force are described in Susana Torrado, 'Sobre los conceptos de estrategias familiares de vida y proceso de reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo: Notas teórico-metodológicas', *Demografía y Economía,* 15 (1981), 204–33. See also Maria Helena Henriques and Nelson do Valle Silva, 'Análise sobre ciclo vital através de parámetros de nupcialidade: Estudo do contexto Latino-americano', and Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais, *Anais: Segundo Encontro Nacional* (São Paulo, 1980), 667–86; Brígida García, Humberto Muñoz and Orlandina de Oliveira, *Hogares y trabajadores en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); and Elizabeth Jelín, 'Familia, unidad doméstica y división de trabajo (Qué sabemos? Hacia dónde vamos?)', in *Memorias del Congreso Latinoamericano de Población y Desarrollo,* vol. 2 (Mexico, D.F., 1983), 645–74. For links between family structure and migration, see Carlos Brambila Paz, *Migración y formación familiar en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

For an introductory discussion on racial differences in Latin America, see the chapter 'The concept of social race in the Americas', in Charles Wagley, *The Latin American Tradition* (New York, 1968), 155–74. With specific reference to Brazil, see T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, 4th ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1972). On Guatemala, see John D. Early, *The Demographic Structure and Evolution of a Peasant System: The Guatemalan Population* (Boca Raton, Fla., 1982). A synopsis of the data on national origin in the 1950 round of Latin American censuses was prepared by Giorgio Mortara and reported in *Characteristics of the Demographic Structure of the American Countries* (Washington, D.C., 1964). Data on languages spoken by Latin American populations have been compiled in Kenneth Ruddle and Kathleen Barrows, *Statistical Abstract of Latin America 1972* (Los Angeles, 1974).

Urban population growth trends and definitional differences in measuring urban populations are treated in United Nations, *Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population 1920–2000* (New York, 1969) and *Patterns of Rural and Urban Population Growth* (New York, 1980); the most recent compilation of urban population for Latin America is available from CELADE through its computerized demographic data base. Denton R. Vaughan provides a useful bibliography in *Urbanization in Twentieth Century Latin America: A Working Bibliography* (Austin, Tex., 1969). Robert Fox has recompiled data on the populations of *municipios* of metropolitan areas of Latin American countries in *Urban Population Growth Trends in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1975) and, with Jerrold W. Huguet, in *Population and Urban Trends in Central America and Panama* (Washington, D.C., 1977). Useful reviews of issues relating to urbanization are found in Richard M. Morse, 'Recent research on Latin American urbanization: A selective survey with commentary', *LARR*, 1 (1965), 35–74; Douglas Butterworth and John K. Chance, *Latin American Urbanization* (Cambridge, Eng. 1981); John M. Hunter, Robert N. Thomas, and Scott Whiteford, *Population Growth and Urbanization in Latin America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); and Ligia Herrera and Waldomiro Pecht, *Crecimiento urbano de América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1976).

Analyses of the contribution of migration and other demographic and definitional factors to urban growth are presented in John D. Durand and César A. Peláez, 'Patterns of urbanization in Latin America', *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 43, Part 2 (1965), 168–91; Robert H. Weller, John Macisco, Jr. and George Martine, 'The relative importance of the components of urban growth in Latin America', *Demography*, 8 (1971),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

225–32; and Eduardo Arriaga, 'Components of city growth in selected Latin American countries', *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* 46 (1968), 237–52. On the question of primacy, see Harley L. Browning, 'Primacy variation in Latin America during the twentieth century', in Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, *Urbanización y proceso social en América Latina* (Lima, 1972) and Christopher Chase-Dunn, 'The coming of urban primacy in Latin America', *Comparative Urban Research,* 11 (1985), 14–31.

For synopses of research on internal migration in Latin America, see Alan Simmons, Sergio Díaz-Briquets, and Aprodicio A. Laquian, *Social Change and Internal Migration* (Ottawa, 1977); Juan C. Elizaga, *Migraciones a las áreas metropolitanas de América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1970) and 'Internal migration: An overview', *International Migration Review,* 6 (1972), 121–46; Michael P. Todaro, 'Internal migration in developing countries', in R. A. Easterlin (ed.), *Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries* (Chicago, 1980); and Andrei Rogers and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'Migration, urbanization, and Third World development: An overview', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 30 (1982), 463–82. A useful bibliography on migration was prepared under the auspices of the Consejo Latino-Americano de Ciéncias Sociales (CLACSO): *Las migraciones en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1975).

On factors affecting migration, see Jorge Balán, *Why People Move* (Paris, 1981) and a study of Monterrey, Mexico, Jorge Balán, Harley L. Browning and Elizabeth Jelín, *Men in a Developing Society* (Austin, Tex., 1973); Alan B. Simmons and Ramiro Cardona, 'Rural-urban migration: Who comes, who stays, who returns? The case of Bogotá, Colombia', *International Migration Review,* 6 (1972), 166–81; and M. G. Castro et al., *Migration in Brazil: Approaches to Analysis and Policy Design* (Liège, 1978); and on the consequences of migration, see Humberto Muñoz, Orlandina de Oliveira, and Claudio Stern, *Migración y desigualdad social en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). See also Wayne A. Cornelius, 'The political sociology of cityward migration in Latin America: Toward empirical theory', and Bruce Herrick, 'Urbanization and urban migration in Latin America, an economist's view,' in Francine F. Rabinovitz and Felicity M. Trueblood, *Latin American Urban Research,* vol. 1 (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1971), 95–147 and 71–82. On migrant-native differences, see Jorge Balán, 'Migrant-native socioeconomic differences in Latin American cities: A structural analysis', *LARR,* 4/1 (1969), 3–29.

For reviews of international migration trends in Latin America, see Mary M. Kritz and Douglas T. Gurak, 'International migration trends in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Latin America: Research and data survey', *International Migration Review,* 13 (1979), 407–27, and Sergio Díaz-Briquets, *International Migration within Latin America* (New York, 1983). The Kritz/Gurak paper introduces a special issue of *International Migration Review* on international migration in Latin America, which includes papers by Susana Torrado, 'International migration policies in Latin America'; Lelio Mármora, 'Labor migration policies in Colombia'; Saskia Sassen-Koob, 'Economic growth and immigration in Venezuela'; Juan M. Carrón, 'Shifting patterns in migration from bordering countries to Argentina, 1914–70'; and Adriana Marshall, 'Immigrant workers in the Buenos Aires labor market'. Also useful are Mary M. Kritz, 'International migration patterns in the Caribbean Basin: An Overview', and Adriana Marshall, 'Structural trends in international migration: The southern cone of Latin America', in Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Keely, and Silvano M. Tomasi (eds.), *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements* (New York, 1981).

Latin American immigration to the United States is reviewed in Douglas S. Massey and Kathleen M. Schnabel, 'Recent trends in Hispanic immigration to the United States', *International Migration Review,* 17 (1983), 212–44. Estimates of the numbers of illegal immigrants in the United States are assessed in Jacob S. Siegel, Jeffrey S. Passel, and J. Gregory Robinson, 'Preliminary review of existing studies on the number of illegal residents in the United States', *Staff Report,* U.S. Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy (Washington, D.C., 1981), Appendix E, and Daniel B. Levine, Kenneth Hill, and Robert Warren (eds.), *Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect* (Washington, D.C., 1985). On immigrants' impact on the United States, see the essays in George J. Borjas and Marta Tienda (eds.), *Hispanics in the U.S. Economy* (Orlando, Fla., 1985). See also Barry R. Chiswick, 'Illegal aliens in the United States labor market: Analysis of occupational attainment and earnings', *International Migration Review,* 18 (1984), 714–32; Lawrence H. Fuchs, 'Cultural pluralism and the future of American unity: The impact of illegal aliens', *International Migration Review,* 18 (1984), 800–13; Wayne A. Cornelius, A. L. Chavez and J. Castro, *The Mexican Immigrants in Southern California: A Summary of Current Knowledge* (San Diego, Calif., 1982); Thomas Muller and Thomas Espenshade, *The Fourth Wave, California's Newest Immigrants* (Washington, D.C., 1985); and Kevin McCarthy and R. Burciaga Valdez, *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1986). For an analysis of links between

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

conditions in Mexico and migration to the United States, see Harry Cross and James A. Sandos, *Across the Border* (Berkeley, 1981).

Latin American labour-force participation patterns are compared to other regions in John D. Durand, *The Labor Force in Economic Development* (Princeton, N.J., 1976) and in a recent re-compilation of data by the International Labour Office, *Economically Active Population, 1950–2025* (Geneva, 1986). Under-reporting of women's economic activities in Latin America is examined in Catalina H. Wainerman and Zulma Recchini de Lattes, *El trabajo feminino en banquillo de los acusados: La medición censal en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1975). Sectoral shifts are examined in Rubén Katzman, 'Dinámica de la población activa en América Latina', and trends in female participation in Teresita Barbieri, 'Incorporación de la mujer a la economía urbana de América Latina', both in *Memorias del Congreso Latinoamericano de Población y Desarrollo,* vol. 1 (Mexico, D.F., 1984), 335–54 and 355–89. Barbieri's article includes an extensive bibliography.

The literature on population and economic development in Latin America is surveyed in Michael Conroy, 'Recent research in economic demography related to Latin America: A critical survey and an agenda', *LARR,* 9/1 (1974), 3–27. The Economic Commission for Latin America published a volume reflecting the perspective of that organization in *Población y desarrollo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Ansley Coale and Edgar M. Hoover, *Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries* (Princeton, N.J., 1958) is the classic presentation of the neo-Malthusian position on the question, and includes a case study for Mexico using an economic-demographic model. Coale presents a retrospective assessment of the Mexican case study in 'Population growth and economic development: The case of Mexico,' *Foreign Affairs,* 56 (1978), 415–29. Critiques of the neo-Malthusian approach are presented in William W. Murdoch, *The Poverty of Nations: The Political Economy of Hunger and Population* (Baltimore and London, 1980), chap. 1, and in Angel Fucaraccio, 'Birth control and the argument of savings and investment', *International Journal of Health Services,* 3 (1973), 133–44. Country cases are presented in Merrick and Graham, *Population and Development in Brazil* and Alba and Potter, 'Population and development in Mexico since 1940', cited above. For a general review of research on the population and development link, see Thomas W. Merrick, 'World population in transition', *Population Bulletin,* 41 (1986), 17–38.

On population policy, Terry L. McCoy, *The Dynamics of Population in*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Latin America (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) provides a useful sampling of views, including J. M. Stycos on 'Politics and population control in Latin America', Thomas Sanders on 'The relationship between population planning and belief systems: The Catholic church in Latin America', and José Conquegra, 'Birth control as the weapon of imperialism', a Marxian view of foreign assistance for family planning programs. Dorothy Nortman, *Population and Family Planning Programs: A Compendium of Data,* 12th ed. (New York, 1985) is a basic source of information on policies and programs. Country-specific bibliographies on policy were prepared by the Programa de Investigaciones Sociales sobre Problemas de Población Relevantes para Políticas de Población en América Latina (PISPAL) in the series *Inventario de investigaciones sociales relevantes para políticas de población,* vol. 1, *Argentina;* vol. 2, *Brasil;* vol. 3, *Colombia;* vol. 4, *Chile;* vol. 5, *México* (Santiago, Chile, 1975).

Region-wide population projections are compiled periodically by CELADE in its *Boletín Demográfico;* they are also maintained in the CELADE data base. CELADE projections are incorporated in the United Nations' *World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1982* (New York, 1985). National statistical offices also prepare and publish projections periodically. See, for example, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía y Informática/Consejo Nacional de Población, *Proyecciones de la población de México y de las entidades federativas: 1980–2010* (Mexico, D.F., 1985).

2. THE LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES, 1929–1939

Economic performance and policy in the 1930s in Latin America has generated a substantial literature as a result of two factors in particular. First, the view put forward after 1950 by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America [and the Caribbean] (ECLA[C]), that the 1930s marked a crucial turning point in the transition from export-led growth to import-substituting industrialization (ISI) (see ECLA, *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1949* [New York, 1951]) led to a wave of investigations to test this particular hypothesis. Secondly, the debt crisis in the 1980s inevitably invited comparisons with the debt crisis in the 1930s, with scholars searching for similarities and differences in Latin American responses to the two shocks.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

In view of the magnitude of the external shock applied to Latin America at the beginning of the 1930s, it is appropriate in a bibliographical essay to begin by referring to the literature on the international economy between the two world wars. A most important source is Charles Kindleberger, *The World in Depression* (Berkeley and London, 1986), which is a revised version of a classic book first published in 1973 and expanded with greater reference to the Latin American experience. There are a number of excellent surveys on world performance and policy, including Arthur Lewis, *Economic Survey, 1919–39* (London, 1949) and H. W. Arndt, *The Economic Lessons of the 1930s* (London, 1944). Long-run trends in world trade, including the 1930s, are analysed in Alfred Maizels, *Industrial Growth and World Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963) and P. Lamartine Yates, *Forty Years of Foreign Trade* (London, 1959). More specialist works, covering topics essential for a proper understanding of the Latin American economies in the 1930s, are Karl Brunner (ed.), *The Great Depression Revisited* (New York, 1981) and Peter Temin, *Did Monetary Forces Cause the Great Depression?* (New York, 1976). The 1929 stock market crash is the subject of J. Kenneth Galbraith, *The Great Crash, 1929* (Boston, 1955), and the gold standard is competently described in William Brown, Jr., *The International Gold Standard Reinterpreted: 1914–1934* (New York, 1940). There is an excellent study of international capital flows in Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Problem of International Investment* (Oxford, 1937).

There are a number of good general works on the Latin American economies in the 1930s. These include Carlos Díaz-Alejandro, 'Stories of the 1930s for the 1980s', in Pedro Aspe Armella, Rudiger Dornbusch and Maurice Obstfeld (eds.), *Financial Policies and the World Capital Market: The Problem of Latin American Countries* (Chicago and London, 1983). A similar comparison, this time involving Asia as well as Latin America, is Angus Maddison, *Two Crises: Latin America and Asia, 1929–38 and 1973–83* (Paris, 1985). There is also an early study by Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Republics of South America* (Oxford, 1937), which is still very useful on issues of trade, investment and employment. The most comprehensive study is Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s* (London and New York, 1984), which has overview chapters by Carlos Díaz-Alejandro and Charles Kindleberger as well as case studies on all the major republics and some of the minor ones. Another book worthy of note, although it is primarily concerned with the 1920s, is Paul Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes* (Durham, N.C., and London,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1989), which gives an excellent account of the financial reforms carried out in the Andean countries as a result of the missions led by E. W. Kemmerer.

The problems of international capital flows to Latin America in the 1930s are addressed in a number of books. Of particular interest, although covering a longer period, is Barbara Stallings, *Banker to the Third World: U.S. Portfolio Investment in Latin America, 1900–1986* (Berkeley and London, 1987). There is still much of interest in J. Fred Rippy, *British Investments in Latin America, 1822–1949* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1959), although more recent scholarship suggests that some of the statistics should be interpreted with caution. ECLA, *External Financing in Latin America* (New York, 1965) also has illuminating early chapters on the inter-war period. The ECLA thesis on the 1930s as a turning-point is reflected in the relevant chapters of Celso Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970).

The debt problems caused by the defaults of the 1930s have been the subject of several excellent studies. Among these are Barry Eichengreen and Peter Lindert (eds.), *The International Debt Crisis in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), which contains an important article by Erika Jorgensen and Jeffrey Sachs entitled 'Default and renegotiation of Latin American foreign bonds in the interwar period' as well as case studies of Brazil and Mexico. Historical comparisons are pushed even further back in Albert Fishlow, 'Lessons from the past: Capital markets during the 19th century and the inter-war period', *International Organization,* 39/3 (1985) and Carlos Marichal, *A Century of Debt Crises in Latin America: From Independence to the Great Depression, 1820–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1989). Together with Richard Portes, Barry Eichengreen has written a number of studies on debt defaults in the 1930s which include many examples from Latin America. See, for example, Barry Eichengreen and Richard Portes, 'Debt and default in the 1930s: Causes and consequences', *European Economic Review,* 30 (1986), 599–640. There is also a fine comparative study of debt crises in Latin America by David Felix, 'Alternative outcomes of the Latin American debt crisis: Lessons from the past', *LARR,* 22/2 (1987), 3–46.

Studies on the role of industrialization in the 1930s, and in particular the part played by import substitution, have a long pedigree. In addition to the ECLA study referred to above, a good source is ECLA, *The Process of Industrialization in Latin America* (New York, 1966), which is a classic statement of the argument that the external shock at the beginning of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1930s induced through import substitution a rapid process of industrialization in the larger countries. As part of its early work, ECLA prepared substantial monographs on many of the Latin American republics which remain an invaluable source on the role of industrialization in the 1930s. See, for example, Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), *El desarrollo económico de la Argentina* (Santiago, Chile, 1959) and CEPAL, *El desarrollo económico del Brasil* (Santiago, Chile, 1956). There is also a good study of import substitution in the 1930s, stressing the role played by the change in relative prices, in Richard Lynn Ground, 'The genesis of import substitution in Latin America', *CEPAL Review,* 36 (1988), 179–203.

Earlier studies on industrialization in the 1930s, although less theoretical, can still be consulted to advantage. See, for example, George Wythe, *Industry in Latin America* (New York, 1945) and Lloyd Hughlett (ed.), *Industrialization of Latin America* (New York, 1946). ECLA has also prepared a number of industry case studies which shed light on the growth of particular manufacturing sectors in the 1930s. See, for example, ECLA, *Labour Productivity of the Cotton Textile Industry in Five Latin American Countries* (New York, 1951). There is also an important early study on foreign investment in Latin American manufacturing, including the first half of the 1930s, in Dudley Phelps, *The Migration of Industry to South America* (New York, 1937).

There are many works on individual republics which are worthy of mention, although most of them are concerned with a period longer than the decade of the 1930s. The outstanding work on Argentina remains the book by Carlos Díaz-Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), which combines theory, analysis and econometrics in a judicious and effective blend. A less quantitative, but still concise, work is Paul W. Lewis, *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., and London, 1990). There are several important studies by Argentine economists, including Adolfo Dorfman, *Cincuenta años de industrialización en la Argentina, 1930–80: Desarrollo y perspectivas* (Buenos Aires, 1983) as well as Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman, *Los ciclos económicos argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1973). The meat industry has generated a number of good monographs, among which should be mentioned Simon Hanson, *Argentine Meat and the British Market* (Stanford, Calif., 1938) and Peter H. Smith, *Politics and Beef in Argentina* (New York, 1969). State intervention in foreign trade is discussed in Roger Gravil, 'State intervention in Argentina's export trade between the wars', *JLAS,* 2/2 (1970), 147–73, and V. Salera, *Exchange Control and the Argentine*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Market (New York, 1941) explores Argentina in the period when peso convertibility began to break down.

Brazil has been particularly well served by works of economic history which include the 1930s. The post-1929 period is singled out for special consideration in Celso Furtado, *The Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1963). Carlos Manuel Peláez, *História da industrialização brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972) devotes a great deal of space to Brazil's coffee policies in the 1930s and in doing so takes issue with parts of Furtado's analysis. Pedro S. Malan, Regis Bonelli, Marcelo de P. Abreu and José de C. Pereira, *Política económica externa e industrialização no Brasil, 1939–52* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977) takes up the story at the end of the 1930s, but still has much of interest to say. A. V. Villela and W. Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) is excellent on the question of economic policy in the 1930s. Albert Fishlow, 'Origins and consequences of import substitution in Brazil', in L.E. di Marco (ed.), *International Economics and Development: Essays in Honor of Raúl Prebisch* (New York, 1972) is one of the best sources for Brazilian industrialization in the interwar period, while Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969) has stood the test of time extremely well. There are also useful chapters on the 1930s in Nathaniel Leff, *Underdevelopment and Development in Brazil: Economic Structure and Change, 1822–1947*, vol. 1 (London, 1982).

Chilean economic performance in the 1930s has inspired a number of fine monographs. Industrialisation is the theme of H. Kirsch, *Industrial Development in a Traditional Society: The Conflict Between Entrepreneurship and Modernization in Chile* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977) as well as of Oscar Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile, 1914–1965* (Santiago, Chile, 1968). The same theme is also explored in considerable depth in Gabriel Palma, 'Growth and structure of Chilean manufacturing industry from 1830 to 1935: Origins and development of a process of industrialization in an export economy' (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1979). More general questions of Chilean structure, performance and policy in the 1930s are examined in Gabriel Palma, 'From an export-led to an import-substituting economy: Chile 1914–39', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s*, cited above, and in Aníbal Pinto, *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado* (Santiago, Chile, 1959), while the agricultural sector is the subject of Mats Lundahl, 'Agricultural stagnation in Chile, 1930–55: A result of factor market imperfections?', in Mats Lundahl (ed.), *The Primary Sector in Economic Development* (London, 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mexico, despite its size and importance, has not attracted as much scholarly attention in this period as one might have expected. This is a consequence of the greater importance attached to the post-1940 period in explaining industrialisation and rapid structural change in Mexico. Nevertheless, there is an excellent monograph in the structuralist tradition by René Villarreal, *El desequilibrio externo en la industrialización de México, 1929–1975* (Mexico, D.F., 1976). The contributions by Enrique Cárdenas, 'The Great Depression and industrialisation: The case of Mexico', and Valpy Fitzgerald, 'Restructuring through the Depression: The state and capital accumulation in Mexico, 1925–40,' in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s,* cited above, are particularly illuminating as there are sharp differences between both authors at various points of the analysis. See also Enrique Cárdenas, *La industrialización mexicana durante la Gran Depresión* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). Industrialization in Mexico is the subject of Sanford Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1950). It is also explored in Stephen Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment, 1890–1940: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), a pathbreaking work which uses firm-level data to undermine numerous myths about industrialization in Mexico as well as to develop a number of interesting hypotheses.

The economic performance and policy of some republics in the 1930s has still not received the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, a number of studies are worthy of special mention. In the case of Colombia, scholars are well served by José Antonio Ocampo and Santiago Montenegro, *Crisis mundial, protección e industrialización* (Bogotá, 1984), whose first three chapters are of particular importance for the study of the 1930s. Marco Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia, 1850–1970* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), although devoted to the country's premier product, has much of interest to say on the broader issues of the 1930s. There is a range of excellent articles on the 1930s in *El Banco de la República, antecedentes, evolución y estructura* (Bogotá, 1990), a work devoted to the central bank's history which in the process illuminates many aspects of economic policy. The Peruvian experience is covered well in Geoffrey Bertram and Rosemary Thorp, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978), while comparative economic policy in Colombia and Peru is the theme of Rosemary Thorp, *Economic Management and Economic Development in Peru and Colombia* (London, 1991).

There are very few studies devoted in whole or even in part to the economics of the Caribbean basin countries in the 1930s. There is an

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

excellent account of Cuban financial problems before the creation of a central bank in Henry Wallich, *Monetary Problems of an Export Economy: The Cuban Experience, 1914–1947* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). There is a good chapter devoted to Puerto Rico in the 1930s in James Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) and in the case of Haiti, Mats Lundahl, *Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti* (London, 1979) can be used to advantage. A rare study of industrialisation in the Dominican Republic, although mainly concerned with a later period, is Frank Moya Pons, 'Import-substitution industrialization policies in the Dominican Republic, 1925–61', *HAHR*, 70/4 (1990), 539–77. Economic development in the five Central American republics is addressed in several chapters of Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), while the political economy of Venezuela up to the death of Juan Vicente Gómez is the subject of William Sullivan, 'Situación económica y política durante el período de Juan Vicente Gómez', in Fundación John Boulton, *Política y economía en Venezuela, 1810–1976* (Caracas, 1976).

An important part of the bibliography on the Latin American economies in the 1930s is obtained from studies of particular commodities, since a handful of primary product exports continued to exercise an overwhelming influence on the economic life of the region even after the decline of world trade. A number of books, devoted to commodities in general, are still extremely useful. These include J. F. Rowe, *Primary Commodities in International Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965) and Joseph Grunwald and Philip Musgrove, *Natural Resources in Latin American Development* (Baltimore and London, 1970). The classic works on coffee are C. Wickizer, *The World Coffee Economy with Special Reference to Control Schemes* (Stanford, Calif., 1943) and Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), *The World's Coffee* (Rome, 1947). The economics of sugar in the 1930s is explored in B. C. Swerling, *International Control of Sugar, 1918–41* (Stanford, Calif., 1949). Oil, primarily of importance to Venezuela in the 1930s, is the subject of Brian McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–35* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983) and tin, of real interest only to Bolivia, is examined in John Hillman, 'Bolivia and British tin policy', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990), 289–315. The banana trade, of great importance to many Caribbean basin countries, is examined in Thomas Karnes, *Tropical Enterprise: Standard Fruit and Steamship Company in Latin America* (Baton Rouge, La. and London, 1978), while a most unflattering portrait of the United Fruit Company is painted in Charles Kepner and Jay

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Soothill, *The Banana Empire: A Case Study in Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1935). The tobacco trade, of considerable importance to Cuba in the 1930s, is competently discussed in the first part of Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). The classic work on wheat, a key export for Argentina, remains W. Mandelbaum, *The World Wheat Economy, 1855–1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), while Clark Reynolds explores the economics of copper in 'Development problems of an export economy: The case of Chile and copper' in Markos Mamalakis and Clark Reynolds (eds.), *Essays on the Chilean Economy* (Homewood, Ill., 1965).

Economic statistics are an important element in the study of the Latin American economies in the 1930s. In addition to country sources, the League of Nations played a useful role in bringing together time-series data for most of the Latin American republics in the interwar period. The relevant annual publications are League of Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* (Geneva), League of Nations, *International Trade Statistics* (Geneva) and International Institute of Agriculture, *International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics* (Rome). In addition, the League of Nations published occasional documents providing an invaluable collection of data for Latin America on a comparable basis. See, for example, League of Nations, *Public Finance 1928–37* (Geneva, 1938). ECLA/CEPAL has also prepared time-series data bringing together its own researches and country sources in a series of helpful publications. See in particular CEPAL, *Series históricas del crecimiento de América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1978) and CEPAL, *América Latina: Relación de Precios del Intercambio* (Santiago, Chile, 1976). The occasional reports for each republic by the British Department of Overseas Trade are full of useful statistics as well as being a good contemporary source. The Council of Foreign Bondholders, *Annual Report* (London), brings together in one volume all the statistics for each republic considered most directly relevant to questions of debt repayment. Finally, many time-series data for the 1930s are presented in James W. Wilkie (ed.), *Statistics and National Policy, Statistical Abstract of Latin America* Supplement 3 (Los Angeles, 1974).

3. THE LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES, 1939–*c.* 1950

Very little literature on the economic development of Latin America specifically addresses the 1940s. Analyses tend to see the 1929 Depression as

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

initiating the shift to import-substituting industrialization in the form that is recognizable by the 1950s, and give little attention to the precise problematic of the Second World War and its aftermath. The wealth of studies of the 1930s therefore simply finds no parallel in the next decade. The international economy is, however, more fully studied, since this was a period of strong institutional innovation. See, for example, S. W. Black, *A Levite among the Priests: Edward M. Bernstein and the Origins of the Bretton Woods System* (Oxford, 1991). Robert A. Pollard, *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1950* (New York, 1985) is an important study of the immediate postwar period, especially, for our purposes, chapter 9: 'Natural resources and national security: U.S. policy in the developing world, 1945–50'. K. Kock, *International Trade Policy and the GATT, 1947–1967* (Stockholm, 1969), is a useful source on GATT and the role of the United States. Longer-run general studies of the international economy that incorporate this period include: Alfred Maizels, *Industrial Growth and World Trade: An Empirical Study of Trends in Production, Consumption and Trade in Manufactures, 1899–1959* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963) and P. Lamartine Yates, *Forty Years of Foreign Trade: A Statistical Handbook with Special Reference to Primary Products and Underdeveloped Countries* (London, 1959). Two works on foreign investment which cover a longer span of Latin American economic history but which are useful for this period are Barbara Stallings, *Bankers to the Third World: U.S. Portfolio Investment in Latin America, 1900–1986* (Berkeley, 1987) and J. Fred Rippy, *British Investments in Latin America, 1822–1949* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1959). The latter, however, must be used with care. See also Mira Wilkins, *The Maturing Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974). On U.S.–Latin American economic relations in the immediate post-war period, see Stephen G. Rabe, 'The elusive conference: United States economic relations with Latin America, 1945–1952', *Diplomatic History*, 2/3 (1978), 279–94. A particularly interesting study of U.S. interests in this period, which explicitly deals with Argentina, is Sylvia Maxfield and James H. Nolt, 'Protectionism and the internationalization of capital: U.S. sponsorship of import-substituting industrialization in the Philippines, Turkey and Argentina', *International Studies Quarterly*, 34 (1990), 49–81.

On Latin America during the Second World War the outstanding general study is R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War*, vol. 1, 1939–42 (London, 1981), vol. 2, *1942–45* (London, 1982). This masterly work has both general sections and extensive country-by-country coverage. For both the war and the post-war period, ECLA studies provide a wealth of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

both data and analysis. See ECLA, *The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems* (Lake Success, N.Y., 1950); *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1949* (New York, 1951); *Foreign Capital in Latin America* (New York, 1955); *Inter-Latin American Trade* (New York, 1957); *External Financing in Latin America* (New York, 1965); and, above all, *The Economic Development of Latin America: The Post-War Period* (New York, 1964). Industrialization is more specifically documented in ECLA, *The Process of Industrialization in Latin America* (New York, 1966) and in the country monographs produced in the 1950s and early 1960s as *El desarrollo económico del . . .* There are also some valuable sectoral studies by ECLA: for example, *Labour Productivity of the Cotton Textile Industry in Five Latin American Countries* (New York, 1951). Later works of ECLA which constitute major sources of data are *Series históricas de crecimiento en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1978) and *América Latina: Relación de precios del intercambio* (Santiago, Chile, 1976). Apart from ECLA, the principal comparative source of data is James W. Wilkie, *Statistics and National Policy, Statistical Abstract of Latin America,* Supplement 3 (Los Angeles, 1974). For a discussion of ECLA-led ideological developments in the post-war period, see Joseph L. Love, 'Economic ideas and ideologies in Latin America since 1930', *CHLA* vol. VI, part 1 (1994), and E. V. K. Fitzgerald, 'ECLA and the formation of Latin American economic doctrine', in D. Rock (ed.), *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions* (Berkeley, 1994).

Much of the country-specific literature has been cited in essay VII:2, on the Latin American economies in the 1930s, since it takes the form of longer-run country studies which yield insights for particular decades, or can be found in the bibliographical essays on individual countries. The following, however, deserve mention:

On Brazil, Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, 'Crise, crescimento e modernização autoritário, 1930–1945', and Sérgio Besserman Vianna, 'Política econômica externa e industralização: 1946–1951' in Marcelo de Paiva Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso: Cem anos de política econômica republicana, 1889–1989* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990); Pedro Malan et al., *Política econômica externa e industrialização no Brasil, 1932–52* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); B. Gupta, 'Import substitution in capital goods: The case of Brazil, 1929–1979' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1989); M. A. P. Leopoldi, 'Industrial associations and politics in contemporary Brazil' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1984); and Sônia Draibe, *Rumos e metamorfoses: Estado e industrialização no Brasil: 1930–1960* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

On Mexico, Stephen R. Niblo, *The Impact of War: Mexico and World War II*, La Trobe University, Institute of Latin American Studies, Occasional Paper no. 10 (Melbourne, Aus., 1988); René Villarreal, *El desequilibrio externo en la industrialización de México 1929–1975* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); C. W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy, Twentieth Century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1970); L. Solís, *Planes de desarrollo económico y social en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); S. Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1950); R. J. Shafer, *Mexican Business Organizations: History and Analysis* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1973), on the role of entrepreneurs; C. Hewitt de Alcántara, *The Modernization of Mexican Agriculture* (Geneva, 1976), on agriculture; and I. M. de Navarrette, *La distribución del ingreso y el desarrollo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1960), a study on income distribution unique for its period.

On Argentina, Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970); A. Dorfman, *Cincuenta años de industrialización en la Argentina, 1930–80* (Buenos Aires, 1983); G. Di Tella and M. Zymelman, *Los ciclos económicos argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1973); Guido Di Tella and D. C. Watt (eds.), *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939–46* (London, 1989); C. A. MacDonald, 'The United States, the Cold War and Perón', in C. Abel and C. M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America, Economic Imperialism, and the State* (London, 1985); and Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, los Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942–1949* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

On Uruguay, M. H. J. Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981).

On Chile, L. Ortega et al., *CORFO: 50 años de realizaciones, 1939–1989* (Santiago, Chile, 1989); Oscar Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile, 1914–1965* (Santiago, Chile, 1968); and A. Hirschman, *Journeys Toward Progress: Studies of Economic Policy-Making in Latin America* (New York, 1963).

On Peru, Geoffrey Bertram and Rosemary Thorp, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978).

On Colombia, José Antonio Ocampo and Santiago Montenegro, *Crisis mundial, protección e industrialización* (Bogotá, 1984).

On Venezuela, M. Ignacio Purroy, *Estado e industrialización en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1982).

On Central America, Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

4. THE LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES, 1950–1990

WORLD ECONOMY

The most methodical attempt to explain the economic history of Developed Market Economies (DMEs) since the Second World War can be found in the work of A. Maddison; see especially *Phases of Capitalistic Development* (Oxford, 1982); 'Growth and slowdown in advanced capitalist economies: Techniques of quantitative assessment', *Journal of Economic Literature,* 25 (1987), 649–98; 'Growth and fluctuations in the world economy, 1870–1960', *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro Quarterly Review* (September 1965); *The World Economy in the 20th Century* (OECD, Paris, 1989); and 'A comparison of the levels of GDP per capita in developed and developing countries, 1800–1980', *The Journal of Economic History,* 43 (1983), 159–78. See also I. Kravis and R. Lipsey, 'The diffusion of economic growth in the world economy, 1950–1980', in J. Kendrick (ed.), *International Comparisons of Productivity and Causes of Its Slowdown* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). Excellent interpretations of the 'Golden Age of Capitalism' (1950–73), both in developed and developing economies, and the causes of its decline, can be found in S. Marglin and J. B. Schor (eds.), *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpreting the Postwar Experience* (Oxford, 1990), especially Marglin's 'Lessons of the Golden Age: An overview', and A. Glyn, A. Hughes, A. Lipietz and A. Singh, 'The rise and fall of the Golden Age'. See also the influential book by R. Rowthorn and J. Wells, *De-industrialization and Foreign Trade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987). On developments in the world economy during the early years of the period, see S. Kuznets, *Economic Growth and Structure* (London, 1966). Statistical information can be found in the yearly publications of the OECD (*Historical Statistics* and *National Accounts,* Paris); the World Bank (*World Tables* and *World Development Report,* Oxford); and in the OECD, IMF and World Bank databases.

Historical statistics and some analysis of the economic development of Third World countries can be found in the work of A. Maddison already cited and in P. Bairoch, *The Economic Development of the Third World since 1900* (London, 1977), and 'The main trends in national economic disparities since the Industrial Revolution', in P. Bairoch and M. Lèvy-Leboyer, *Disparities in Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1981). The World Bank regularly produces extensive sets of statistics for

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Less Developed Countries (LDCs); see especially *World Economic Outlook; World Development Report,* and World Bank databases. See also IMF, *International Financial Statistics* and *IFS Database;* UNIDO, *Database;* United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* and *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics,* and *Industry and Development Global Report,* 1987; ILO, *World Labour Report;* and UNCTAD, *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics,* 1984. I. Kravis, A. Heston and R. Summers, *World Product and Income: International Comparisons of Real Gross Product* (Baltimore, 1988) is a useful attempt at producing comparable statistics for LDCs which is being constantly updated. B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (London, 1983) provides a helpful summary of country data.

ECLA is the best source of data on Latin American countries during this period. See the yearly *Economic Surveys of Latin America* and *Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean* (Santiago, Chile). It is not possible to mention all the many other relevant works of ECLA here, but publications such as *Dirección y estructura del comercio latinoamericano* (Santiago, Chile, 1984) provide useful data and analysis on different aspects of Latin American development. However, there are still some discrepancies between some ECLA and other UN sources. For a discussion of this problem, see J. Wells, *Latin America at the Cross-Roads* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

There are relatively few comparative analyses of Latin American performance with that of other regions of the Third World. But A. Fishlow, 'Some reflections on comparative Latin American economic performance and policy', and A. Hughes and A. Singh, 'The world economic slowdown and the Asian and Latin American economies: A comparative analysis of economic structure, policy and performance', in T. Banuri (ed.), *Economic Liberalisation: No Panacea* (Oxford, 1991); K. Suk Kim and M. Roemer, *Growth and Structural Transformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); A. Singh 'Third World industrialization and the structure of the world economy', in D. Curry (ed.), *Microeconomic Analysis: Essays in Microeconomics and Development* (London, 1981), and 'Third World competition and de-industrialization in advanced countries', in T. Lawson, J. G. Palma and J. Sender (eds.), *Kaldor's Political Economy* (London, 1989); J. Sachs, 'External debt and macroeconomic performance in Latin America and East Asia', Brookings Paper on Economic Activity, vol. 2, 1985; and S. Naya, M. Urrutia, S. Mark and A. Fuentes, *Lessons in Development: A Comparative Study of Asia and Latin America* (San Francisco, 1989). For a comparison of Latin America and the Scandinavian countries, see M. Blomstrom and P. Meller (eds.), *Diverging Paths: A*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Century of Latin American and Scandinavian Economic Development (Washington, D.C., 1991).

The experience of the NICs, which has become an obligatory point of comparison for any study of recent economic developments in the Third World, is discussed in H.-J. Chang, *The Political Economy of Industrial Policy: Reflections on the Role of the State Intervention* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994). Chang shows how some of the NICs' most ardent enthusiasts – such as I. Little (*Economic Development* [New York, 1982]) and D. Lal (*The Poverty of Development Economics* [London, 1983]) – have missed the most crucial issue of the postwar economic experience of these countries: namely, their high degree of pragmatism in economic policy making. See also R. Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

LATIN AMERICA

On Latin American economic development during this period, the most influential body of work is obviously that of R. Prebisch (see below and essay VIII:3). Besides those of Prebisch, the best known contributions are from A. O. Hirschman (see, for example, *Ensayos sobre desarrollo y América Latina* [Mexico, D.F., 1981]); Carlos Díaz-Alejandro (see his collected essays, edited by Andrés Velasco, *Debt, Stabilization and Development* [Oxford, 1989]); F. Fajnzylber (see for example *Unavoidable Industrial Restructuring in Latin America* [London, 1990]); A. Fishlow (see particularly his work on Brazil, for instance, 'Brazilian size distribution of income', *American Economic Review,* Papers and Proceedings, 62 [1972], 391–402); L. Taylor (for instance, *Stabilization and Growth in Developing Countries: A Structuralist Approach* [London, 1989]); E. Bacha (see his collected essays, *El milagro y la crisis: Economía brasileña y latinoamericana – ensayos* [Mexico, D.F., 1986]); and R. Ffrench-Davis (see *Economía internacional: Teoría y políticas para el desarrollo,* 2nd ed. [Mexico, D.F., 1985]). ECLA's *Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity* (Santiago, Chile, 1990), largely based on F. Fajnzylber's ideas, and *Social Equity and Changing Production Patterns: An Integrated Approach* (Santiago, Chile, 1992) have also been very influential.

Other valuable contributions include J. Wells, *Latin America at the Crossroads;* R. Ffrench-Davis and E. Tironi (eds.), *Latin America and the New International Economic Order* (London, 1982); J. Serra, *Ensayos críticos sobre el desarrollo latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); C. Furtado, *El subdesarrollo latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); P. Meller (ed.), *The Latin American*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Development Debate: Neostructuralism, Neoconservatism, and Adjustment Processes (Boulder, Colo., 1991); E. Durán (ed.), *Latin America and the World Recession* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985); O. Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo desde dentro: Un enfoque neoestructuralista para América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1991), Eng. trans., *Development from Within: Towards a Neo-Structuralist Approach for Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); V. L. Urquidi, *Una y otras investigaciones* (Mexico, D.F., 1993); J. A. Ocampo, 'The macroeconomic effects of import controls: A Keynesian Analysis', *Journal of Development Economics*, 27 (1987); R. E. Feinberg and R. Ffrench-Davis (eds.), *Development and External Debt in Latin America* (South Bend, Ind., 1988; see especially R. Dornbusch, 'World economic issues of interest to Latin America'); and J. G. Palma, 'Dependency: A formal theory of underdevelopment, or a methodology for the analysis of concrete situations of underdevelopment?', *World Development*, 6/7–8 (1978), 881–924, republished in G. M. Meier (ed.), *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, 5th ed. (Oxford, 1988).

The role of the external sector in Latin American development during this period has received considerable attention, reflecting its importance in the economic fortunes of the region. The work of Raúl Prebisch and ECLA in general (particularly during its 'classical' period) have been the most influential. For a review of this literature, see J. G. Palma, 'Dependencia y desarrollo: Una visión crítica', in D. Seers (ed.), *La teoría de la dependencia: Una revaluación crítica* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). See also O. Rodriguez, *La teoría del subdesarrollo de la CEPAL* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); ECLA, *El pensamiento de la CEPAL* (Santiago, Chile, 1969); A. Gurrieri, *La Obra de Prebisch en la CEPAL* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); J. Hodara, *Prebisch y la CEPAL: Sustancia, trayectoria y contexto institucional* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); and J. G. Palma, 'Raúl Prebisch', 'Structuralism' and 'Dependency Theory', in J. Eatwell et al., *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economic Theory and Doctrine* (London, 1988). For an analysis of this sector in the 1970s, see R. Ffrench-Davis (ed.), *Intercambio y desarrollo*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

The rapid growth of exports of manufactures has been one of the most interesting issues in the recent economic development of the region. See for example ECLA's *Analysis and Perspectives of Latin American Industrial Development* (Santiago, Chile, 1979); C. Díaz-Alejandro, 'Some characteristics of recent export expansion in Latin America', *Yale Economic Growth Center Papers*, No. 209, 1974; IDB, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1986); and M. Movarec, 'Exports of manufactured goods to the centres: Importance and significance', *CEPAL Review*,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

17 (1982), 47–77. On the 'maquila' contribution to these exports, see R. Katzman and C. Reyna (eds.) *Fuerza de trabajo y movimientos laborales en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), and PREALC, *Más allá de la regulación* (Santiago, Chile, 1990).

On the effects of trade liberalization and neoliberal experiments in Latin America in general, see A. Foxley, *Neo-Conservative Experiments in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1983); J. Ramos, *Neo-Conservative Economics in the Southern Cone of Latin America, 1973–1983* (Baltimore, 1986); R. Ffrench-Davis, 'The Monetarist experiment in Chile: A critical survey', *World Development,* 11/11 (1983), 905–26; R. Cortázar, A. Foxley and V. Tokman, *Legados del monetarismo* (Buenos Aires, 1984); and S. Edwards and A. Cox-Edwards, *Monetarism and Liberalization: The Chilean Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987). See also V. Corbo and P. Meller, 'Alternative trade strategies and employment implications: Chile', in A. Krueger et al., *Trade and Employment in Developing Countries* (Washington, D.C., 1979), and R. Ffrench-Davis and M. Marfàn, 'Selective policies under a structural foreign-exchange shortage', in H. Singer et al. (eds.), *Adjustment and Liberalization in the Third World* (New Delhi, 1991). The monetarist view is put forward by T. G. Congdon, *Economic Liberalism in the Southern Cone of Latin America* (London, 1985).

On the structuralist approach to inflation, see J. Noyola, 'El desarrollo económico y la inflación en México y otros países latinoamericanos', *Investigación Económica* (4th quarter, 1956); O. Sunkel, 'Inflation in Chile: An unorthodox approach', in *International Economic Papers,* 10 (1960); A. Pinto, *Ni estabilidad ni desarrollo – la política del FMI* (Santiago, Chile, 1958), and *Inflación: raíces estructurales* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and N. Kaldor, 'Economic problems of Chile', in *Essays on Economic Policy II* (London, 1964). For an analysis of inflation during the latter part of this period, see for example R. Thorp and L. Whitehead (eds.), *Inflation and Stabilization in Latin America* (London, 1979); J. P. Arellano (ed.), *Inflación rebelde en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1990); J. Ross, *On Models of Inertial Inflation* (Helsinki, 1988); and M. Bruno, G. Di Tella, R. Dornbusch and S. Fischer (eds.), *Inflation and Stabilization: The Experiences of Israel, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

On manufacturing industry and ISI, the works of Prebisch and ECLA were the most influential until the 1970s (see above). On critical analyses of Latin American ISI, the best work is F. Fajnzylber, *La industrialización trunca* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). See also F. Fajnzylber (ed.), *Industralización e internacionalización en la América Latina,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1982); M.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Nolff, *Desarrollo industrial latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); and O. Muñoz, 'El proceso de industrialización: Teorías, experiencias y políticas', in O. Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo desde dentro.* A comprehensive analysis of the capital goods industry in the region can be found in D. Chudnovsky and M. Nagao, *Capital Goods Production in the Third World* (London, 1983). For the capital goods industry in Brazil, see D. Chudnovsky, 'The entry into the design and production of complex capital goods: The experiences of Brazil, India and South Korea', and 'The capital goods industry and the dynamics of economic development in LDCs: The case of Brazil', in M. Fransman (ed.), *Machinery and Economic Development* (London, 1986).

On agrarian issues, see A. García, *Desarrollo agrario y la América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); M. Twomey and A. Helwege (eds.), *Modernization and Stagnation: Latin American Agriculture into the 1990s* (Washington, D.C., 1991); and A. Figueroa, 'Desarrollo agrícola en la América Latina', in O. Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo desde dentro.* On environmental issues and Latin America, see O. Sunkel and N. Gligo, *Estilos de desarrollo y medio ambiente en la América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); N. Gligo, 'Medio ambiente y recursos naturales en el desarrollo latinoamericano', in O. Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo,* and J. Vial (ed.), *Desarrollo y medio ambiente: Hacia un enfoque integrador* (Santiago, Chile, 1991). On technological issues in the region, see F. R. Sagasti, *Ciencia, tecnología y desarrollo latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). On the role of foreign capital in Latin America, see C. Vaitsos, *Inter-country Income Distribution and Transnational Enterprises* (Oxford, 1974); D. Chudnovsky, *Empresas multinacionales y ganancias monopólicas en una economía latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), and J. J. Villamil (ed.), *Capitalismo transnacional y desarrollo regional* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). On labour issues, the best-known work is that of PREALC. See for example *Modelos de empleo y política económica: Una década de experiencias del PREALC* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). See also V. E. Tokman, 'Mercados de trabajo y empleo en el pensamiento económico latinoamericano', in O. Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo.* On gender-based wage differentials, see P. González, 'El diferencial de ingresos entre hombres y mujeres: Teoría, evidencia e implicaciones de política', in *Colección de Estudios CIEPLAN,* 34 (June 1992).

INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

The best known analysis of Argentina's mounting economic problems is found in C. Díaz-Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), and *Exchange Rate Devaluation in a*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Semi-industrialized Country: The Experience of Argentina, 1955–1961 (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). See also G. Di Tella and R. Dornbusch, *The Political Economy of Argentina, 1946–83* (London, 1989); A. Dorfman, *Cincuenta años de industrialización en la Argentina, 1930–80: Desarrollo y perspectivas* (Buenos Aires, 1983); and R. Mallon and J. V. Sourrouille, *Policy Making in a Conflictive Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

On Brazil, see M. de Paiva Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso: Cem anos de política econômica republicana, 1889–1989* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990); W. Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development,* 3rd. ed. (New York, 1989); and E. Bacha, *El milagro y la crisis,* cited above.

On Mexico, see L. Solis, *La economía mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); E. Cárdenas (ed.), *Historia económica de México,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1990–); R. Villarreal, *Industrialización, deuda y desequilibrio externo en México: Un enfoque neo-estructuralista* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); and N. Lustig, *Distribución del ingreso y crecimiento en México: Un análisis de las ideas estructuralistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). On the Mexican economy during the early years of this period, see also C. W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy: Twentieth-century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn. 1970).

On Colombia, see C. Díaz-Alejandro, *Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development: Colombia* (New York, 1976); G. Colmenares and J. A. Ocampo, *Historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987); R. Thorp, *Economic Management and Economic Development in Peru and Colombia* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1991); and J. A. Ocampo and E. Lora, *Introducción a la macroeconomía colombiana* (Bogotá, 1990). On Venezuela, see R. Hausmann, *Shocks externos y ajuste macroeconómico* (Caracas, 1990), and M. I. Purroy, *Estado e industrialización* (Caracas, 1986). On Peru, see R. Thorp, *Economic Management,* cited above, and G. Bertram and R. Thorp, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (New York, 1979). On Central America, see V. Bulmer-Thomas, *Studies in the Economies of Central America* (London, 1988), and *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987).

The literature on Chile is extensive. For statistical data, see M. Mamalakis, *Historical Statistics of Chile* (Westport, Conn., 1978–). For the earlier years of this period, see O. Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile, 1914–65* (Santiago, 1968); R. Ffrench-Davis, *Políticas económicas en Chile, 1952–1970* (Santiago, 1973); A. Pinto, *Chile, una economía difícil* (Santiago, 1964); M. Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy from Independence to Allende* (New Haven, Conn., 1976); and R. Ffrench-Davis and O. Muñoz, 'Economic and political instability in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile', in S. Teitel (ed.), *Towards a New Development Strategy in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1992). On the process of industrialization during this period, see O. Muñoz, *Chile y su industrialización: Pasado, crisis y opciones* (Santiago, 1986). For the Popular Unity period the best book is S. Bitar, *Transición, socialismo y democracia: La experiencia chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1979; Eng. trans. *Chile: Experiment in Democracy,* Philadelphia, 1986). See also J. G. Palma (ed.), *La vía chilena al socialismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). For the economic consequences of the Pinochet dictatorship, see Foxley, Ramos and Ffrench-Davis on neo-liberal experiments, cited above, and CIEPLAN, *El modelo económico chileno: Trayectoria de una crítica* (Santiago, Chile, 1982).

The literature on the economics of the Cuban revolution is huge. See for example C. Mesa-Lago (ed.), *Revolutionary Change in Cuba* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1971), and *The Economy of Socialist Cuba: A Two Decade Appraisal* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1981); Claes Brundenius, *Revolutionary Cuba: The Challenge of Economic Growth and Equity* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); F. Pérez-López, *Measuring Cuban Economic Performance* (Austin, Tex., 1987); and Andrew Zimbalist and Claes Brundenius, *The Cuban Economy: Measurement and Analysis of Socialist Performance* (Baltimore, 1989).

EXTERNAL FINANCE

On the role of external finance in economic development the best book remains C. Kindleberger, *Manias, Panics and Crashes: A History of Financial Crises* (London, 1978). For an analysis of the 1980s debt crisis in an historical perspective, see C. Kindleberger, 'Historical perspective on today's Third World debt problem', in C. Kindleberger, *Keynesianism vs. Monetarism and Other Essays in Financial History* (London, 1985). On the negative consequences for both LDCs *and* DMEs of the large transfer of financial resources from the Third World, Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of Peace* (London, 1919) remains indispensable. See also M. Marcel and J. G. Palma, 'Third World debt and its effects on the British economy: A southern view of economic mismanagement in the North', *Cambridge Journal of Economics,* 12/3 (1988), 361–400, and J. G. Palma, 'UK lending to the Third World from the 1973 oil shock to the 1980s debt crisis: On financial "manias, panics and (near) crashes" ', in P. Arestis and V. Chick (eds.), *Financial Development and Structural Change: A Post-Keynesian Perspective* (London, 1994).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

C. Díaz-Alejandro's analyses of Latin American external finances remain the most influential. See for example, 'Latin American debt: I don't think we are in Kansas anymore', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity,* 2 (1984), and 'Some aspects of the development crisis in Latin America', in R. Thorp and L. Whitehead (eds.), *Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis* (Oxford, 1987). See also R. Ffrench-Davis and R. Devlin, *Una breve historia de la crisis de la deuda latinoamericana* (Santiago, Chile, 1992) and 'Diez años de crisis de la deuda latinoamericana', *Comercio Exterior,* 43 (1993); R. Devlin, 'External finance and commercial banks: Their role in Latin America's capacity to import between 1951 and 1975', *CEPAL Review,* 5 (1978); E. Bacha and C. Díaz-Alejandro, 'Los mercados financieros: Una visión desde la semi-periferia', in R. Ffrench-Davis (ed.), *Las relaciones financieras externas: su efecto en la economía latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); C. Díaz-Alejandro, 'International finance: Issues of special interest for developing countries', in R. Ffrench-Davis and E. Tironi (eds.), *Latin America and the New International Economic Order;* R. Ffrench-Davis (ed.), *Relaciones financieras externas: su efecto en la economía latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); M. Wionczek (ed.), *Politics and Economics of the Latin American Debt Crisis* (Boulder, Colo., 1985); S. Griffith-Jones, *Managing World Debt* (New York, 1988); and John Williamson, *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened* (Washington, D.C., 1990). The supply side of the debt crisis is analyzed in R. Devlin, *Debt and Crisis in Latin America: The Supply Side of the Story* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

L. Taylor, in his University of Cambridge 'Marshall Lectures' (*Varieties of Stabilization Experiences* [Oxford, 1989]), discusses critically many of the region's stabilization experiences during the 1980s and concludes that '[financial and trade] liberalization and regressive income distribution were not a wise policy mix'. P. Meller, 'Un enfoque analítico-empírico de las causas del actual endeudamiento externo chileno', *Colección Estudios CIEPLAN,* 20 (1988), and R. Ffrench-Davis and J. de Gregorio, 'Orígenes y efectos del endeudamiento externo en Chile', *TE,* 54 (1987) reach a similar conclusion.

The exception to the 'dance of the millions' during the 1970s is the case of Colombia; see G. Perry, R. Junguito and N. de Junguito, 'Política económico y endeudamiento externo en Colombia', and E. Bacha, 'Apertura financiera y sus efectos en el desarrollo nacional', both in R. Ffrench-Davis (ed.), *Relaciones financieras externas,* cited above.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

On Latin American economic integration the ideas of Prebisch were the most influential during the early part of this period; see *The Latin American Common Market* (New York, 1959). For analyses of ECLA and Prebisch's ideas on the subject, see V. L. Urquidi, *Trayectoria del Mercado Cumún Latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1960); O. Rodriguez, *La teoría del desarrollo,* J. Hodara, *Prebisch y la CEPAL* and A. G. Gurrieri, *La obra de Prebisch,* cited above; J. M. Salazar, 'Present and future integration in Central America', *CEPAL Review,* 42 (1991); and V. Kumar Bawa, *Latin American Integration* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1980).

Reviews of the Latin American economic integration experience are contained in INTAL's annual reports; R. Ffrench-Davis, 'Economic integration in Latin America: Failures and successes', in R. Garnaut (ed.), *ASEAN in a Changing Pacific and World Economy* (Canberra, 1980); 'Economic Integration in Latin America,' in IDB, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America,* cited above; G. Rosenthal, 'Un examen crítico a treinta años de integración en América Latina', ECLA mimeo (November 1990).

On intra-Latin American trade in manufactures, see BID-INTAL, *El comercio intralatinoamericano en los años 80* (Washington, D.C., 1987). On tariff preferences, see A. Aninat, R. Ffrench-Davis and P. Leiva, 'La integración andina en el nuevo escenario de los años ochenta', in H. Muñoz and F. Orrego (eds.), *La cooperación regional en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

On foreign direct investment and transnational corporations in regional integration, see E. Tironi, 'Economic integration and foreign direct investment policies: The Andean case' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, MIT, 1976); E. Lahera and F. Sánchez, *Estudio comparativo de la Decisión 24 en los países del Grupo Andino: Situación actual y perspectivas* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); and E. White, 'Las inversiones extranjeras y la crisis económica en América Latina', in R. E. Feinberg and R. Ffrench-Davis (eds.), *Debt and Development in Latin America: Basis for a New Consensus* (South Bend, Ind., 1988). On NAFTA (the free trade zone between the United States, Canada and Mexico which would be the largest in the world, with a combined GDP in 1990 of US$ 6.2 trillion and US$ 720 billion combined exports), see S. Saborio, *The Premise and the Promise: Free Trade in the Americas* (Oxford, 1992). The 'Argentina–Brazil' accord of July 1986 was the most outstanding bilateral agreement of the 1980s, covering issues as varied as the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

renegotiation of tariff preferences, binational firms, investment funds, biotechnology, economic research and nuclear coordination. See INTAL, 'Neuvos acuerdos para consolidar la integración argentino-brasileña', *Integración Latinoamericana,* 129 (1987).

INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND POVERTY

On Latin American income distribution there are very few country or comparative analyses. As is well known, data for income distribution are rather unreliable due to both methodological problems and the fact that it is an extremely sensitive political issue. The best source is ECLA; see especially its publications in the 'Serie Distribución del Ingreso' (for example, No. 3, 'Antecedentes estadísticos de la distribución del ingreso en Chile, 1940–82 [Santiago, Chile, 1987]). See also A. di Filippo, 'Raíces históricas de las estructuras distributivas en América Latina', ECLA, Serie Monografías No. 18, 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1983); and ECLA, 'Estructura del gasto en consumo de los hogares según finalidad del gasto, por grupos de ingreso', Cuadernos Estadísticos de la CEPAL, 8 (Santiago, Chile, 1984).

The most interesting and influential work on income distribution within ECLA was done by Fernando Fajnzylber; see especially 'Industrialización en América Latina: De la "caja negra" al "casillero vacío" ', Cuardernos de la CEPAL, 60 (Santiago, Chile, 1990), and *Unavoidable Industrial Restructuring in Latin America,* cited above. Also, ECLA, *Transformación productiva con equidad* (Santiago, Chile, 1990), the organization's most influential publication since Prebisch's death, was strongly influenced by Fajnzylber's ideas.

Another UN organization, PREALC, has done extensive research on income distribution, particularly in its relationship with the labour market. See for example, *Buscando la equidad* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). See also R. Infante, *Mercado de trabajo y deuda social en los 80* (Santiago, Chile, 1991).

The World Bank also publishes data on income distribution for some Latin American countries; see its yearly *World Development Report,* various issues (Washington, D.C.). For work on income distribution related to some countries of the region done within the bank's framework, see G. Psacharopoulos, *Essays on Poverty, Equity and Growth* (New York, 1991).

A. Foxley (ed.), *Distribución del ingreso* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), and Oscar Muñoz (ed.), *Distribución del ingreso en América Latina* (Buenos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Aires, 1979) are valuable collections of articles on Latin American income distribution. For an excellent analysis of political issues related to distributional conflict, see A. O. Hirschman and M. Rothschild, 'Changing tolerance for inequality in development', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87/4 (1973), 544–66.

On Brazilian income distribution, see A. Fishlow, 'Distribución del ingreso por tramos en Brasil', in A. Foxley (ed.), *Distribución del ingreso*, and 'Brazilian size distribution of income', *American Economic Review*, 62 (1972), and C. H. Wood and J. A. Magno de Carvalho, *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). On Chile, besides ECLA, 'Antecedentes estadísticos', cited above, see F. J. Labbe and L. Riveros, *La visión neoclásica y la actual distribución de los ingresos en Chile*, Documento de Trabajo No. 33, CED (Santiago, Chile, 1987). On Colombia, see ECLA, 'La distribución del ingreso en Colombia: Antecedentes estadísticos y características socioeconómicas de los receptores', Cuadernos Estadísticos de la CEPAL, 14 (Santiago, Chile, 1988). On Mexico, see N. Lustig, *Mexico: The Social Impact of Adjustment*, Brookings Institution (Washington, D.C., 1991). On Peru, see R. C. Webb, *Government Policy and the Distribution of Income in Peru, 1963–73* (Princeton, N.J., 1972).

On poverty in Latin America, see especially O. Altimir, 'La dimensión de la pobreza en América Latina', *Cuadernos de la CEPAL*, No. 27 (1979); and 'The extent of poverty in Latin America', *World Bank Staff Working Paper*, No. 522 (1982). Altimir's definition of the 'poverty line' is country specific and is based on an amount equal to twice the cost of a nutritionally adequate diet. That of the 'indigence line' is an income that would only cover this diet once. See also Sergio Molina, 'Poverty: Description and analysis of policies for overcoming it', *CEPAL Review*, 18 (1982), 87–110; PREALC, *Deuda Social: Qué es?, Cuánto es?, Cómo se paga?* (Santiago, Chile, 1988); CELADE, *Boletín Demográfico* (January 1985 and July 1987); and E. Cardoso and A. Helwege, 'Below the line: Poverty in Latin America', *World Development*, 20/1 (1992), 19–37.

P. Musgrove, 'Food needs and absolute poverty in urban South America', *Review of Income and Wealth*, 30/1 (1985), 63–83 is a study of nutrition in ten Latin America cities in 1966–9. A. Gilbert and J. Gugler, *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanisation in the Third World* (Oxford, 1992) includes an examination of the relationship between the hypertrophy of Latin America's service sector, income distribution and poverty. Finally, see ECLA, *Una estimación de la magnitud de la pobreza en Chile, 1987* (Santiago, Chile, 1990), *Panorama social de América Latina* (Santiago,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile, 1991) and *Magnitud de la pobreza en América Latina en los años ochenta* (Santiago, Chile, 1991).

5. URBAN GROWTH AND URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

There are few historical accounts that summarize the general processes of urbanization in Latin America or that provide histories of particular Latin American cities for the entire period since 1930. A valuable account of the early (1940s and 1950s) urbanization processes is Philip Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America* (New York, 1961), which was published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), reflecting its new-found preoccupation with urban issues in developing countries. The issues covered were demographic trends, employment, economic development, migration, housing, and planning. Richard Morse, 'Latin American cities: Aspects of function and structure,' *CSSH*, 16/4 (1962), 473–93 reviews research on urbanization in the 1950s and early 1960s, and his two-part article, 'Trends and issues in Latin American urban research, 1965–1970,' *LARR*, 6/1 (1971), 3–52 and 6/2 (1971), 19–75 examines trends in the mid and late 1960s. An important source of information and analysis is the annual series *Latin American Urban Research* (Beverly Hills, Calif.), which was published from 1970 to 1976, each year having a different thematic focus, including migration, urban poverty, and metropolitanization.

From a more anthropological perspective, Douglas Butterworth and John Chance, *Latin American Urbanization* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981) takes account of studies carried out in the 1940s but concentrates on the 1960s and 1970s. The demographic perspective, analysing the evolution of urban primacy and the preoccupation with rapid population and urban growth in Latin America, is found in Glenn H. Beyer (ed.), *The Urban Explosion in Latin America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967). A more recent analysis of trends in city growth and urbanization is Robert W. Fox, *Urban Population Trends in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1975). There are a number of overviews of the urbanization process provided by geographers and planners. One of the most complete is Jorge Hardoy's broad survey, *Urbanization in Latin America* (Garden City, N.J., 1975), that includes pre-colonial as well as more contemporary patterns. It provides a model of the stages of change in Latin American urbanization, focussing on the functions of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cities in different periods. Alan Gilbert, Jorge Hardoy and Ronaldo Ramirez, *Urbanization in Contemporary Latin America* (Chichester, 1982), covers political and social trends, but also focusses on the physical growth of cities, particularly the development of infrastructure and housing.

In the 1970s, there was an increasing concern with the political economy of urban growth in Latin America, emphasizing the interconnection between politics, economic development and patterns of urbanization. One of the first examples is Paul Singer, *Economia política da urbanização* (São Paulo, 1973), which interpreted both the growth and the social problems of the large cities of Latin America as a reflection of the uneven process of capitalist development. A similar perspective is taken by Bryan Roberts, *Cities of Peasants* (London, 1978), which provides an account of urban development in comparative perspective since the 1940s, but concentrates on the 1960s and 1970s. Alejandro Portes and John Walton, *Urban Latin America: The Political Condition from Above and Below* (Austin, Tex., 1976) also provides comparative data on Latin American urbanization and its social consequences, and in a second volume, *Labor, Class and the International System* (New York, 1981), Portes and Walton place the Latin American experience within the context of the development of the world economy.

URBANIZATION TRENDS IN SPECIFIC COUNTRIES

The major sources of data on the overall pattern of urbanization in Latin America are the population censuses of the different countries of the region. Several Latin American countries have censuses from the end of the nineteenth century, permitting the analysis of long trends. By 1940, most Latin American countries conducted a general population survey. These surveys include data on age and sex distributions of the population, their occupations, and, often, data on migration, ethnicity and religion. Some countries have carried out decennial censuses from that period (Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina from 1947), while others have been less regular (Peru, Colombia). In general, the accuracy and comparability of the censuses have increased with time, though the lack of institutional continuity in the offices responsible for the censuses has, at times, resulted in loss of comparability through using different criteria of classification. One of the major factors in improving the censuses has been the influence of the United Nations in persuading governments to use standard classifications for characteristics such as definition of urban, occupation and industry. By

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1960, all the major Latin American countries subscribed to the international conventions, and the census data can be compared more easily, though always with caution. A detailed analysis of the changes in classification can be found in Doreen S. Goyer and Eliane Domschke, *The Handbook of National Population Censuses* (Westport, Conn., 1983).

Another important source of urban data are the household surveys carried out by the statistical offices to monitor changes in fertility, migration, and labour force. Because of their smaller size and greater availability in raw data form, these have the advantage over the censuses of enabling researchers to cross-tabulate data at the household as well as the individual level and to carry out multivariate analysis. In Mexico, data for the overall urban population and the three major metropolitan areas were provided from the 1970s by the Encuesta Continua sobre Ocupación (The Ongoing Employment Survey). The Urban Labour Force Survey (ENEU) provides detailed data for specific cities on a quarterly basis, beginning in the 1980s. In Brazil, the PNAD (Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílio) has provided similar data, with interruptions, since 1967: see Diana Sawyer (ed.), *PNAD em Foco* (Belo Horizonte, 1988).

Two of the countries that provide the best examples of detailed analyses of urbanization patterns using census data are Argentina and Mexico. Researchers from CENEP (Center for Population Studies), such as Zulma Rechinni and Alfredo Lattes, have carried various analyses through the years of the changing patterns of Argentine urbanization. *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975) contains detailed analyses up to 1970 of migration (both internal and international), changes in the urban system, urban growth and changes in the labour force. Alfredo Lattes, *Algunas dimensiones de la urbanización reciente y futura en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1984) updates the analysis to the 1980 and places it within the general Latin American picture, providing statistics on changes in labour force and in city size distributions. In Mexico, perhaps the first systematic analysis was carried out by Harley L. Browning, 'Urbanization in Mexico', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley, 1962), in his account of the nature of urban primacy and the changes in the Mexican urban system. The Colegio de México's *La dinámica de la población de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1970) provides an analysis comparable to that of *La población de Argentina*. The most comprehensive analysis remains that of Luis Unikel, Constancio Ruiz and Gustavo Garza, *El desarrollo urbano de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); the authors combine economic and population censuses to analyse the economic specialization of cities and its relation to population growth

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and labour force characteristics. For Brazil, Juarez Brandão Lopez, *Desenvolvimento e mudança social* (São Paulo, 1976) provides an overview and interpretation of urbanization which also uses available census material. A good example of using partial data to provide an analysis of urbanization in the absence of census data is José Matos Mar's *Las barriadas de Lima* (Lima, 1957). There were no Peruvian censuses between 1940 and 1961, and Matos Mar brings together survey data on the processes of migration and urban settlement to provide an account of the pattern of population concentration in Lima.

MIGRATION AND URBAN ASSIMILATION

The rapid urban growth of Latin America that began in the 1940s was based, to an important extent, on migration from rural to urban areas. Migration brought to the towns and cities of Latin America a population that, at times, was ethnically distinct and often of lower socio-economic and educational levels in comparison to urban natives. This circumstance created a research agenda that focussed on two main issues: the origins of migrants and the reasons for their migration; and how they fared in the cities compared with native residents.

The classic analysis of migration and its consequence for urban social structure can be found in Gino Germani's two major works, *Política y sociedad en una época de transición* (Buenos Aires, 1968) and *Estructura social de la Argentina* (1955; Buenos Aires, 1987). His analysis concentrates on the difference between the earlier international migration and the subsequent internal migrations and its consequences for class differences and politics in Buenos Aires.

The migration programme of the Population and Development Commission of CLACSO (Latin American Council of Social Sciences) initiated in the early 1970s studies of the overall patterns of migration in Latin America. This programme also gave rise to theoretical discussions of the economic and social factors affecting rural-urban movements, of which the Humberto Muñoz, Orlandina de Oliveira, Paul Singer and Claudio Stern volume, *Las migraciones internas en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1974), was perhaps the most influential on the direction of future research.

An important characteristic of the studies of rural–urban migration and migrant adaptation in specific countries was their use of surveys carried out in places of origin and/or destination, rather than estimates based on censuses. In Jorge Balán, Harley Browning and Elizabeth Jelín, *Men in a*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Developing Society: Geographic and Social Mobility in Monterrey (Austin, Tex., 1973) the analysis was based both on a survey in Monterrey and on one carried out in a village, Cedral, from which many Monterrey migrants came. The Monterrey study, like the subsequent study of Mexico City by Humberto Muñoz, Orlandina de Oliveira and Claudio Stern, *Migración y desigualdad social en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), analysed the absorption of rural and small town migrants into the urban economic structure. The economic success of migrants was shown, in both studies, to depend more on the job opportunities of the period of their arrival than on cultural contrasts between migrants and natives. The selectivity of migration – whether migrants came from richer or poorer areas and were better qualified than those that did not move – was shown to be a significant factor in migrant adaption to the city in Colombia (Ramón Cardona, *La migración rural-urbana* [Bogotá, 1978]) as well as in Brazil (Douglas Graham, 'Divergent and convergent regional economic growth and internal migration in Brazil, 1940–1960,' *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 18/3, [1970], 362–82), and in other countries of the region such as Chile (Juan Elizaga, *Migraciones a las áreas metropolitanas de América Latina* [Santiago, Chile, 1970]).

Adapting to the city is a complex process that is affected not only by selectivity, but also by ongoing relations between place of origin and place of destination, and the capacity of migrants to establish their own communities in the place of destination. The pioneer study of these processes is Oscar Lewis, 'Urbanization without breakdown: A case study,' *Scientific Monthly*, 75/1 (1952), which looks at how migrants from the village of Tepotztlán, Mexico, adapt to the city while conserving their traditional forms of social organization. A more detailed study of these processes in Lourdes Arizpe, *Migración, etnicismo y cambio económico: Un estudio sobre migrantes campesinos a la ciudad de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) which shows how migrants from villages with very different economic structures used their networks in Mexico City to occupy particular niches in the city economy, with consequences for the likelihood of return migration. Other examples of studies of migrant adaption, emphasizing social networks and the factors in places of origin and destination affecting these are Robert Kemper's study of Tzintzuntzan migrants in Mexico City, *Migration and Adaptation* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1977), and Douglas Butterworth's study of Tilantongo migrants to the same city, *Tilantongo, comunidad mixteca in transción* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Perhaps the most complete study of these processes in Mexico, taking into account rural as well as urban social

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

structure, factors of attraction and repulsion, and the significance of household networks and strategies is Douglas Massey, Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand and Hector González, *Return to Aztlán* (Berkeley, 1987). The major city of destination is not, however, Mexico City but Los Angeles. An interesting comparison with Mexican international migration is provided by Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar in *Between Two Islands* (Berkeley, 1991), in which they analyse Dominican rural and urban migration to New York.

Many studies of migrant adaption to Latin American cities were carried out, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Examples from countries other than Mexico are Juarez Brandão Lopes's study of rural migrants in São Paulo, 'Aspects of the adjustments of rural migrants to urban-industrial conditions,' in Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America,* Mario Margulis's study on provincial migrants in Buenos Aires, *Migración y marginalidad en la sociedad argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1974), and Teofilo Altamirano's studies of Aymara and Quechua migration to Lima, *Presencia andina en Lima metropolitana* (Lima, 1984) and *Cultura andina y pobreza urbana* (Lima, 1988). The concentration of adaption studies in countries such as Mexico and Peru is, to a certain extent, explained by the existence of an important indigenous population affected by the rapid urbanization of the respective countries. Studies of migrant adaption in Bolivia have acquired salience with the rapid growth of La Paz in recent years, though Hans Buechler's article on the role of fiestas in migrant adaptation is an antecedent: 'The ritual dimension of rural-urban networks: The fiesta system in the Northern Highlands of Bolivia,' in William Mangin (ed.), *Peasants in Cities* (Boston, 1970). An interesting example is Godofredo Sandoval, Xavier Albó, and Tomás Greaves, *Nuevos lazos con el campo* (La Paz, 1987) on Aymara identity in La Paz.

URBAN STRATIFICATION

Closely linked to the studies of migrant adaptation are those that look at social mobility within the cities of Latin America. Conscious of the rapid changes in the economic structure of Latin American cities from the 1940s onwards, various researchers took up the issues of whether or not a 'new' urban middle class was emerging, and the extent and significance of upward social mobility from manual to non-manual occupations. Since Argentina had the most developed urban economy of the region by the 1940s, the first studies were undertaken there under the direction of Gino

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Germani. See, besides Germani's own volumes cited above, Torcuato di Tella, *Argentina, sociedad de masas* (Buenos Aires, 1974), *Clases sociales y estructuras políticas* (Buenos Aires, 1965), and *Estratificación social e inestabilidad política en Argentina y Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1962) and Jose Luis de Imaz, *La clase alta de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1962) and *Los que mandan* (Buenos Aires, 1964), which analyse the changes in the character of the urban middle class, explore the nature of the urban upper class, and examine the changing composition of the working class with industrialization.

The intellectual climate within which these studies developed was that of the discussion of modernization as a global though uneven process. Latin American social scientists collaborated with their North American counterparts in exploring the possibilities of achieving a balanced development and identifying the obstacles to that development. See, for example, Joseph Kahl (ed.), *La industrialización en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1965), Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari (eds.), *Elites and Development in Latin America* (New York, 1967), and Irving Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York, 1968). Other collections were organized under the auspices of United Nations agencies: CEPAL's *El desarrollo social de América Latina en la postguerra* (Santiago, Chile, 1966) and UNESCO's *Sociología del desarrollo* (Paris, 1970). All these volumes contain empirical analyses of the changing urban class structure in Latin America and of social mobility, stressing the importance of education and of the rise of a white-collar service sector. The authors stress the differences in class structure between Latin America and the advanced industrial world. They use these differences to show the specificity of the changes in the Latin American occupational structures that result from the pattern of growth of the industrial sectors, such as the early importance of the service sectors and the weakness of manufacturing. In those countries with a more developed industrial structure, such as Argentina and Brazil, attention is given to the emergence of an industrial working class; while in countries such as Peru, with little large-scale urban industry, emphasis is given, as will be seen in a subsequent section, to urban marginality.

Representative surveys of the economically active population of two Latin American cities permitted a more precise estimate of the extent of social mobility. In their study of Monterrey, *Men in a Developing Society,* Balán, Browning and Jelín used life and work histories to explore the pattern of mobility, both geographical and social, in the 1960s. They found, for instance, that overall levels of social mobility were as high as in the advanced industrial countries, though social origins and education

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

had a different significance in enhancing life chances. Muñoz, Oliveira and Stern's similar study of Mexico City, *Migración y desigualidad social,* also showed high levels of social mobility resulting from the expansion of non-manual as well as skilled manual jobs. Interestingly, they were able to link position in the occupational structure to the relative expansion of the different sectors of the economy at the moment when new workers entered the Mexico City labour market. Contrary to received opinion, this resulted in rural migrants becoming industrial workers in the manufacturing sector.

In the 1960s, there was already a growing preoccupation with theoretical issues to do with the dependency of Latin America and its consequences for stifling and distorting development. In the field of urban stratification and mobility this resulted, in the 1970s, in fewer empirical analyses. The predominant analyses of class structure took up conceptual issues, but rarely were these related to empirical studies. Examples are the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Mexico, *Las clases sociales en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) and *Clases sociales y crisis política en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (ed.), *Estado y sociedad en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1973).

The empirical tradition did not disappear. The 1970s and 1980s saw an expansion of qualitative analyses of urban social classes, particular of the urban poor, and these will be reviewed in a subsequent section. There were relatively few studies of the industrial working class and its formation. An example from Mexico is Menno Vellinga's study of class formation in Monterrey, *Industrialización, burguesía y clase obrera* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). In *Con el sudor de tu frente* (Guadalajara, 1986), Agustín Escobar uses life histories and household data of more than 1000 manufacturing workers in Guadalajara, Mexico, in 1982 to examine whether a clearly defined industrial working class was emerging in that city. Studies of the middle and upper classes are less common. John Walton's study of the elites of Guadalajara and Monterrey in Mexico, and Medellín and Cali in Colombia, *Elites and Economic Development* (Austin, Tex., 1987) provides interesting data on the organization of elites under different economic conditions, on their attitude toward the state, and on the economic sectors which they represent. Larissa Lomnitz and Marisol Pérez Lizuar, *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820–1980* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) carried out a case study of a Mexican elite family, analysing the changes in family organization and interests through time, and providing detailed information on the social networks that are used to enhance and consolidate their power.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

This study is particularly interesting since the family's fortunes have been tied to the evolution of the Mexico City economy, and the family has had to take account of the changing role of government in the economy.

By the late 1970s, there is a return to census-based analysis of the evolution of the urban class structure. Some of the articles in Rubén Katzman and José Luis Reyna's *Fuerza de trabajo y movimientos laborales en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1979) use available data to explore the heterogeneity of the tertiary sector – containing 'informal' employment, modern middle-class employment as well as more traditional manual workers – and its link to changes in the class structure. An influential exploration of the heterogeneity of the tertiary sector is Harley Browning's discussion of the tertiarization process: 'Algunos problemas del proceso de terciarización en América Latina', in Jorge Hardoy and Richard Schaedel (eds.), *Las ciudades de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1975). Carlos Filgueira and Carlo Geneletti, *Estratificación y movilidad ocupacional en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1981) provides an extensive analysis of the patterns of mobility between 1950 and 1980, contrasting the experience of the different Latin American countries. An even more complete analysis is provided by the social affairs division of CEPAL under the direction of John Durston, in *Transformación ocupacional y crisis social en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1989) which, among other analyses, looks at the role of education in social mobility from 1950 to 1980, and at the changing significance of self-employment. CEPAL has an arrangement with the census authorities in Latin America whereby special tabulations from the censuses or household surveys are provided on a regular basis. Consequently, CEPAL can carry out more detailed analyses of occupational change and mobility than can those researchers who have to rely only on official tabulations.

URBAN LABOUR MARKETS AND INFORMALIZATION

By the 1980s, some of the major sources of information on urban class structure were the studies of urban labour markets. These differ from the analyses of occupational mobility not only by having a more specific focus, but also by making greater use of survey data and the re-analysis of the raw census data. An early example is Victor Tokman and Paulo Souza (eds.), *El empleo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), which brings together a series of articles emphasizing the growing heterogeneity of labour markets and occupational structures in Latin America. PREALC's *Mercado de trabajo*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

en cifras, 1950–1980 (Santiago, Chile, 1982) brings together a comprehensive set of data on labour market trends for the 1980s. The most detailed analysis, though based on one country, of the evolution of labour markets is Brigida García's account of changes in Mexican labour markets, both at the national and regional level: *Desarrollo económico y absorción de la fuerza de trabajo en México, 1950–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1988).

New themes emerge, such as the increase in female labour force participation. Useful analyses for the whole of Latin America are Edith Pantelides, *Estudio de la población feminina economicamente activa en América Latina, 1950–1970* (Buenos Aires, 1976) and Elizabeth Jelín, *La mujer y el mercado de trabajo urbano,* Estudios CEDES (Buenos Aires, 1979). One of CEPAL's working documents (LC-R.504), *América Latina: Las mujeres y los cambios socio-ocupacionales, 60–80* (Santiago, Chile) details the occupational changes for women brought by their increasing labour-force participation. Good analyses exist of these changes for individual countries such as, for Argentina, Zulma Recchini de Lattes, *Dinámica de la fuerza de trabajo feminina en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1983); for Brazil, Cristina Bruschini, *Tendências da força de trabalho feminina brasileira nos anos setenta e oitenta* (São Paulo, 1989); and, for Mexico, Orlandina de Oliveira and Brigida García, 'Expansión del trabajo feminino y transformación social en México: 1950–87', in *La sociedad mexicana en el umbral del milenio* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). Accompanying this interest in the general changes in female labour force participation was one in the forms of work that women did. John Humphrey's study of women workers in a Brazilian plant, *Gender and Work in the Third World: Sexual Divisions in Brazilian Industry* (London, 1987), showed both how women were undertaking new types of skilled work, and how the jobs that women did were devalued in comparison to those of men.

An increasing preoccupation in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly of PREALC (the International Labour Office's Latin American branch), is with the so-called informal economy. PREALC's concern has been with the consequences of the growth of micro-enterprise (defined to include the self-employed) for urban poverty in Latin America. PREALC's analyses have tended to rely on census data and urban employment surveys. Consequently, the findings concentrate on the individual characteristics of those in the informal economy and pay less attention to the organization of enterprises and their linkages with the rest of the economy. Good examples of PREALC's approach and analyses are Victor Tokman, 'El sector informal: Quince años después', *TE,* 215 (1987), 513–36, and two vol-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

umes published in 1990: *Urbanización y sector informal en América Latina, 60–80* (Santiago, Chile) and *Empleo en América Latina y la heterogeneidad del sector informal* (Santiago, Chile). Case studies of the workings of informal enterprises and of their linkages to the rest of the economy are found in Ray Bromley, *Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities* (Chichester, Eng., 1979) and in Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren Benton, *The Informal Economy* (Baltimore, 1989). A valuable set of studies comparing the informal sector in five of the Central American countries is Juan-Pablo Pérez Sainz and Rafael Menjívar, *Informalidad urbana en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1991). These studies combine survey data with case material on micro-enterprises to provide an overview of the impact of the economic and political crises of the 1980s on the Central American urban economies.

Since labour markets depend both on the structure of demand and on that of supply, their analysis links research on class structures and social mobility to changes in the organization of industry and the services. Fernando Fajnzylber, *La industrialización trunca de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1983) points to the changes that followed the ending of the import-substitution model of industrialization as some Latin American countries sought to develop export industrialization, while others stagnated as they failed to find a new niche. Since the new industries and the services linked to them have specific labour requirements, and since they often have a pronounced regional location, they are likely to increase the heterogeneity of the class structure, both within countries and between countries.

URBAN POVERTY AND HOUSEHOLD STRATEGIES

Though the Latin American cities of the 1930s and 1940s contained considerable numbers of poor people, urban poverty did not become an issue for analysis and policy until the 1950s, and a major issue only in the 1970s and particularly in the 1980s (as a result of the economic crisis). In the earlier period, the major social problems of the cities tended to be seen as resulting from the mass migration of an unacculturated rural population. Indeed, what was to become one of the major influences on poverty research, Oscar Lewis's various studies of poor families in Mexico City and in San Juan (Puerto Rico), originated in a preoccupation with the adjustment of rural migrants to the city. The 'culture of poverty' thesis, as developed in such works as *Children of Sánchez* (New York, 1961) and *La Vida* (New York, 1966) emphasized the fatalism of the poor and their

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

social and economic marginality. These themes became prominent in the work of Chilean sociologists who described the spatial as well as the social isolation of the poor in Santiago de Chile, living in irregular settlements without urban services or adequate housing. See, for example, Roger Vekemans and Jorge Giusti, 'Marginality and ideology in Latin American development,' *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 5 (1969–70). These studies of the 1950s and early 1960s tended to emphasize the incapacity of the poor to help themselves. This was challenged by an increasing number of studies in the 1960s that documented the various strategies that poor people used to overcome their poverty. In a series of articles, for example, 'Housing settlement types, arrangements for living, proletarianization and the social structure of the city', in Wayne Cornelius and Felicity Trueblood (eds.), *Latin American Urban Research* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974), Anthony Leeds showed the ways in which the poor helped build the Latin American cities of the 1960s through land invasion, self-constructed housing and small-scale economic enterprise. The theme was elaborated by William Mangin, 'Latin American squatter settlements: A problem and a solution', *LARR*, 2/3 (1967), 65–95 and for Peru by José Matos Mar, *Urbanización y barriadas en América del Sur* (Lima, 1968). In the 1960s, there were a series of city studies of poverty based on intensive case studies of urban neighborhoods. The titles of these studies are indicative of the emphasis on the active role of people and their networks in coping with urban life: see, for example, Teodor Caplow's and Sheldon Stryker's study of San Juan, Puerto Rico, *The Urban Ambience* (Totowa, N.J., 1964), Lisa Peattie's study of Ciudad Guyana, *The View from the Barrio* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), Bryan Roberts's study of Guatemala City, *Organizing Strangers* (Austin, Tex., 1973), Janice Perlman's study of Rio de Janeiro, *The Myth of Marginality* (Berkeley, 1976), and Larissa Lomnitz's study of Mexico City, *Networks and Marginality* (New York, 1977).

In the 1970s and 1980s, studies of poverty focussed increasingly on working-class households and their wider relationships. Comparisons with households from other social classes became more common in the 1980s as one means to assess the impact of the economic crisis of these years on the different sectors of the urban population. These studies have often combined survey data with ethnographic materials to explore household organization over the household life cycle. They have focused on the economic contributions made by different household members and the tensions, as well as solidarities, created by the need to combine forces in face of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

economic difficulty. A general review is provided by Marianne Schmink, 'Household economic strategies: Review and research agenda', *LARR,* 19/3 (1983), 87–101. A useful study for Chile is Dagmar Raczynski and Claudia Serrano, *Mujer y familia en un sector popular urbano* (Santiago, Chile, 1984), which looks particularly at strategies in the face of unemployment. Brígida García, Humberto Muñoz and Orlandina de Oliveira compare family strategies in two Brazilian cities, one from the center-south, São José dos Campos, and one from the north-east, Recife, in *Familia y mercado de trabajo* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Elisabete Bilac, *Famílias de trabalhadores* (São Paulo, 1978) looked at the difference between middle- and working-class families in São Paulo. Elizabeth Jelín and María del Carmen Feijóo, *Trabajo y familia en el ciclo de vida feminina,* Estudios CEDES (Buenos Aires, 1978) looked at the daily life of working-class families in Buenos Aires and their survival strategies over a period of three years. In Mexico, a series of studies have tried to look at changes over time, whether by re-interviewing the same families at different moments, by taking comparable samples at different times, or by using life histories to reconstruct patterns of change. Mercedes Gonzalez de la Rocha, *Recursos de la pobreza* (Guadalajara, 1986) begins the analysis of poor families in Guadalajara, Mexico, at the high point of Mexico's economic boom, and she follows the same families through the crisis years of the 1980s. Henry Selby, Arthur Murphy, and Stephen Lorenzen, *The Mexican Urban Household* (Austin, Tex., 1990) provide a view of the household economy in several Mexican cities in the 1970s and look at the situation in one of these cities, Oaxaca, in the 1980s. In a study of Querétaro in 1982 and in 1988 and of Puerto Vallarta and León in 1988, Sylvia Chant, *Women and Survival in Mexican Cities* (Manchester, 1991), compares the family structure and coping strategies of low-income households, examining the ways in which different types of family (single parent, nuclear, extended) make life easier (or otherwise) for the adult woman.

URBAN ECOLOGY

There was an early interest in the urban ecology of Latin America, reflecting in part studies made in the United States. Thus in the 1940s and 1950s there were several studies of the spatial organization of large Latin American cities. See, for example, Teodor Caplow, 'The social ecology of Guatemala City', *Social Forces,* 28/2 (1949), which emphasized the 'traditional' pattern of spatial organization with the major governmental and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

commercial functions, as well as elite housing, located in the center of the city. Ruben Reina's *Paraná* (Austin, Tex., 1973) followed this emphasis, stressing the relatively clear spatial segregation of the different social sectors in Paraná, Argentina.

The studies of the 1970s and 1980s tended to link spatial organization with the peculiar pattern of economic development in the region, emphasizing the over-concentration in the largest cities. John Friedman's studies in Chile and Venezuela, *Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) and *Urban and Regional Development in Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1969), argued for the construction of regional growth poles. In his later studies, such as *Life Space and Economic Space* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), Friedman was more pessimistic about regional planning in the face of capitalist development in Latin America. He pointed to the huge imbalances created by the economic growth of the 1970s and the urgent need to decentralize urban political and economic systems.

The concern with these imbalances led to an interest in the 1970s and 1980s in the phenomenon of intermediate cities. Jorge Hardoy and David Satterthwaite, *Small and Intermediate Urban Centres* (London, 1986) provide data showing the increasing importance of intermediate centres relative to the large metropolises, while Thompson Andrade documents the diversification of the Brazilian urban system in *Sistema urbano e cidades médias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). Another set of small and intermediate urban centers that have been relatively neglected in research are the cities of the Caribbean and Central America. Useful data on these cities for the period from the 1960s onwards are given in the two volumes edited by Alejandro Portes and Mario Lungo, *Urbanización en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1992) and *Urbanización en el Caribe* (San José, C.R., 1992).

While the studies of urban neighborhoods reviewed in the previous section provide rich ethnographic data on the nature of urban life, they do not give an overall picture of the dynamics of urban spatial organization and the factors shaping that organization. Alan Gilbert and Peter Ward, *Housing, the State and the Poor* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988) provides such a picture for Colombia and Mexico in the 1970s and early 1980s, showing the way that the urban land market brings even squatter settlements into its orbit. Raquel Rolnik, Lúcio Kowarick and Nadia Somekh, *São Paulo: Crise e mudança* (São Paulo, 1991), brings together an impressive set of data describing the changes in São Paulo's spatial organization in the 1980s, and its implications for the distribution of poverty. A comparative

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

review of urban development and urban poverty is given in Matthew Edel and Ronald Hellman (eds.), *Cities in Crisis: The Urban Challenge in the Americas* (New York, 1989).

The social actors responsible for changing urban space – squatters, construction companies, land developers, and the state – feature in Marta Schteingart's analysis of the chaotic construction of Mexico City: *Los productores del espacio habitable* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). The logic that attends this disorder – that of a poorly regulated and uneven capitalist development – is described in Lucio Kowarick, *A espoliação urbana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), concentrating mainly on the case of São Paulo.

The importance of the state in regulating – or not regulating – urban development is the theme of several volumes: Gustavo Garza and Marta Schteingart, *La acción habitacional del estado en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) reviews housing policies in Mexico since the 1960s; Oscar Yujnovsky provides an overview of Argentine government policies on housing since the 1940s in *Claves políticas del problema habitacional argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1984); Gil Shidlo, *Social Policy in a Non-Democratic Regime* (Boulder, Colo., 1990) concentrates on the various forms of state subsidy for housing in Brazil, and how these subsidies rarely reach the poorest sectors of the urban population. The close relationship between urban spatial organization, poor physical infrastructure, and social deprivation that has emerged as a result of the rapid growth of Latin America's cities is explored in Peter Ward's *Mexico City* (London, 1990). Claude Bataillon and Louis Panabière provide a somewhat different perspective of the same city, exploring urban symbolism, customs and the culture of the different zones in *Mexico aujourd'hui: La plus grande ville du monde* (Paris, 1988). One account that combines ethnographic data and other data to provide a general account of a city's development and of its spatial and social organization is Leo Despres, *Manaus* (Albany, N.Y., 1991).

URBAN POLITICS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

There have been relatively few studies that focus specifically on the urban politics of Latin America. The studies of Germani, Di Tella, and Imaz, mentioned above, focus on urban politics in Argentina, but their aim is to illuminate the general process of political change. Wayne Cornelius, *Politics and the Migrant Poor in Mexico City* (Stanford, Calif., 1975) was one of the first to use specifically urban variables – in his case, the legality of neighborhoods – to understand the pattern of urban politics. His empha-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sis on the vertical relationships of patronage and clientelism that structure urban politics is echoed and extended in David Collier's *Squatters and Oligarchs* (Baltimore, 1973), which examines the underpinnings of authoritarian rule in Peru. For Mexico, Jorge Alonso brings together a collection of papers on social movements in the metropolitan area of Mexico City, *Los movimientos sociales en el Valle de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), and Jorge Montaño, *Los pobres de la ciudad en los asentamientos espontáneos* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) provides an account of urban social movements in Monterrey. Ernesto Pastrana and Monica Threlfall, *Pan, techo y poder: El movimiento de pobladores en Chile (1970–1973)* (Buenos Aires, 1974) examines the different strategies used by political parties in Chile to secure the support of low-income urban inhabitants, such as clientelism, incorporation, and grass-roots mobilization, and show the limitations of each up to the military coup of 1973. The Chilean urban movements are re-evaluated in Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots* (London, 1983), which provides an overview of what Castells calls the social basis of urban populism, using cases of urban movements of the 1970s in Lima and Mexico City as well as Santiago, Chile.

6. AGRARIAN STRUCTURES

There are few detailed historical studies of changes in the agrarian structure in the period. There are exceptions, but these are case studies of local-level processes. One of these exceptions in Luis González, *Pueblo en Vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico, D.F., 1972); Eng. trans., *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, Tex., 1974), a careful reconstruction of social and economic change in the Mexican historian's home town, which is the centre of a mainly ranching economy in the west of Mexico. A useful historical account, written by an anthropologist, again for Mexico and for a ranching economy, is Frans Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Petty Bourgeoisie in Twentieth Century Mexico* (Toronto, 1980), which traces political and social change up to the late 1970s. Gavin Smith's *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru* (Berkeley, 1989) is also written by an anthropologist, and provides a detailed historical study of the struggles of one community for land from 1850 to the mid-1970s, showing how changes in livelihood affected political action and consciousness. For Brazil, Verena Stolcke's

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives (New York, 1988) gives a history of the labour system on the São Paulo coffee plantations from 1850 to 1980 as it passed from slavery to forms of share-cropping to casual wage labour.

Reconstructing the history of rural change in Latin America since 1930 depends on three major sources. First are the population and agricultural censuses for individual countries. These become more generally available from the 1950s onwards, though some countries, such as Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, have agricultural censuses from the turn of the century. Second are the mainly anthropological studies of local communities in Latin America, of which there are relatively few in the 1930s and 1940s, though they increase rapidly in number from the 1950s onwards. Third are surveys of rural conditions sponsored by government or international agencies, which become more frequent as international aid programmes expand, especially in the 1960s.

THE 1930S TO THE 1950S

The anthropological studies of the 1930s and 1940s sought to document the nature of indigenous rural society in Latin America. The anthropologists were mainly North American and were influenced by the ethnographic and functionalist traditions first developed in studies of Africa and Asia. In Latin America, they adapted their approach to take into account the greater market and urban involvement of rural populations, but still tended to choose field locations in what appeared to be relatively isolated areas with a strong indigenous culture. A classic example is Robert Redfield's study of *Tepotzlán* (Chicago, 1930) which, in the 1920s, was a village of mainly Nahuatl-speaking Indians in the Mexican state of Morelos. *The Handbook of South American Indians,* 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1946–50) edited by Julian Steward, documents the diversity of rural cultures through various ethnographic reports.

The 1940s also saw a series of surveys of agriculture and agricultural populations often instigated by U.S. government agencies concerned with hemispheric resources and security. Carl Taylor's survey of rural Argentina, *Rural Life in Argentina* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948), George McBride's studies in Mexico, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923), and Chile, *Chile, Land and Society* (New York, 1936), and Harry Tschopik's review of highland Peru, *Highland Communities of Central Peru* (Washington, D.C., 1947) are examples of these studies. The U.S. government also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sponsored a series of studies of particular production sectors: for example, Walter McCreery and Mary Bynum, *The Coffee Industry in Brazil* (Washington, D.C., 1930). Taylor's *Rural Life in Argentina* is particularly valuable since he describes one of the most advanced agricultural economies of its day. His review of small- and large-scale commercial farming enterprises and of the market town system that serviced them is a useful counterpoint to the studies elsewhere in Latin America of peasant communities and traditional estates.

The 1950s saw an upsurge in community studies that addressed more directly than had been the case for earlier studies the issues of social and economic change brought about by the increasing integration of the peasant community into the national economy and polity. Many of these studies were carried out by North American anthropologists and sociologists, but there was an increasing presence of Latin American social scientists. In Mexico, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán explored the dilemmas facing the Indian population in a modernizing economy in *El proceso de aculturación* (Mexico, D.F., 1957) and *Regiones de refugio* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). Oscar Lewis's restudy of Tepotztlán, *Life in a Mexican Village* (Urbana, Ill., 1951) questions Redfield's emphasis on community cohesion and homogeneity through a detailed ethnography of the village economy and its external links. Lewis also uses archival materials to demonstrate the degree of conflict and social division present in the village when Redfield was undertaking his research there. George Foster began, in this period, his long involvement with a Tarascan community in the state of Michoacán, reported in *Tzintzuntzan* (Boston, 1967), in which he explored the atomism and competitive individualism of peasant society. The presence of a significant Indian population in the Chiapas area of Mexico and in Guatemala ensured that peasant communities in this region were well documented by anthropologists. Most of these were village community studies, such as Ricardo Pozas, *Chamula* (Mexico, D.F., 1959) or John Gillin, *San Luis Jilotepeque* (Guatemala City, 1958), but they included Manning Nash's study of the impact of industrialization on an Indian village community: *Machine Age Maya* (Menasha, Wis., 1958).

The exploration of the impact of broader social changes on the local community and its relationships is the focus of Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Social Classes in Agrarian Societies* (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), in which he reports his own studies of ethnic relations in the Chiapas area of Mexico and reviews the Mesoamerican literature on ethnicity. Race and ethnicity is also an important theme of rural studies in Brazil in this period. Charles

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (Paris, 1952) is one source, as is Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York, 1964).

In Peru, the focus on community development became paramount. Allan Holmberg and his Cornell collaborators conducted a series of studies in and around the highland settlement of Vicos, documenting the ways in which traditional *haciendas* could be transformed into co-operative peasant enterprises; see *Vicos: Método y práctica de antropología aplicada* (Lima, 1966). This exercise in applied social change was subsequently reviewed by Henry Dobyns, Paul Doughty and Harold Lasswell in *Peasants, Power and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model* (New York, 1971) and by George Stein, *Countrymen and Townsmen in the Callejón de Huaylas, Peru* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1974). A similar emphasis on the possibilities of peasant co-operation and modernization in Peru is found in studies of the same period by Richard Adams, *A Community in the Andes* (Seattle, 1959), José Maria Argüedas, 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima, 1957), Oscar Núñez del Prado, *Kuyo Chico* (Chicago, 1973), and Gabriel Escobar, *Sicaya* (Lima, 1973). Other countries of Latin America are less well documented in this period, but there are important exceptions. Orlando Fals-Borda, *Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes* (Gainesville, Fla., 1955) provides an account of the social and economic roots of land conflict in Colombia. In *The People of Puerto Rico* (Urbana, Ill., 1956) Julian Steward, Robert Manners, Eric Wolf, Elena Padilla, Sidney Mintz and Raymon Scheel document the diversity of rural social organization, linked to peasant cultivation and plantation agriculture.

THE 1960S TO THE 1980S

In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s research on rural communities increasingly concentrated on the impact of urbanization and rural-to-urban migration. Population increase, the rapid growth of the cities, and their demand for food and labour drew attention to the diminishing capacity of village agriculture to retain population and to produce for the urban market. Micro-studies of village agriculture were no longer only the domain of anthropologists, but attracted agronomists, economists, geographers and political scientists. Government and international agencies themselves conducted local-level studies.

The community-study tradition continued, strengthened by the emergence in several Latin American countries of research institutes committed to the study of rural change. In Peru, the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

carried out a series of village studies whose focus was migration, economic diversification and social mobility: see, for example, Fernando Fuenzalida, J. Villaran, T. Valiente, and J. Golte, *Estructuras tradicionales y economía de mercado: La comunidad de indígenas de Huayopampa* (Lima, 1968), and Giorgio Alberti and Rodrigo Sanchez, *Poder y conflicto social en el Valle del Mantaro* (Lima, 1974). In Mexico, the founding of a national research center for social anthropology (first CISINAH, then CIESAS) under the leadership of Angel Palerm, himself the author of *Agricultura y sociedad en Meso-America* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), together with the continuing contribution of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, resulted in numerous studies of the dynamics of village life throughout the country. See, for example, Arturo Warman, *Y venimos a contradecir: Los campesinos de Morelos y el Estado Nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1976, Eng. trans., 1980), Guillermo Bonfil, *Cholula: La ciudad sagrada en la era industrial* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), and Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics and Ritual in the Morelos Highlands of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1981). Similar developments occurred elsewhere in Latin America. Thus, the understanding of change in the 1970s and onwards in Chile is aided by the monographic publications of the Grupo de Investigación Agraria, such as Rigoberto Rivera and Maria E. Cruz, *Pobladores rurales* (Santiago, Chile, 1984). In Brazil, the group of researchers based at the Museo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro undertook studies of change among the peasantry and the complex articulations of peasant economy and the wider capitalist economies. An example is Lydia Sigaud, *Os Clandestinos e os Direitos: Estudo sobre trabalhadores da caña de açucar en Pernambuco* (São Paulo, 1979). The founding of the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social (CERES), based in La Paz and Cochabamba, Bolivia, furthered rural research through numerous publications such as *Bolivia: La fuerza histórica del campesinado,* edited by Fernando Calderón and Jorge Dandler (La Paz, 1984).

North American scholars continued to contribute to the community-study tradition. See, for example, Evon Vogt, *Zinacantan: A Maya Community in the Highlands of Chiapas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), Frank Cancian, *Change and Uncertainty in a Peasant Economy* (Stanford, Calif., 1972), and George Collier, *Fields of the Tzotzli* (Austin, Tex., 1975). Benjamin Orlove and Glynn Custred (eds.), *Land and Power in Latin America* (New York, 1980) provides a re-evaluation of the utility of the community/hacienda dichotomy.

There was also a growing interest in regional studies which sought to understand peasant organization and livelihoods in terms of a wider re-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

gional economy. For Brazil, Shepard Forman, *The Brazilian Peasantry* (New York, 1975) documents the survival of peasant farming in particular regional contexts, looking at marketing systems and state intervention. An interesting collection of studies with a regional focus is Carol Smith's edited volumes, *Regional Analysis, Vol. 1 & 2* (New York, 1976), which discuss several Latin American cases, including Smith's own work on regional marketing in Guatemala and Gordon Appleby's on export monoculture and regional social structure in Puno, Peru. This theme is developed by Benjamin Orlove in *Alpacas, Sheep and Men: The Wool Export Economy and Regional Society in Southern Peru* (New York, 1977), and in Norman Long and Bryan Roberts, *Miners, Peasants and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984).

An increasingly important theme is how the peasantry survives economically in face of the increasing commercialization of agriculture from the 1960s onwards. Eduardo Archetti and Kristi Anne Stølen, *Explotación familiar y acumulación de capital en el campo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1975), provide a valuable account of what happened in the 1960s to the family farm in Argentina. The transformation of the peasant economy through cash-crop production, in this case coffee, is the central theme of William Roseberry, *Coffee and Capitalism in the Venezuelan Andes* (Austin, Tex., 1983). Likewise, Stephen Gudeman, *The Demise of a Rural Economy* (London, 1978) documents how the involvement of peasant farmers in sugar production in Panama gradually undermined their self-sufficiency. The articulation of the village economy with large-scale commercial production and its negative consequences for the viability of traditional crafts is the theme of Scott Cook, *Zapotec Stoneworkers: The Dynamics of Rural Simple Commodity Production in Modern Mexican Capitalism* (Washington, D.C., 1982), a study of the Oaxaca region of Mexico.

In an interesting study of a Peruvian highland community, spanning a twenty-year period, William Mitchell, *Peasants on the Edge* (Austin, Tex., 1991) documents the increasing diversification of the village economy. Out-migration is a fundamental means of livelihood as population increase decreases the amount of arable land while the cost of agricultural inputs rises, and government price controls, aimed at subsidizing urban consumption, further reduced the gains from farming. Diversification and dependence on out-migration is also the theme of Julian Laite, *Industrial Development and Migrant Labour* (Manchester, Eng., 1981), a study of the interdependence of the Peruvian highland village economy

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and the mining sector and its partly negative consequences for agricultural development. Jane Collins, *Unseasonal Migrations: The Effects of Rural Labor Scarcity in Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1988) further documents the negative effects of temporary migration on food production in the highlands of Peru. In this case, the cash crop, coffee, which is the reason for the migration, offers only limited possibilities due to soil exhaustion and market prices.

The limits on the development of peasant farming, despite the various government and international programmes to foster it from the 1960s onwards, is brought out in two notable studies, both on Peru, by economists using village-level data. José María Caballero, *Economía agraria de la sierra peruana* (Lima, 1981) provides an account of the agrarian structures of Peru up to the agrarian reform of 1969. Alberto Figueroa, *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984) provides village data on consumption, production and migrant labour for the 1970s, showing the considerable extent to which even remote highland villages were embedded in commodity exchange and the wage economy.

The increasing importance of internal migrations is reflected in various studies of the processes which result in people leaving the village, and which tie them permanently or semi-permanently to their urban destinations. For Peru, a general overview of migration is provided by Hector Martínez, *Migraciones internas en el Perú* (Lima, 1980). David Preston, *Farmers and Towns: Rural–Urban Relations in Highland Bolivia* (Norwich, Eng., 1978) has documented the factors influencing rural–urban and rural–rural migration in Bolivia. Robert Kemper, *Campesinos en la ciudad: Gente de Tzintzuntzan* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) followed migrants from the village studied by George Foster to Mexico City, documenting the types of people who left and the niches they occupied in the Mexico City economy. In Peru, Teófilo Altamirano, *Presencia andina en Lima metropolitana* (Lima, 1984) explores the networks between central highland villages and their migrants in Lima, contrasting migrants from a poor ex-*hacienda* zone with migrants from a relatively rich peasant small-holder zone.

The forces leading to internal migration also result in substantial international migration. Scott Whiteford, *Workers from the North: Plantations, Bolivian Labor and the City in North-West Argentina* (Austin, Tex., 1981) describes the migration patterns of Bolivian peasants to the sugar-producing region of Salta in Argentina, and how the migrant household organizes its resources to survive in the slack periods of labour demand. Perhaps the most complete study of the international migration process is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Douglas Massey, Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand and Hector González, *Return to Aztlán* (Berkeley, 1987). Four sending communities in Mexico are studied, two urban, two rural, as is one major receiving community, Los Angeles. In the two village communities, access to land is a determining factor in who migrates, but migration has become a permanent feature of life and work careers at the village level. Social networks channel migrants to Los Angeles, and the strength of the links there, over time, result in permanent residence.

AGRARIAN STRUCTURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

In 1930, the agrarian structures of Latin America were still mainly characterized by markedly unequal access to land, and by the use of land monopolies to control labour. In the centuries-old struggle between peasants and landlords, the peasant sought enough land to avoid dependence on the landlord, and the landlord sought to ensure that dependence by control of land and other resources. This struggle took different forms depending on the particular system of production – for example, *hacienda,* plantation, or tenant farming – and the relative political strength of landowners. See, in particular, Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977), a collection of essays that covers different historical periods and provides a typology of land-holding systems present in Latin America by the early twentieth century.

Even in Mexico, where agrarian reform had been initiated by the Mexican Revolution of 1910, control over land continued to be a major issue in the 1930s. David Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido* (Stanford, Calif., 1973) describes the ways in which the peasants who were given control of sugarcane land as *ejidatorios* in the state of Morelos still remained dependent on the processing monopoly maintained by the privately owned sugar refinery. Agrarian reform was slow in Mexico, with substantial delays in the granting of titles, as documented in Guillermo de la Peña, *Legacy of Promises*. The *ejido* was usually divided into individual plots that were given in usufruct to households, and were often insufficient in size and soil quality to provide an adequate income. Collective *ejidos* were established, especially under the administration of Cardenas (1934–40), but they also faced difficulties arising out of insufficient capital, competition from private landholders, and the power exercised by traders and government intermediaries. Their history is documented in Susana Glantz, *El ejido colectivo de Nueva Italia* (Mexico, D.F., 1974),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Tomás Martínez Saldaña, *El costo social de un éxito político: La política expansionista del estado mexicano en el agro lagunero* (Chapingo, Mex., 1980), and Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, *The Modernization of Mexican Agriculture: Socio-economic Implications of Technological Change, 1940–1970* (Geneva, 1976).

In Peru the polarization between hacienda and peasant community was viewed by many in the 1930s as the major obstacle to economic and political progress. The socialist writer José Carlos Mariátegui, in *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima, 1928) argued the case for strengthening community organization as the basis for a collective agriculture to replace the hacienda system.

In those parts of Latin America where land was being brought into production for the first time – the typical frontier scenario – the hacienda–community conflict was absent. The settlement of the coffee lands of São Paulo attracted large numbers of immigrants from Europe, as described by Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo* (Austin, Tex., 1969). A contrast emerged between the 'old' and 'new' West of São Paulo where, as Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980) shows, large landowners were unable to exercise a monopoly over resources, permitting a certain degree of economic mobility for immigrant farmers.

The major pressures for land reform in Latin America were felt mainly in those areas where unequal access to land was exacerbated by increasing demographic growth and changes in economic opportunities. This encouraged both landowners and peasants to engage in more intensive forms of cultivation. In the 1950's both the pressures and the opportunities increased. Urbanization created a demand for foodstuffs, while the renewal of world trade following the Second World War continued the demand for export crops. Also in this period there was mounting international pressure on Latin American governments to modernize their economic structures. The generally 'archaic' agrarian structure of Latin America was identified by the Economic Commission for Latin America in *Development Problems in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 1969) as a major obstacle to economic development. The issue of agrarian reform was made more complex in this period by new technologies that encouraged direct production rather than sharecropping, and favored medium-scale but intensively farmed enterprises. The central argument of Alain de Janvry, *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1981) is that the pace and nature of the agrarian reform process re-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sponded to the specific constraints on, and opportunities for, capital accumulation in agriculture in Latin America.

In some countries, such as Brazil, agrarian reform did not take place since capital accumulation could be furthered by geographical expansion rather than structural and technological reform, as Joe Foweraker shows in *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981). In three Latin American countries, however, major agrarian reforms were enacted after 1950 that effectively eliminated the large landed estate. Bolivia was the first to enact agrarian reform in 1952 after armed struggle by peasant groups. This is documented in David Heath, John C. Erasmus and Hans C. Buechler, *Land Reform and Social Revolution in Bolivia* (New York, 1969). In 1969 a reform-oriented military government in Peru initiated a far-reaching agrarian reform that transformed the large estates into production co-operatives and encouraged peasant communities to establish farming. Various commentators have provided a critical appraisal of the reform, indicating its drawbacks for the peasant producer. See, for example, José María Caballero, *Agricultura, reforma agraria y pobreza campesina* (Lima, 1980), Cynthia McClintock, *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), and David Horton, *Land Reform and Reform Enterprises in Peru* (Madison, Wis., 1974). In Chile, the Christian Democrat government of Eduardo Frei initiated agrarian reform in 1967. This was subsequently extended under the presidency of Salvador Allende so that at the time of the coup d'état of 1973, 43 per cent of land was in the reform sector. An evaluation of these processes is found in David Lehmann (ed.), *Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Reformism* (London, 1974) and in Cristobal Kay, 'Chilean agrarian reform', *América Latina*, 17 (1976). The most recent experiment in agrarian reform is that of Nicaragua following the Revolution of 1979. The evaluations of this reform are as of yet provisional. Carmen Deere, R. Marchetti, and N. Reinhardt, 'The peasantry and the development of Sandinista agrarian policy, 1979–1984', *LARR*, 20/3 (1985), 75–109 provide an evaluation up to the mid-1980s, and Laura Enríquez, *Harvesting Change* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), takes the analysis to 1990 and examines the impact of the reform on the export agricultural sector. This sector had hitherto relied on a ready supply of cheap peasant labour, which became less readily available, partly because of the *Contra* war, and partly because of the improved opportunities for peasant farming, especially in co-operatives.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

STATE INTERVENTION AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

There was a substantial foreign presence in agriculture in the 1930s. This mainly took the form of direct investment in export crops, such as sugar, coffee and tropical fruits. An interesting account of this kind of foreign investment and its vicissitudes over time is provided by Philippe Bourgeois in his account of the United Fruit Company: *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation* (Baltimore, 1989).

In this early period, the state in Latin America was mainly a bystander in the drive to modernize agriculture. It provided some infrastructure and policing for the export zones, but was not involved directly in promoting agricultural development. This role had changed substantially by the 1960s. International agencies and foreign governments, particularly that of the United States, exerted pressure on Latin American governments to develop their agricultural resources. Financial and technical aid was channelled through Latin American governments, and these, in turn, began to create agricultural development programmes. The development of a state agricultural bureaucracy is illustrated in Merilee S. Grindle (ed.), *The Politics and Policy of Implementation* (Princeton, N.J., 1980) and in a case study by Grindle, *Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Peasants in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1977), which shows how central control over agricultural production introduces bureaucratic politics into the management of agriculture. This argument is further developed in Martínez Saldaña, *El costo social de un éxito político,* cited above. The extension of bureaucratic management of agriculture raises the issue of the interface between peasant producers and government agencies. Norman Long (ed.), *Encounters at the Interface: A Perspective on Social Discontinuities in Rural Development* (Wageningen, Neth., 1989) explores the difficulties of implementing central policies in face of the resistance both of lower-level bureaucrats and of the various rural interest groups to whom they have to accommodate. The extension of government development agencies has also been considerable in Brazil. Stephen Bunker, *Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange and the Failure of the Modern State* (Urbana, Ill., 1985) explores the internal and external conflicts that beset the vast agency SUDAM, as it seeks to control Amazonian development. Antonio Medeiros documents the massive expansion of state employment in the agricultural bureaucracy between 1964 and 1982 in *Politics and Intergovernmental Relations in Brazil* (New York, 1986).

Foreign investment in agriculture also began to change from the 1960s

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

onwards. Though many of the old export crops remained attractive sources of investment, new opportunities emerged. These were in new export crops such as soybeans or seasonal fruits and vegetables, in the provision of agricultural inputs such as machinery, fertilizer and insecticide, and in the production of industrialized foodstuffs and dairy products for the internal urban market. One of the first accounts of the changing international market for foodstuffs and its consequences for local producers in Latin America is Ernest Feder, *Strawberry Imperialism* (The Hague, 1977). A more complete account of the consolidation of a world market for foodstuffs and its implications for Latin America can be found in S. E. Sanderson, *The Transformation of Mexican Agriculture: International Structure and the Politics of Rural Change* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), and Sanderson (ed.), *The Americas in the New International Division of Labor* (New York, 1985).

Though in the 1960s and 1970s the state played a leading role in providing the institutional means for agricultural development, by the 1980s fiscal pressures seriously limited the state's capacity to intervene in the agricultural sector. The internationalization of agriculture and its dependence on new investment and technology resulted in direct linkages between foreign and local capital and the producer, marginalizing the state. There was an increasing reliance on market mechanisms for promoting agricultural development, as in the 1991 decree privatizing the key unit of the Mexican agrarian reform, the *ejido*.

By 1990, the major issue promoting state intervention in agriculture was the environmental issue. Strong pressures from international agencies, foreign governments, and non-governmental organizations, through such mechanisms as debt swaps, led to a reassertion of the need for government intervention in agriculture. David Goodman and Michael Redclift (eds.), *Environment and Development in Latin America: The Politics of Sustainability* (Manchester, Eng., 1991) reviews the increasing ecological vulnerability of Latin America, the erosion of the possibilities of sustainable development, and the need for state intervention. A useful review of the question of sustainable agriculture, and the role of outside agencies in this, is provided by Anthony Bebbington, 'Farmer knowledge, institutional resources and sustainable agricultural strategies,' *BLAR*, 9/2 (1990), 203–28.

The number of new actors involved in agricultural development in Latin America had multiplied to include not only national and local actors but also a variety of international actors, ranging from multinational corporations to United Nations agencies and non-governmental organiza-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tions concerned with ecological issues and with the problem of devising sustainable development strategies. The complex play of forces at work is documented in Marianne Schmink and Charles Wood, *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia* (New York, 1992), which depicts a continuing competition for resources among actors of widely different powers and interests: state agencies, ranchers, goldminers, rubber tappers, Indians, small-scale farmers, and large corporations. In this competition, no actor, not even the state, triumphs; even the relatively powerless are able to mobilize sufficient outside help to offset their weaknesses.

Amazonia is exceptional in the amount of outside interest it evokes, with previously ignored groups such as Amazonian Indians becoming the centre of international attention. Nevertheless, the Amazonia case highlights the uncertainties that the changing international context brings to agrarian development in Latin America, as economic growth slows down, 'developmentalist' confidence wanes, and the traditional export crops decrease in importance relative to new ones and to the export of manufactures. Alternative models of development are few, as Philip O'Brien argues in his chapter on 'Debt and sustainable development' in Goodman and Redclift (eds.), *Environment and Development in Latin America*. But, although the international context, including the indebtedness of Latin American governments, clearly limits centralized development strategies, whether implemented by state or private interests, at the same time it creates space for many small-scale initiatives, as shown in Norman and Ann Long (eds.), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development* (London, 1992). These initiatives are carried out not only by small-scale producers, entrepreneurs and local groups but also by frontline development personnel, especially those working for the numerous non-government organizations that have sprung up over the past decade.

7. STATE ORGANIZATION

The literature potentially relevant to this topic is vast, but sprawling and unmanageable. Oscar Oszlak, 'The historical formation of the state in Latin America', *LARR*, 16/2 (1981), 3–32, is a useful start, but deals only with the nineteenth century, as does his monograph, *La formación del estado argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1990). The same is true of José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Political elites and state-building: The case of nineteenth-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

century Brazil', *CSSH*, 24 (1982), 378–99, and Fernando Urícoechea, *The Patrimonial Foundations of the Brazilian Bureaucratic State* (Berkeley, 1980). The main arguments of Claudio Véliz, *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1980) remain unpersuasive. Tulio Halperín-Donghi, *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America* (New York, 1973) is a useful antidote. See also Horst Pietschmann, *El estado y su evolución al principio de la colonización española de América* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); A. Annino et al., *America Latina: Dello stato coloniale allo stato nazione (1750–1940)*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1987); Oscar Oszlak, *Ensayos sobre la formación histórica del estado en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1981); and Arnaldo Córdova, 'Los orígenes del Estado en América Latina', Cuaderno 32, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Mexico, D.F., 1977). For paired comparisons of nineteenth-century Latin American state-building, see Hélgio Trindade, 'A construção do estado nacional na Argentina e no Brasil (1810–1900): Esboço de uma análise comparativa', *Dados*, 28/1 (1985); and Fernando Urícoechea, 'Formação e expansão do estado burocrático – patrimonial na Colombia e no Brasil', *Estudos CEBRAP*, 21 (1977). See also Steven Topik, 'The economic role of the state in Liberal regimes – Brazil and Mexico compared, 1888–1910', in Joseph L. Love and Nils Jacobsen (eds.), *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (New York, 1988).

More pertinent to contemporary history is Enzo Faletto, 'The specificity of the Latin American state', *CEPAL Review*, 38 (1989), 70–87, but it contains almost no empirical references. For a well-documented paired comparison focussing on the 1950s, see Kathryn Sikkink, 'Las capacidades y la autonomía del estado en Brasil y la Argentina: Un enfoque neo-institucionalista', *DE*, 32/128 (1993). For a more contemporary analysis, see Lourdes Sola, 'The state, structural reform and democratization in Brazil', in William C. Smith, Carlos H. Acuña and Eduardo A. Gamarra (eds.), *Democracy, Markets and Structural Reform in Latin America* (New York, 1993). On the economics of 'state shrinking', see Albert Fishlow, 'The Latin American state', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 4/3 (1990), 61–74, which also contains articles by Anne Krueger and others on 'governmental failure'. There are also two helpful articles in *CEPAL Review*, 46 (April 1992): David Felix, 'Privatizing and rolling back the Latin American state' and Antonio Martín del Campo and Donald R. Winkler, 'State-owned enterprise reform in Latin America'. The most widely quoted Latin American contribution to this literature is Hernando de Soto, *The Other*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Path (London, 1989). Far less well known than de Soto, but of at least equal interest, is José Matos Mar, *Crisis del estado y desborde popular* (Lima, 1984). From other perspectives it is interesting to compare William Canak, 'The peripheral state debate', *LARR*, 19/1 (1984) and Peter Evans, 'Predatory, developmental, and other apparatus: A comparative analysis of the Third World state', *Sociological Forum*, 4/4 (1989), and 'The State as problem and solution: Predation, embedded autonomy and structural change', in Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman (eds.), *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).

For a pioneering attempt at relevant comparative history of the state, see J. P. Deler and Y. Saint-Geours, *Estados y naciones en los Andes*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1986). See also Benjamin S. Orlove, Michael W. Foley and Thomas F. Love (eds.), *State, Capital, and Rural Society: Anthropological Perspectives on Political Economy in Mexico and the Andes* (Boulder, Colo., 1989) and Alain de Janvry, 'Peasants, capitalism and the state in Latin American culture', in T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Society*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1987). Two important contributions by Alfred Stepan deserve mention here: 'State power and the strength of civil society in the Southern Cone of Latin America', in Peter B. Evans et al., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985) and *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 1978). A starting point for the study of the contrasting state structures in Colombia and Peru is Rosemary Thorp, *Economic Management and Economic Development in Peru and Colombia* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1991).

The general comparative historical literature on the state is, of course, vast. Felix Gilbert (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (Oxford, 1975), in particular, deserves mention. See also John A. Hall (ed.), *States in History* (Oxford, 1988), Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State–Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), and Douglass North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York, 1981), Chapter 2, 'A neo-classical theory of the state'. For a convenient review of the general literature in English, see Theda Skocpol, 'Bringing the state back in: strategies of analysis in current research', in Evans et al., *Bringing the State Back In*. J. P. Nettl, 'The state as a conceptual variable', *World Politics*, 20 (1968) is a pioneering political science contribution. It is still worth reading Joseph Schumpeter, 'The crisis of the tax state', *International Economic Papers*, 4 (1954). Also recommended are John Hicks, *A Theory of Economic History* (Oxford, 1969) and Charles Tilly (ed.), *Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1975).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Most books and articles on Latin America with 'the state' in their titles fail to address either the theoretical or the historical issues of central concern for the period since 1930. Thus, Christian Anglade and Carlos Fortín (eds.), *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America,* 2 vols. (London, 1985 and 1990) contains a number of useful country studies and some bold efforts at comparison, but the emphasis is mainly on the mid-sixties to mid-eighties, and the focus is more on capital accumulation than on 'the state' as such. The major exceptions are single-country studies (see below) or analyses of specific isues, such as Adriana Marshall, *El empleo público frente a la crisis: Estudios sobre América Latina* (Geneva, 1990); Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Social Security in Latin America: Pressure Groups, Stratification and Inequality* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1978); Janet Kelly de Escobar (ed.), *Empresas del estado en América Latina* (Caracas, 1985); and Celso Garrido (ed.), *Empresarios y estado en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Region-wide statistical information on this topic is seldom available in useable form, despite the IMF's *Government Finance Statistics Yearbook,* although some useful comparative data can be gleaned from an attentive reading of Inter-American Developmental Bank and World Bank reports and the IMF *Staff Papers.* For example, useful tables can be found in Robert H. Floyd, Clive S. Gray and R. P. Short, *Public Enterprise in Mixed Economies* (Washington, D.C., 1984). Earlier contributions to this subject include Laurence Whitehead, 'Public sector finances', in Keith Griffin (ed.), *Financing Development in Latin America* (London, 1971) and E. V. K. Fitzgerald, 'Some aspects of the political economy of the Latin American state', *Development and Change,* 7/2 (1976). A recent contribution is Felipe Larraín and Marcelo Selowsky, *The Public Sector and the Latin American Crisis* (Washington, D.C., 1991). See also Thomas Scheetz, 'The evolution of public sector expenditures: Changing political priorities in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Peru', *Journal of Peace Research,* 29/2 (1992).

Relevant contributions on Brazil by Brazilians include Simon Schwartzman, 'Regional contrasts within a continental-scale state: Brazil', in S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Building States and Nations* (New York, 1973), vol. 2, and *São Paulo e o estado nacional* (São Paulo, 1975); Sônia Draibe, *Rumos e metamorfoses: Estado e industrialização no Brasil, 1930–60* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); Octavio Ianni, *Estado e planejamento econômico no Brasil* (1930–70) (Rio de Janeiro, 1971); Luciano Martins, *Estado capitalista e burocracia no Brasil pos-1964* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985). Among the many books in English, see Lawrence S. Graham, *Civil Service Reform in Brazil: Principles versus Practice* (Austin Tex., 1968); Steven Topik, *The Political*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889–1930 (Austin, Tex., 1987); Werner Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1989); John D. Wirth, *The Politics of Brazilian Development, 1930–64* (Stanford, Calif., 1970); Thomas J. Trebat, *Brazil's State-Owned Enterprises: A Case Study of the State as Entrepreneur* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); Stephen G. Bunker, *Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange and the Failure of the Modern State* (Chicago, 1985); Ben Ross Schneider, *Politics within the State: Elite Bureaucrats and Industrialisation Policy in Authoritarian Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1992). Relevant articles on Brazil include John D. French, 'The origin of corporatist state intervention in Brazilian industrial relations, 1930–34: A critique of the literature', *L-BR*, 28/2 (1991), 13–26; Barbara Weinstein, 'The industrialists, the state, and the issues of worker training and social services in Brazil, 1930–50', *HAHR*, 70/3, (1990); and Barbara Geddes, 'Building "State" autonomy in Brazil, 1930–64', *Comparative Politics*, 22/2 (1990). See also D. R. Dye and C. E. de Souza e Silva, 'A perspective on the Brazilian state', *LARR*, 14/1 (1979) and Edson de Oliveira Nunes and Barbara Geddes, 'Dilemmas of State-led modernization in Brazil', Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), Estudos 39 (1985).

Comparable contributions on Mexico would include Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Ilán Bizberg, *Estado y sindicalismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1990); Ruth Berins Collier, *The Contradictory Alliance: State–Labor Relations and Regime Change in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1992); Maria Amparo Casar and Wilson Peres, *El estado empresario en México: ¿Agotamiento o renovación?* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Peter S. Cleaves, *Professions and the State: The Mexican Case* (Tuscon, Ariz., 1987); José Luis Barros Horcasitas, Javier Hurtado, and German Pérez Fernández del Castillo (eds.), *Transición a la democracia y reforma del estado en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1991); and Alan Knight, 'State power and political stability in Mexico', in Neil Harvey (ed.), *Mexico: Dilemmas of Transition* (London, 1993). For a more traditional left-wing view, see Mario Huacuja and José Woldenberg, *Estado y lucha política en el México actual* (Mexico, D.F., 1976).

The most useful article on Argentina is Carlos Díaz Alejandro, 'The Argentine state and economic growth: A historical review', in G. Ranis (ed.), *Government and Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1971). See also Benjamin A. Most, 'Authoritarianism and the growth of the state in Latin America: An assessment of their impact on Argentine public policy 1930–70', *Comparative Political Studies*, 13 (July 1980). For a highly

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

provocative interpretation of Peronist statism, see Carlos H. Waisman, *Reversal of Development in Argentina: Postwar Counter-revolutionary Policies and Their Structural Consequences* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For the contemporary period, see Ernesto Isuani et al., *Estado democrático y política social* (Buenos Aires, 1989). A good guide to the extensive literature on the Uruguayan state is Henry Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981), which can be updated by consulting Henry Finch (ed.), *Contemporary Uruguay: Problems and Prospects* (Liverpool, 1989).

On Costa Rica, see Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, *Formación del estado en Costa Rica*, 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1978). On the Honduran state (the classic 'banana republic'), see Dario A. Euraque, 'Zonas regionales en la formación del estado hondureño: 1830–1930s: El caso de la Costa Norte' and Jeffrey D. Samuels, 'Zonas regionales en la formación del estado hondureño: La Zona Central', papers presented to the Latin American Studies Association conference in Los Angeles (September 1992). Also see Mario Posas and Rafael del Cid, *La construcción del sector público y del estado nacional en Honduras, 1876–1979* (San José, C.R., 1981). There is useful material on the Guatemalan state in Richard N. Adams, *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944–1966* (Austin, Tex., 1970). On the Dominican Republic, Bernardo Vega, *Control y represión en la dictadura trujillista* (Santo Domingo, 1986) is very instructive. On Haiti, see Mats Lundahl, 'Underdevelopment in Haiti: Some recent contributions', *JLAS*, 23/2 (1991).

For Venezuela, Miriam Kornblith and Luken Quintana, 'Gestión fiscal y centralización del poder en los gobiernos de Cipriano Castro y de Juan Vicente Gómez', *Politeia* 10 (1981), and Miriam Kornblith and Thais Maingon, *Estado y gasto público en Venezuela (1936–1980)* (Caracas, 1985) are pioneering works. For Bolivia, see Carmenza Gallo, *Taxes and State Power: Political Instability in Bolivia, 1900–1950* (Philadelphia, 1991); Manuel Contreras, 'Debt, taxes and war: The political economy of Bolivia 1920–1935', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990); and Laurence Whitehead, 'The State and sectional interests: The Bolivian case', *European Journal of Political Research*, 3/2 (1975), 115–46.

8. DEMOCRACY

In spite of the apparently vast bibliography dealing with democracy in Latin America, there are many surprising gaps in the literature, particularly in terms of the development of truly comparable studies across coun-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tries and through time. The study of governmental and political institutions, which attracted attention especially among U.S. political scientists studying Latin American in the 1940s and 1950s, increasingly fell into disfavor through the 1960s and 1970s. This was a consequence initially of the sometimes excessive formalism of the earlier literature and of the onslaught of behavioralist perspectives (which did lead to many electoral studies); subsequently, it reflected the effects of dependency approaches which often viewed political processes as epiphenomenal, and then of the wave of military governments that swept through the region in the late 1960s and 1970s. With the transitions to civilian rule in the late 1970s and in the 1980s, and a concomitant revalorization of political democracy and of the importance of the study of institutions, there was a burgeoning literature on democracy in individual Latin American countries, as well as in a comparative perspective.

This essay focuses almost exclusively on comparative publications, apart from a selected list of constitutional works. Several of the social or corporate actors central to democracy, such as labour, the left and the military, receive special attention in other bibliographical essays and are barely noted here. The country-specific bibliographical essays provide references to the essential country-specific literature on such issues as the history of democracy, political parties, elections and public policy.

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND PRESIDENTIALISM

Most Latin American countries have useful compendia and analyses of their constitutions, as the study of constitutional law has a long history in the region. Although extremely useful, many of these studies do not go beyond a formal analysis of constitutional doctrines and rules. For Argentina, for example, see José Roberto Dromi, *Constitución, gobierno y control* (Buenos Aires, 1983); Arturo Enrique Sampay, *La reforma constitucional* (La Plata, 1949); Arturo Enrique Sampay (ed.), *Las constituciones de la Argentina, 1810–1972* (Buenos Aires, 1975); Germán José Bidart Campos, *Historia política y constitucional argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1976); Segundo V. Linares Quintana, *Derecho constitucional e instituciones políticas: Teoría empírica de las instituciones políticas* (Buenos Aires, 1970); and Jorge R. Vanossi, *Teoría constitucional,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1975–76). For Brazil, see *Constituições do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976) and Odacir Soares, *A nova constituição* (Brasília, 1988). For Chile, see Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, *Tratado de derecho constitucional,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1963), Enrique

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Silva Cimma, *Derecho administrativo chileno y comparado,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1969), and Sergio Carrasco Delgado, *Génesis y vigencia de los textos constitucionales chilenos* (Santiago, Chile, 1980). For Colombia, see Diego Uribe Vargas, *Las constituciones de Colombia: Segunda edición ampliada y actualizada, Volumen 1, 2, y 3* (Madrid, 1985), Jaime Vidal Perdomo, *La reforma constitucional de 1968 y sus alcances jurídicos* (Bogotá, 1970), and Luis Carlos Sáchica and Jaime Vidal Perdomo, *Aproximación crítica a la constitución de 1991* (Bogotá, 1991). Costa Rican constitutional sources include Marco Tulio Zeldón et al., *Digesto constitucional de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1946), Marco Tulio Zeldón, *Historia constitucional de Costa Rica en el bienio, 1948–49* (San José, C.R., 1950), Oscar R. Aguilar Bulgarelli, *Evolución político-constitucional de Costa Rica: Síntesis histórica* (San José, C.R., 1976), and Mario Alberto Jiménez, *Historia constitucional de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1979) and *Constitución política de la República de Costa Rica: Anotada y concordada* (San José, C.R., 1985). For Peru, see Lizardo Alzamara Silva, *Derecho constitucional general y del Perú* (Lima, 1942), Enrique Chirinos Soto, *La nueva constitución al alcance de todos* (Lima, 1979), and Moisés Tambini del Valle, *Las constituciones del Perú* (Lima, 1981). Uruguayan constitutional texts are compiled in Héctor Gros Espiell, *Las constituciones del Uruguay* (1956; 2nd ed., Madrid, 1978). And, for Venezuela, see Ernesto Wolf, *Tratado de derecho constitucional venezolano,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1945), Esteban Agudo Ereytes et al., *Estudios sobre la constitución,* 4 vols. (Caracas, 1979), and Allan Randolph Brewer-Carías, *Instituciones políticas y constitucionales,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1985) and *Problemas del estado de partidos* (Caracas, 1988).

Studies of comparative Latin American constitutionalism are rare. Antonio Colomer Viadel, *Introducción al constitucionalismo iberoamericano* (Madrid, 1990) provides a useful introduction to comparative Latin American constitutionalism. Jorge Mario Eastman, *Constituciones políticas comparadas de América del Sur* (Bogotá, 1991) gives a valuable comparative summary of South American constitutions in the light of the reforms of the Colombian Constitution. An impressive treatment of the constitutional and legal treatment of human rights and national security in Latin America is Hernán Montealegre, *La seguridad del estado y los derechos humanos* (Santiago, Chile, 1979).

The classic study on constitutionalism and presidentialism in Latin America is 'The balance between legislative and executive power: A study in comparative constitutional law', *The University of Chicago Law Review,* 5 (1937–8), 566–608. Another early analysis of the presidential and semi-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

parliamentary nature of different Latin American governments may be found in Russell H. Fitzgibbon (ed.), 'Latin America looks to the future', a special section of the *American Political Science Review,* 39 (June 1945), 481–547, especially the articles by Russell H. Fitzgibbon, 'Constitutional development in Latin America: A synthesis', 511–21, and William S. Stokes, 'Parliamentary government in Latin America', 522–35. See also Carl J. Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy: Theory and Practice in Europe and Latin America* (Boston, 1941), and W. W. Pierson (ed.), 'Pathology of democracy in Latin America: A symposium', *American Political Science Review,* 44 (March 1950), 100–49, especially the articles by Arthur P. Whitaker, 'Pathology of democracy in Latin America: A historian's point of view', 101–18, and Russell Fitzgibbon, 'A political scientist's point of view', 118–28. See also William W. Pierson and Federico G. Gil, *Governments of Latin America* (New York, 1957), Harold Davis (ed.), *Government and Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1958) and Thomas Dibacco (ed.), *Presidential Power in Latin American Politics* (New York, 1977).

The distinguished Mexican journal of constitutional law, *Boletín Mexicano de Derecho Comparado,* has published valuable articles on presidential regimes on the continent. See Salvador Valencia Carmona, 'Las tendencias contemporáneas del ejecutivo latinoamericano,' 11/31–2 (1978), 133–56 and Monique Lions, 'Referéndum, la delegación del poder legislativo y la responsabilidad de los ministros en América Latina', 5/15 (1972), 463–85. A recent comprehensive attempt to evaluate presidential regimes, with considerable attention to the Latin American cases, is Richard Moulin, *Le presidentialisme et la classification des régimes politiques* (Paris, 1978).

Interest in presidentialism in Latin America increased enormously in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Consejo para la Consolidación de la Democracia (eds.), *Presidencialismo vs. parlamentarismo: Materiales para el estudio de la reforma constitucional* (Buenos Aires, 1988) is a useful compilation of articles; one published in English in slightly revised form is Juan Linz, 'The perils of presidentialism', *Journal of Democracy,* 1 (1990), 51–69. See also Dieter Nohlen and Mario Fernández (eds.), *Presidencialismo versus parlamentarismo, América Latina* (Caracas, 1991). Juan Linz, Arturo Valenzuela and collaborators examine general issues and individual countries in Linz and Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidentialism: The Latin American Experience* (Baltimore, 1994); see also Scott Mainwaring, 'Presidentialism in Latin America,' *LARR,* 25/2 (1990), 159–79.

There has been remarkably little comparative work on Latin American legislatures. Three edited books which include several comparative chap-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ters on Latin American legislatures are Allan Kornberg and Lloyd Musolf (eds.), *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective* (Durham, N.C., 1970); Weston H. Agor (ed.), *Latin American Legislatures: Their Role and Influence* (New York, 1971); and Joel Smith and Lloyd D. Musolf (eds.), *Legislatures in Development: Dynamics of Change in New and Old States* (Durham, N.C., 1979). See also Steven Hughes and Kenneth Mijeski, *Legislative-Executive Policy-Making: The Cases of Chile and Costa Rica* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973).

PARTICIPATION, PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

There is currently no centralized Latin American electoral data base, or depository for Latin American public opinion polls. One useful source of political statistics is the annual *Statistical Abstract of Latin America* (Los Angeles), published since 1955. The Roper Center, University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut, and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, are beginning to collect Latin American public opinion polls in a form accessible to all scholars.

Political participation has usually been studied either in a country-specific fashion or by comparing the political activities of particular groups, such as labour or the peasantry. One valuable compilation of articles is John A. Booth and Mitchell Seligson (eds.), *Political Participation in Latin America,* 2 vols. (New York, 1978–9). See also Howard Handelman, 'The political mobilization of urban squatter settlements', *LARR,* 10 (1975), 35–72. The best sources on populism are also largely country specific. However, see Torcuato S. Di Tella, 'Populism and reform in Latin America', in Claudio Véliz (ed.), *Obstacles to Change in Latin America* (New York, 1965); Helio Jaguaribe, *Political Development: A General Theory and a Latin American Case Study* (New York, 1973); A. E. Niekerk, *Populism and Political Development in Latin America* (Rotterdam, 1974); Octavio Ianni, *A formação do estado populista na América Latina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975; 2nd ed., São Paulo, 1989); Michael L. Conniff (ed.), *Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1982); and Robert H. Dix, 'Populism: Authoritarian and democratic', *LARR,* 20/2 (1985), 29–52.

There has been extensive research on individual parties and party leaders. See the bibliographical essays for specific countries. An important volume, which includes some Latin American case studies, is Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York, 1967); see especially the chapter by Lipset and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rokkan, 'Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: An introduction'. See also Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). General works focused on Latin America include Robert J. Alexander, *Latin American Political Parties* (New York, 1973); Ronald McDonald, *Party Systems and Elections in Latin America* (Chicago, 1971); Jean-Pierre Bernard et al., *Guide to the Political Parties of South America* (Hammondsworth, Eng., 1973); Robert J. Alexander (ed.), *Political Parties of the Americas* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Ernest A. Duff, *Leader and Party in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1985); Rolando Peredo Torres, *Partidos políticos en América Latina* (Lima, 1986); Ronald McDonald and J. Mark Ruhl, *Party Politics and Elections in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); and Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully (eds.), *Building Democratic Institutions: Parties and Party Systems in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1994). Extensive material on political parties and their development, particularly with regard to labour incorporation, for eight Latin American countries, may be found in Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). On Southern Cone parties, see Marcelo Cavarozzi and Manuel Antonio Garretón (eds.), *Muerte y resurrección: Los partidos políticos en el autoritarismo y las transiciones en el Cono Sur* (Santiago, Chile, 1989); see also, on Argentina and Chile, Karen Remmer, *Party Competition in Argentina and Chile: Political Recruitment and Public Policy, 1890–1930* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984). Christian Democratic parties are examined in Edward J. Williams, *Latin American Christian Democratic Parties* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1967). Changes in Central American parties are reviewed in Louis W. Goodman, William M. LeoGrande and Johanna Mendelson Forman (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy in Central America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992).

Early comparative articles include Robert J. Alexander, 'The Latin American *Aprista* parties', *Political Quarterly*, 20 (1949), 236–47; Federico G. Gil, 'Responsible parties in Latin America,' *Journal of Politics*, 15 (1953), 333–48; and Russell H. Fitzgibbon, 'The Party Potpourri in Latin America', *Western Political Quarterly*, 10 (March 1957), 3–22. Subsequent efforts to characterize Latin American parties include John D. Martz, 'Studying Latin American political parties: Dimensions past and present', *Journal of Politics*, 26 (1964), 509–31; Alan Angell, 'Party systems in Latin America', *Political Quarterly*, 37 (1966), 309–23; Robert E. Scott, 'Political parties and policy-making in Latin America', in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development* (Prince-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ton, N.J., 1966); Peter Ranis, 'A two-dimensional typology of Latin American political parties', *Journal of Politics,* 38 (1968), 798–832; Douglas Chalmers, 'Parties and society in Latin America', *Studies in Comparative International Development,* 7 (Summer 1972), 102–28; Robert Kaufman, 'Corporatism, clientelism, and partisan conflict: A study of seven Latin American countries', in James M. Malloy (ed.), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977); and Mary J. R. Martz, 'Studying Latin American political parties: Dimensions past and present', *JLAS,* 12 (1980), 139–67. More recent comparative articles include Liliana De Riz, 'Política y partidos: Ejercicio de análisis comparado: Argentina, Chile, Brasil y Uruguay', *DE,* 25 (January 1986), 659–82; Scott Mainwaring, 'Political parties and democratization in Brazil and the Southern Cone', *Comparative Politics,* 21 (October 1988), 91–120; and Robert H. Dix, 'Cleavage structure and party systems in Latin America', *Comparative Politics,* 22 (October 1989), 23–37. Finally, see three useful bibliographies: Harry Kantor, *Latin American Political Parties: A Bibliography* (Gainesville, Fla., 1968), Alejandro Witkes Velásquez, *Bibliografía latinoamericana de política y partidos políticos* (San José, C.R., 1988), and Manuel Alcántara, Ismael Crespo and Antonia Martínez, *Procesos electorales y partidos políticos en América Latina (1980–1992): Guía bibliográfica,* Duke-University of North Carolina Program in Latin American Studies, Working Paper no. 8 (Durham and Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993).

There is an extensive literature analysing elections in Latin American countries, although again most of it is country specific. From 1963 to 1969, the Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems published 'election factbooks' of varying quality analysing specific elections in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and Uruguay as part of its *Election Analysis Series.* Enrique C. Ochoa, 'The rapid expansion of voter participation in Latin America: Presidential elections, 1845–1986,' *SALA,* 25 (1987), 869–911, provides a valuable compendium of statistics on electoral turnout in the region. The most complete analysis and compilation of electoral laws, participation rates and voting results may be found in Dieter Nohlen (ed.), *Enciclopedia electoral latinoamericana y del caribe* (San José, C.R., 1993).

Beginning in the 1980s, the Centro Interamericano de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (CAPEL), based in San José, Costa Rica, began publishing what has become a lengthy list of publications examining different features of constitutionalism, electoral laws and procedures, parties and party systems in Latin America and in specific Latin American countries.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Among the general publications published by CAPEL are: Marcos Kaplan, 'Participación política, estatismo y presidencialismo en la América Latina contemporánea', *Cuadernos de CAPEL,* 1 (San José, C.R., 1985); Francisco Oliart, 'Campesinado indígena y derecho electoral en América Latina', *Cuadernos de CAPEL,* 6 (San José, C.R., 1986); Rolando Franco, 'Los sistemas electorales y su impacto político', *Cuadernos de CAPEL,* 20 (San José, C.R., 1987); Augusto Hernández Becerra et al., *Legislación electoral comparada: Colombia, México, Panamá, Venezuela y Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1986); Jorge Mario García Laguardia, *El régimen constitucional de los partidos políticos en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1986); Dieter Nohlen, *La reforma electoral en América Latina: Seis contribuciones al debate* (San José, C.R., 1987); Manuel Aragón Reyes et al., *Elecciones y democracia en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1987); and Juan Jaramillo, Marta León Roesch and Dieter Nohlen (eds.), *Poder electoral y consolidación democrática: Estudios sobre la organización electoral en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1989). See also Jorge R. Vanossi et al., *Legislación electoral comparada: Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Perú y Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1988); and Gabriel Murillo Castaño and Marta María Villaveces de Ordoñez (eds.), *Conferencia interamericana sobre sistemas electorales* (Caracas, 1990).

With the transitions to democracy of the 1980s, a number of comparative studies of elections appeared, including Paul W. Drake and Eduardo Silva, (eds.), *Elections and Democratization in Latin America: 1980–1985* (San Diego, Calif., 1986) and John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989). Several Latin American cases are included in Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun (eds.), *Comparative Elections in Developing Countries* (Durham, N.C., 1987).

Articles with a comparative focus on aspects of elections in Latin America include Ronald H. McDonald, 'Electoral fraud and regime controls in Latin America', *Western Political Quarterly,* 25 (1972), 81–93; Martin C. Needler, 'The closeness of elections in Latin America', *LARR,* 12 (1977), 115–21; and Scott Mainwaring, 'Politicians, parties and electoral systems: Brazil in comparative perspective', *Comparative Politics,* 24 (1991), 21–43.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

One strand of literature views Latin American presidentialism, centralism and possibilities for democracy primarily through a cultural prism. A

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

particularly valuable exposition is Richard Morse, 'The heritage of Latin America', in Louis Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1964). See also Claudio Véliz, *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); Howard Wiarda, *The Continuing Struggle for Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1980), and *Political and Social Change in Latin America: The Distinct Tradition* (1974; 2nd ed., Amherst, Mass., 1982; 3rd ed., Boulder, Colo., 1992); Glen Dealy, *The Public Man: An Interpretation of Latin America and Other Catholic Countries* (Amherst, Mass., 1977); and Lawrence Harrison, *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case* (Lanham, Md., 1985).

More empirically based studies on political culture, or in a different philosophical tradition, include Susan Tiano, 'Authoritarianism and political culture in Argentina and Chile in the mid-1960s', *LARR*, 21 (1986), 73–98; Norbert Lechner (ed.), *Cultura política y democratización* (Santiago, Chile, 1987); and Susan C. Bourque and Kay B. Warren, 'Democracy without peace: The cultural politics of terror in Peru', *LARR*, 24 (1989), 7–34.

Generally more optimistic interpretations regarding Latin American democracy, built around a modernization perspective, emerged in the late 1950s and 1960s. An interpretation inspired by the structural-functionalist school, may be found in George Blanksten, 'The politics of Latin America', in Gabriel Almond and James Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Princeton, N.J., 1960). Perspectives broadly in the modernization school, combining culturalist, institutional and behavioural views, include John J. Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford, Calif., 1958); Charles W. Anderson, *Politics and Economic Change in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1967); Jacques Lambert, *Latin America: Social Structure and Political Institutions* (Berkeley, 1967); Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari (eds.), *Elites in Latin America* (New York, 1967); Harry Kantor, *Patterns of Politics and Political Systems in Latin America* (Chicago, 1969); and Kalman Silvert, *Essays in Understanding Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1977).

In the 1960s, a strong reaction to modernization, structural-functionalist and behavioural perspectives that appeared to downplay the impact of the role of the United States and of social class conflict emerged from Latin America. Views underscoring dependency, imperialism and class domination tended to dismiss political democracy as a facade, as unviable or as a possible instrument toward revolutionary socialism. Two classic, and quite different, interpretations are André Gunder Frank, *Capi-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

talism and Underdevelopment in Latin America (New York, 1967) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1979), the latter first published in Portuguese and in Spanish in the 1960s. See also Theotonio Dos Santos, *Socialismo o fascismo: Dilema latinoamericano,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1972) and Rodolfo Stavenhagen, 'The future of Latin America: Between underdevelopment and revolution', *LAP,* 1 (1974), 124–49. Important collections of articles include James Petras (ed.), *Latin America: From Dependence to Revolution* (New York, 1973); James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin (eds.), *Latin America: Reform or Revolution?* (Greenwich, Conn., 1968); and Ronald H. Chilcote and Joel C. Edelstein (eds.), *Latin America: The Struggle with Dependency and Beyond* (New York, 1974).

The wave of military coups in the 1960s and the early 1970s, including among the more industrialized countries in Latin America, led to new interpretations about the difficulties of democracy in the region. The most significant was Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, 1973); its arguments were extensively and critically reviewed in David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1979). Non-culturalist corporatist interpretations of the problems of democracy in Latin America also appeared at this time; one of the most influential was Philippe C. Schmitter, 'Still the Century of Corporatism?', *Review of Politics,* 36/1 (1974), 85–131. A noteworthy structuralist interpretation of the reasons for variations in democratic experiences in Latin America in a comparative framework also examining European cases is Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago, 1992). Goran Therborn, 'The travail of Latin American democracy,' *New Left Review,* No. 113–14 (1979), 77–109, is an interesting contribution. More focused on social movements is Alain Touraine, *Actores sociales y sistemas políticos en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). A valuable, if eclectic, interpretive framework and chapters examining the democratic record of ten Latin American countries can be found in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries,* Vol. 4: *Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989).

Central to many of these debates about democracy in Latin America is how to understand the role of the United States. On first the advance and then the retreat of democracy and the influence, direct and indirect, of the United States on both during the period immediately after the Second World War, see Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948 (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). A skeptical view of U.S.-sponsored elections as democracy is Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, *Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador* (Boston, 1984). Diverging views may be found in Julio Cotler and Richard R. Fagen (eds.), *Latin America and the United States: The Changing Political Realities* (Stanford, Calif., 1974). Also useful are the articles by Howard J. Wiarda, 'Can democracy be exported? The quest for democracy in U.S.–Latin American Policy', and Guillermo O'Donnell, 'The United States, Latin America, democracy: Variations on a very old theme', both in Kevin Middlebrook and Carlos Rico (eds.), *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s: Contending Perspectives on a Decade in Crisis* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1986), and several articles in Robert A. Pastor (ed.), *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum* (New York, 1989). A detailed examination of the issues of the United States and democracy in Latin America in the twentieth century may be found in Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1991). See also Thomas Carothers, *In the Name of Democracy: U.S. Policy Toward Latin America in the Reagan Years* (Berkeley, 1991).

Another focus of attention especially in the 1980s and early 1990s has been the relationship between economic problems and democracy. See Jonathan Hartlyn and Samuel A. Morley (eds.), *Latin American Political Economy: Financial Crisis and Political Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); John Sheahan, *Patterns of Development in Latin America: Poverty, Repression, and Economic Strategy* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Barbara Stallings and Robert Kaufman (eds.), *Debt and Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); Jeffry A. Frieden, *Debt, Development and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965–1985* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); and Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman (eds.), *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts and the State* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).

Alongside culturalist and structuralist views of democracy in Latin America have been others emphasizing political and institutional features and processes during critical turning points. Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, 1978) focuses on when, how and why democracies fail. See the general introduction by Juan Linz, a book-length chapter on Chile and the 1973 breakdown by Arturo Valenzuela, and chapters by other authors, some more historical-structural in interpretation, on five additional Latin American countries.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Literature that is more process-oriented and focused on questions of institutional and political choice is especially evident in the analysis of democratic transitions, particularly the wave of transitions of the late 1970s and the 1980s. An early, influential article was Dankwart Rustow, 'Transitions to democracy: Toward a dynamic model', *Comparative Politics,* 2 (1970), 337–63.

An essential source is Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Baltimore, 1986), which includes several comparative chapters, discussion on eight Latin American countries and a lengthy concluding discussion. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1991) includes many Latin American cases. See also Enzo Faletto (ed.), *Movimientos populares y alternativas de poder en Latinoamérica* (Puebla, 1980); Robert Wesson (ed.), *Democracy in Latin America: Promises and Problems* (Stanford, Calif., 1982); Archibald Ritter and David Pollack (eds.), *Latin American Prospects for the 1980s: Equity, Democracy and Development* (New York, 1983); Francisco Orrego Vicuña et al., *Transición a la democracia en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1985); Alain Rouquié, Bolivar Lamounier and Jorge Schvarzer (eds.), *Como renascem as democracias* (São Paulo, 1985); Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, 'Transitions to democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s', *Journal of International Affairs,* 38 (1985), 193–219; Karen Remmer, 'Redemocratization and the impact of authoritarian rule in Latin America', *Comparative Politics,* 17 (1985), 253–75; James Malloy and Mitchell Seligson (eds.), *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987); Enrique Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies: Transitions and Consolidations in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Colo., 1987); 'Transición y perspectivas de la democracia en Iberoamérica', *Pensamiento Iberoamericano, Revista de Economía Política,* 14 (1988), 7–317; Dieter Nohlen and Aldo Solari (eds.), *Reforma política y consolidación democrática: Europa y América Latina* (Caracas, 1988); Edelberto Torres Rivas, *Repression and Resistance: The Struggle for Democracy in Central America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); Carlos Barba Solano, José Luis Barros Horcasitas and Javier Hurtado (eds.), *Transiciones a la democracia en Europa y América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1991); Manuel Alcántara Sáez (ed.), 'Número monográfico sobre política en América Latina', *Revista de Estudios Políticos,* 74 (1991); and John Higley and Richard Gunther (eds.), *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992).

An effort to measure democracy in Latin America, based on the opin-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ions of a panel of experts, was initiated by Russell H. Fitzgibbon and has been periodically updated. See Russell H. Fitzgibbon, 'Measuring democratic change in Latin America', *Journal of Politics,* 39/1 (1967), 129–66; Kenneth F. Johnson, 'Measuring the scholarly image of Latin American Democracy: 1945 to 1970,' in James W. Wilkie and Kenneth Ruddle (eds.), *Methodology in Quantitative Latin American Studies* (Los Angeles, 1976); Kenneth F. Johnson, 'Scholarly images of Latin American political democracy in 1975', *LARR,* 11/2 (1976), 129–40; and Kenneth F. Johnson, 'The 1980 Image-Index Survey of Latin American political democracy', *LARR,* 17/3 (1982), 193–201.

One of the most difficult challenges remains the conceptualization of political democracy and the development of typologies of democracy. An essential initial source is the work of Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven, Conn., 1971). Many of the above-cited authors (including Linz and Stepan; O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead; Diamond, Linz and Lipset; Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens; Wiarda; and Johnson) have attempted to develop typologies of democracy, based on factors ranging from stability, to the extent of respect for civil liberties and political rights, to the degree of inclusiveness of the population in the democratic polity, to the degree of civilian control over the armed forces, to the extension of democracy into the social or the economic realm.

9. THE LEFT

For the early years of the Communist movement in Latin America, see Robert Alexander, *Communism in Latin America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957) and *Trotskyism in Latin America:* (Stanford, Calif., 1973); and Rollie Poppino, *International Communism in Latin America: A History of the Movement, 1917 to 1963* (New York, 1964). For excellent collections of documents, see Stephen Clissold (ed.), *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1918 to 1968: A Documentary Survey* (London, 1970) and Luis Aguilar (ed.), *Marxism in Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1978).

Relations between Latin America and the Comintern are treated in provocative fashion by Manuel Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). Quite outstanding is the detailed analysis of the Comintern in Central America in Rodolfo Cerdas, *La Internacional Comunista, América Latina y la revolución en Centroamérica* (San

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

José, C.R., 1986); Eng. trans., *The Communist International in Central America, 1920–1936* (London, 1993). Two books provide comprehensive coverage of relations between Latin America and the Soviet Union; Nicola Miller, *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1959–1987* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989), and Eusebio Mujal-Leon (ed.), *The USSR and Latin America: A Developing Relationship* (London, 1989). See also the article by Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, 'New directions in Soviet policy towards Latin America', *JLAS*, 21/1 (1989), 1–22; and Fernando Bustamante, 'Soviet foreign policy toward Latin America', *JIAS*, 32/4 (1990), 35–65. Cole Blasier examines Soviet perceptions of Latin America in *The Giant's Rival: The USSR and Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1983). See also J. G. Oswald (ed.), *The Soviet Image of Contemporary Latin America: A Documentary History 1960–1968* (Austin, Tex., 1970); William E. Ratliff, *Castroism and Communism in Latin America, 1959–1976* (Washington, D.C., 1976); Augusto Varas (ed.), *Soviet–Latin America Relations in the 1980s* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); and Robert Leiken, *Soviet Strategy in Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1982). For the activities of the Socialist International in Latin America, see Felicity Williams, *La Internacional Socialista y América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

The polemic between Mariátegui and the Comintern was the first of many debates between orthodoxy and 'heresy' in the world of Latin American communism. On this debate, see Alberto Flores Galindo, *La agonía de Mariátegui: La polémica con la Komintern* (Lima, 1980); Carlos Franco, *Del Marxismo eurocéntrico al Marxismo latinoamericano* (Lima, 1981); Harry Vanden, 'Mariátegui, Marxismo, Comunismo and other bibliographical notes', *LARR*, 14/3 (1979), 61–86 and *National Marxism in Latin America: José Carlos Mariátegui's Thought and Politics* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); and Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación Marxista de la historia social del Perú* (Lima, 1947). Mariátegui's best-known book is *Seven Intrepretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928; Eng. trans., Austin, Tex., 1971).

Discussions of the importance of Marxism as an ideology in Latin America are rather few and disappointing. There are exceptions, however, notably in the writing of José Aricó: see *Marx y América Latina* (Lima, 1980); and 'El Marxismo en América Latina' in Fernando Calderón (ed.), *Socialismo, autoritarismo y democracia* (Lima, 1989). Another acute observer is Tomás Moulián, *Democracia y socialismo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1983). An excellent and detailed exposition of Marxist ideas on underdevelopment is Gabriel Palma, 'Dependency: A formal theory of underdevelopment or a meth-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

odology for the analysis of concrete situations of underdevelopment, *World Development*, 6/7–8 (1978), 881–924. Sheldon Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1984) is detailed but rather uncritical. A useful anthology is Michael Lowy (ed.), *El Marxismo en América Latina de 1909 a neustras días* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), Eng. trans., *Marxism in Latin America from 1909 to the Present* (London, 1992). An attempt to rescue the Marxist tradition for the contemporary Latin American left is Richard Harris, *Marxism, Socialism and Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992). See also the articles contained in NACLA Report, *The Latin American Left: A Painful Rebirth*, 25/5 (1992).

Although not directly concerned with Marxism, there is interesting discussion of the relationship between the Left and culture in Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist* (London, 1967), and in her book on the Peruvian poet, *César Vallejo: The Dialectics of Poetry and Silence* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). Gerald Martin, *Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1989), amongst its many other qualities, explores the political commitment of Latin American writers. One of the few specific studies to take ideas and ideologies seriously, odd though some of those ideas were, is Donald Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1986). The ideological and political significance of the Spanish Civil War for the countries of Latin America is well treated in Mark Falcoff and Fredrick Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982). For the important period following the Second World War, see Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992).

There are relatively few memoirs by Marxists, or former Marxists, and they are not always reliable. But well worth reading for Chile are Elías Lafertte, *Vida de un comunista* (Santiago, Chile, 1961); Pablo Neruda, *Confieso que he vivido: Memorias* (Barcelona, 1983); and the ex-Comintern agent turned militant anti-communist, Eudocio Ravines, *The Yenan Way* (New York, 1951). For Mexico, see Valentín Campa, *Mi testimonio: Experiencias de un comunista mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). Quite outstanding is Roque Dalton's recounting of the life of the veteran Salvadorean communist, available in English translation, *Miguel Marmol* (Willimantic, Conn., 1986). On another leading Salvadorean figure, see Jorge Arias Gómez, *Farabundo Martí: Esbozo biográfico* (San José, C.R., 1972). For Argentina, see José Peter, *Historia y luchas de los obreros del carne* (Buenos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Aires, 1947), and *Crónicas proletarias* (Buenos Aires, 1968). For the memoirs of a leading Comintern agent who was active in Mexico, see M. N. Roy, *Memoirs* (Bombay, 1964). And for the memoirs of a labour activist from the opposite side of the political spectrum, see Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York, 1967).

On Chinese communism in Latin America after the Sino–Soviet split, see Cecil Johnson, *Communist China and Latin America, 1959–1967* (New York, 1970) and 'China and Latin America: New ties and tactics', *Problems of Communism,* 21/4 (1972); J. L. Lee, 'Communist China's Latin America policy', *Asian Survey* (November 1964); Alain Joxe, *El conflicto chino–soviético en América Latina* (Montevideo, 1967); and Alan Angell, 'Classroom Maoists: The Politics of Peruvian schoolteachers under military government', *BLAR,* 1/2 (1982), 1–20. See also Ernst Halperin, 'Peking and the Latin American Communists', *China Quarterly* (January 1967).

The guerrilla movements that sprang up following the Cuban Revolution are discussed in great, if uncritical, detail in Richard Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America* (London, 1973). The strategy of such movements derived from Regis Debray's influential if partial account of the success of the Cuban Revolution in *Revolution in the Revolution?* (London, 1968). Debray later wrote, in two volumes, *A Critique of Arms* (London, 1977 and 1978), which sets out his revised theories and includes case studies of guerrillas in Venezuela, Guatemala and Uruguay. Very revealing of the problems facing rural guerrilla movements are the diaries of Che Guevara in Bolivia, edited by Daniel James, *The Complete Bolivian Diaries and Other Captured Documents* (London, 1968). See also I. L. Horowitz, *Latin American Radicalism: A Documentary Report on Left and Nationalist Movements* (London, 1969). A more recent account of the revolutionary Left is Ronaldo Munck, *Revolutionary Trends in Latin America,* Monograph Series no. 17, Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University (Montreal, 1984). See also the perceptive article by Steve Ellner, 'The Latin American Left since Allende: Perspectives and new directions', *LARR,* 24/2 (1989), 143–167.

The literature on the Cuban Revolution is huge. Amongst the works which look at the Cuban Revolution in comparative or theoretical perspective are James O'Connor, *The Origins of Socialism in Cuba* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); K. S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power* (New York, 1970); D. Bruce Jackson, *Castro, the Kremlin and Communism in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1969); Andrés Suárez, *Cuba, Castro and Communism, 1959–1966* (Cam-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bridge, Mass., 1967); Bertram Silverman (ed.), *Man and Socialism in Cuba* (New York, 1972); Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). Marxism in Cuba before Castro is described in Sheldon Liss, *Roots of Revolution: Radical Thought in Cuba* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1987). On the pre-Castro Communist party, see Harold Sims, 'Cuban labor and the Communist Party, 1937–1958', *Cuban Studies*, 15/1 (1985); and Antonio Avila and Jorge García Montes, *Historia del Partido Comunista de Cuba* (Miami, 1970). Maurice Zeitlin, *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (New York, 1967) explores the political ideas of ordinary Cubans.

The literature on left-wing movements in individual countries varies greatly in quality. In general, too much is written by passionate supporters or by no less passionate opponents.

ARGENTINA

An unusually scholarly treatment of the urban guerrilla in Argentina is Richard Gillespie, *Soldiers of Perón: Argentina's Montoneros* (Oxford, 1982); but see the review article of the book by Celia Szusterman, in *JLAS*, 16/1 (1984), 157–70. Relations between Argentina and the USSR are well treated in Mario Rapoport, 'Argentina and the Soviet Union: History of political and commercial relations, 1917–1955', *HAHR*, 66/2 (1986), 239–85; and in Aldo Vacs, *Discrete Partners: Argentina and the USSR* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1984).

For the politics of the Left in Argentina in the inter-war period, see Horoschi Matsushita, *El movimiento obrero argentino, 1930–1945* (Buenos Aires, 1983); and David Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930–1945: A Study in the Origins of Peronism* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985). Also useful on the labour movement is Samuel L. Baily, *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967); and Ronaldo Munck, *Argentina from Anarchism to Peronism* (London, 1987). The best assessment of the way that Peronism captured the support of the Argentine working class is Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). A savage attack on the Argentine Communist party is Jorge Abelardo Ramos, *Historia del estalinismo en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1969). A more recent study is Ricardo Falcón and Hugo Quiroga, *Contribución al estudio de la evolución ideológica del Partido Comunista Argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1984).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

For the official account of the Communist party's relations with Peronism, see Oscar Arévalo, *El Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires, 1983). For a Left Peronist view, see Rodolfo Puiggrós, *Las Izquierdas y el problema nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1973). On the Socialist Party, see Richard J. Walter, *The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1977). For Trotskyism, see Osvaldo Coggiola, *El Trotskismo en la Argentina, 1960–1985*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1986).

BRAZIL

There are several good studies of the Brazilian Left. For the early years, see Astrojildo Pereira, *Formação do PCB* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962); John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–1935* (Austin, Tex., 1973); and Sheldon Maram, 'Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890–1921', *HAHR*, 57/2 (1977), 259–72. For a careful and critical examination of a longer period, see Ronald Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party; Conflict and Integration 1922–1972* (New York, 1974). On the Communist party see also Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, 'O PCB: Os Dirigentes e a organização', in Boris Fausto (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira*, vol. 10 (São Paulo, 1981). The problems facing the Brazilian Left in trying to cope with the important post–Second World War conjuncture is well illustrated in Leslie Bethell's contribution in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992); and John French, 'Workers and the rise of Adhemarista populism in São Paulo, Brazil 1945–1947', *HAHR*, 68/1 (1988), 1–43. For the way that the Brazilian state controlled labour, see Kenneth P. Erickson, *The Brazilian Corporate State and Working Class Politics* (Berkeley, 1977). See also John W. F. Dulles, *Brazilian Communism 1935–1945: Repression during World Upheaval* (Austin, Tex., 1983). An advocate of armed struggle is João Quartim, *Dictatorship and Armed Struggle in Brazil* (London, 1971); and a participant, later killed in a confrontation with the army, is Carlos Marighela, *For the Liberation of Brazil* (London, 1971). See also Jacob Gorender, *Combate nas trevas: A Esquerda brasileira; das ilusões perdidas à luta armada* (São Paulo, 1987). On the Partido dos Trabalhadores, see Rachel Menegnello, *PT: A Formação de un partido, 1979–1982* (São Paulo, 1989), and Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, *Partidos e sindicatos* (São Paulo, 1990). Two recent studies of the Partido dos Trabalhadores are Emir Sader and Ken Silverstein, *Without Fear of Being Happy: Lula, the Workers Party and Brazil* (London, 1991); and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the outstanding book by Margaret Keck, *The Workers Party and Democratization in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

CHILE

The Chilean Left has received considerable attention, reflecting its importance in the politics of the country. An excellent overall interpretation is Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1988). The pioneer of labour studies in Chile wrote extensively on the politics of the union movement: See Jorge Barría, *Trayectoria y estructura del movimiento sindical chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1963), and the *Historia de la CUT* (Santiago, Chile., 1971). Relations between the parties of the Left and the unions is also discussed in Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (Oxford, 1972). A brilliant account of a worker seizure of a factory under the Allende government is Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York, 1986).

Hernán Ramírez Necochea gives the official PC interpretation in his influential *Orígen y formación del Partido Comunista de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1965). An excellent unpublished doctoral thesis is Andrew Barnard, 'The Chilean Communist Party, 1922–1947' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1977). More recent studies include Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London, 1984); Eduardo Godard Labarca, *Corvalán, 27 horas* (Santiago, Chile, 1973); and Augusto Varas (ed.), *El Partido Comunista en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). Ernst Halperin deals with relations between the Socialists and Communists in *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). On the Socialists, see Julio César Jobet, *El Partido Socialista de Chile,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1971); Fernando Casanueva and Manuel Fernández, *El Partido Socialista y la lucha de clases en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1973); and Benny Pollack and Hernán Rosenkranz, *Revolutionary Social Democracy: The Chilean Socialist Party* (London, 1986). Three books develop Socialist rethinking in Chile: Jorge Arrate, *La fuerza democrática de la idea socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1987) and edited by the same author, *La renovación socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1987); and Ricardo Lagos, *Democracia para Chile: Proposiciones de un socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). The most thorough account of the development of the Socialist party is Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952* (Urbana, Ill., 1978). A stimulating more recent account is Ignacio

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago, Chile, 1990).

There is a huge literature on the Allende government. For accounts relevant to this chapter, see Eduardo Labarca Godard, *Chile al rojo* (Santiago, Chile, 1971), which gives a fascinating account of the origins of the government. For a good review of the literature see Lois Hecht Oppenheim, 'The Chilean road to socialism revisited', *LARR*, 24/1 (1989), 155–83. Allende's ideas are explored in Regis Debray, *Conversations with Allende* (London, 1971). An interesting account by an aide of the president is Joan Garcés, *Allende y la experiencia chilena* (Barcelona, 1976). The best account of the political economy of the period is Sergio Bitar, *Transición, socialismo y democracia: La experiencia chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), translated as *Chile: Experiment in Democracy* (Philadelphia, 1986). Relations with the Soviet Union are well treated in Isabel Turrent, *La Unión Soviética en América Latina: El caso de la Unidad Popular Chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

URUGUAY

For the history of Communism in Uruguay, see Eugenio Gómez, *Historia del Partido Comunista del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1961). For the trade union movement, see Francisco Pinto, *Historia del movimiento obrero del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1960); and Héctor Rodríguez, *Nuestros sindicatos, 1865–1965* (Montevideo, 1965). For the armed struggle in Uruguay, see the overly sympathetic account of Alain Labrousse, *The Tupamaros* (London, 1973).

BOLIVIA

The basic text on the Bolivian Left is the work by the Trotskyist historian and activist, Guillermo Lora, accessible in an English translation by Christine Whitehead and edited by Laurence Whitehead, *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977). A rather different book is by a USAID official, John Magill, *Labor Unions and Political Socialization: A Case Study of the Bolivian Workers* (New York, 1974). A detailed examination of the problems of the contemporary Left in Bolivia is James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia* (London, 1984). The electoral behaviour of the most radical sector of the work force is examined in Laurence Whitehead, 'Miners as voters: The electoral process in Bolivia's mining camps', *JLAS*, 13/2 (1981), 313–46.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

COLOMBIA

The official version of Colombian modern history as seen by that country's Communist party is *Treinta años de lucha del Partido Comunista de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1960). The party's views of the union movement are expressed in Edgar Caicedo, *Historia de las luchas sindicales en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1977). A Marxist account of popular struggles is Manuel Moncayo and Fernando Rojas, *Luchas obreras y política laboral en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978). Two important works on labour from a different perspective are Miguel Urrutia, *Development of the Colombian Labor Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1969) and Daniel Pecaut, *Política y sindicalismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1973). A classic account by a Communist activist in the 1920s and 30s is Ignacio Torres Giraldo, *Los Inconformes* (Bogotá, 1978). For the early period, see also Gonzalo Sánchez, *Los 'Bolcheviques' de El Líbano* (Bogotá, 1976). On Gaitán, see Herbert Braun, *The Assassination of Gaitán: Public Life and Urban Violence in Colombia* (Madison, Wis., 1985). On violence, see Paul Oquist, *Violence, Conflict and Politics in Colombia* (New York, 1980).

PERU

A good article on the Peruvian Left is Evelyne Huber Stephens, 'The Peruvian military government, labor mobilization, and the political strength of the Left', *LARR,* 18/2 (1983), 57–93. See also Jorge Nieto, *Izquierda y democracia en el Perú, 1975–1980* (Lima, 1983), and Guillermo Rochabrún, 'Crisis, democracy and the Left in Peru', *LAP,* 15/3 (1988), 77–96. An excellent article on the guerrilla is Leon Campbell, 'The historiography of the Peruvian guerrilla movement, 1960–1963', *LARR,* 8/1 (1973), 45–70; and for an account by a participant see Héctor Béjar, *Perú 1965: Apuntes sobre una experiencia guerrillera* (Lima, 1969). The Trotskyist union organiser gives his version of the peasant struggle in Hugo Blanco, *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (New York, 1972); and on Hugo Blanco, see Tom Brass, 'Trotskyism, Hugo Blanco and the ideology of a Peruvian peasant movement', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* 16/2 (1989), 173–97. The secretary-general of the Communist party, Jorge del Prado, has written *40 años de lucha* (Lima, 1968). On Sendero Luminoso, see Gustavo Gorriti, *Sendero: Historia de la Guerra Milenaria en el Perú* (Lima, 1990); and Cynthia McClintock, 'Peru's Sendero Luminoso rebellion: Origins and trajectory', in Susan Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Protest, (Berkeley, 1989); and Carlos Iván Degregori, *Ayacucho 1969–1979: El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso* (Lima, 1990).

VENEZUELA

On Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt, *Venezuela, política y petróleo* (Mexico, D.F., 1956) is a basic source for many aspects of the politics of that country. See also the biography by Robert Alexander, *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982). A Communist activist gives his account in Juan Bautista Fuenmayor, *Veinte años de historia* (Caracas, 1980). For the early period of the Communist movement, see Manuel Caballero, *Entre Gómez y Stalin* (Caracas, 1989). For the struggle between Acción Democrática and the Communist party in the unions, see Steve Ellner, *Los partidos políticos y su disputa por el control del movimiento sindical en Venezuela, 1936–1948* (Caracas, 1980); and, by the same author, 'The Venezuelan Left in the era of the Popular Front', *JLAS,* 11/1 (1979); Héctor Lucena, *El movimiento obrero y las relaciones laborales* (Carabobo, 1981); and Alberto Pla et al., *Clase obrera, partidos y sindicatos en Venezuela, 1936–1950* (Caracas, 1982). An account of the guerrilla experience by a disillusioned participant is Angela Zago, *Aquí no ha pasado nada* (Caracas, 1972). An outstanding study of the Venezuelan Left in more recent years is Steve Ellner, *Venezuela's Movimiento al Socialismo: From Guerrilla Defeat to Innovative Politics* (Durham, N.C., 1988). A leading member of the new Left, Teodoro Petkoff, has written *Socialismo para Venezuela?* (Caracas, 1970), *Razón y pasión del socialismo* (Caracas, 1973) and *Del optimismo de la voluntad: Escritos políticos* (Caracas, 1987).

MEXICO

The major work on the Mexican Left is Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1992). An excellent set of essays on Mexico, covering the whole period, is Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo (ed.), *Historia del comunismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). The early years of the Mexican Left are thoroughly examined in Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–1929* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); and see also Arnaldo Córdoba, *La clase obrera en la historia de México;* Vol. 9: *En una época de crisis, 1928–1934* (Mexico, D.F., 1980) and Manuel Márquez Fuentes and Octavio Rodríguez Araujo, *El Partido Comunista Mexicano, 1919–1943* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). For the crucial Cárdenas years, see Samuel León and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ignacio Marván, *La clase obrera en la historia de México: En el Cardenismo 1934–1940* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), and Arturo Anguiano, Guadalupe Pacheco and Rogelio Viscaino, *Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). The influential artist and leading Communist party member David Alfaro Siqueiros has written his memoirs, *Me llamaban el coronelazo* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). A good account of the early Left is Gaston García Cantú, *El socialismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). There is no satisfactory biography of the influential Lombardo Toledano; see, however, R. Millon, *Mexican Marxist: Vicente Lombardo Toledano* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966). Karl Schmitt, *Communism in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1965) has some useful information. Barry Carr, 'Mexican Communism, 1968–1981: Euro–Communism in the Americas?' *JLAS*, 17/1 (1985), 201–28, is an important article. Middle class fears of Marxism are well described in Soledad Loaeza, *Clases medias y política en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). For the recent period see Barry Carr and Ricardo Anzaldua Montoya (eds.), *The Mexican Left, the Popular Movements, and the Politics of Austerity* (San Diego, Calif., 1986); and also by Barry Carr, 'The creation of the Mexican Socialist Party', *Journal of Communist Studies*, 4/3 (1988).

CENTRAL AMERICA

A superb study of Central America with many insights for the successes and the failures of the Left in that region is James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London, 1988); see also Robert Wesson (ed.), *Communism in Central America and the Caribbean* (Stanford, Calif., 1982). A good review essay is John Booth, 'Socioeconomic and political roots of national revolts in Central America', *LARR*, 26/1 (1991), 33–74. For European Socialist interest in Latin America, see Eusebio Mujal León, *European Socialism and the Crisis in Central America* (Washington, D.C., 1989).

On the tragic events of 1932 in El Salvador, see Thomas Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971) and Vinicio González, 'La insurreción salvadoreña de 1932 y la gran huelga hondureña de 1954', *RMS*, 40/2 (1978). On El Salvador, see also Tommie Sue Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador* (Boulder, Colo., 1982); Enrique Baloyra, *El Salvador in Transition* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); James Dunkerley, *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (London, 1982); and Jenny Pearce, *Promised Land; Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango, El Salvador* (London, 1986), an account sympathetic

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

to the guerrillas. On Honduras, see Victor Meza, *Historia del movimiento obrero hondureño* (Tegucigalpa, 1980), and Mario Posas, *Lucha ideológica y organización sindical en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1980).

The standard biography of Sandino in Nicaragua is Neill Macaulay, *The Sandino Affair* (Chicago, 1967); see also Gregorio Selser, *Sandino: General de hombres libres* (Buenos Aires, 1959); and Sergio Ramírez, *El pensamiento vivo de Sandino* (San José, C.R., 1974). An official view of the Sandinista movement is Humberto Ortega, *50 años de lucha sandinista* (Managua, 1979). Of the huge number of accounts of the revolution, the book by George Black is useful for its concentration on ideological aspects, *Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* (London, 1981). On Costa Rica, the important civil war of 1948 is examined in John P. Bell, *Crisis in Costa Rica: The 1948 Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1971). See also Gilberto Calvo and Francisco Zuñigo (eds.), *Manuel Mora: Discursos 1934–1979* (San José, C.R., 1980). Though written from a decidedly Cold War standpoint, there is a great deal of useful information in Ronald Schneider, *Communism in Guatemala 1944–1954* (New York, 1958). A rather distinct view is offered in Eduardo Galeano, *Guatemala: Occupied Country* (New York, 1969).

10. THE MILITARY IN POLITICS

Few political institutions or social groups in Latin America have attracted as much sustained scholarly interest as the military. The corpus of academic literature consists mainly of studies of institutional, behavioural and cultural aspects of the armed forces as political actors. To a lesser extent, the corpus also contains institutional military histories as well as sociological studies of the military organizations as social groups.

The focus of this bibliographical essay is primarily on academic literature dealing with the domestic political role of Latin American military establishments. Conventional military histories that deal with the military institutions exclusively in their military personæ – the Chaco War, the Brazilian Expeditionary Force, and, more significantly, the Falklands/Malvinas War – are not included. Also excluded are the institutional histories and biographies officially sanctioned by the various military establishments themselves. Official military publications and in-house journals comprise a corpus of literature quite distinct from academic studies. For a superb academic analysis of the official corpus of military litera-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ture in Latin America and elsewhere, see Frederick M. Nunn, *The Time of the Generals: Latin American Professional Militarism in World Perspective* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1992). This exclusion, however, does not cover books written by military personnel in their individual capacity, such as academic works and autobiographies.

LATIN AMERICA

The decade of the 1960s was a time of pioneering academic work in the new multi-disciplinary field of Area Studies. These years also represented the zenith of the 'behavioural revolution' then underway in the discipline of political science in North American academe, with its emphasis on analytical studies that were empirical, quantitative, comparative and inter-disciplinary. It is in this intellectual climate that the classical literature on military politics in Latin America was written. In the region itself, the 'twilight of the tyrants' in the late 1950s had been swiftly followed by another wave of military coups, resulting in the establishment of a new breed of military regimes that appeared to be more durable than their predecessors. In other parts of the world, decolonization from European rule had given rise to a host of new polities in which the military establishments soon came to dominate the political process, thereby laying the ground for comparative regional studies of military politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is interesting that despite the prevalent academic fashion, the literature on Latin American military politics in the 1960s was never dominated by quantitative analytical works, and in the main remained rooted firmly in the historical analytical tradition. When compared with present-day standards of academic rigour in social and political research, the classical literature frequently seems impressionistic, besides being riddled with factual errors. This, however, should not detract from the pioneering nature of these works. John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1964) represents the classical literature on Latin American military politics at its very best. Edwin Lieuwen's two books, *Arms and Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1961) and *Generals vs. Presidents: Neomilitarism in Latin America* (London, 1964) were both extremely influential in their time. Other works of significance in this academic genre are Gino Germani and K. H. Silvert, *Estructura social e intervención militar en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1965); Willard F. Barker and C. Neale Ronning, *Internal Security and Military Power: Counter-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Insurgency and Civic Action in Latin America (Columbus, Ohio, 1966); and José Nun, *Latin America: The Hegemonic Crisis and the Military Coup* (Berkeley, 1969). Also noteworthy in this context are Irving L. Horowitz, 'The military elites', in Seymour M. Lipset and Aldo Solari (eds.), *Elites in Latin America* (New York, 1967); José Nun, 'The middle-class military coup', in Claudio Véliz (ed.), *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America* (New York, 1967); and Lyle McAlister, 'The Military', in John J. Johnson (ed.), *Continuity and Change in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1964).

Apart from academic works specifically on Latin American military politics, a number of other studies on military politics in general were published in the 1960s. Of these, Samuel Finer's *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (London, 1962) remains a classic. Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations: An Essay in Comparative Analysis* (Chicago, 1964) is another fine work. Both Finer and Janowitz allude to Latin American examples frequently in their books. William Gutteridge, *Military Institutions and Power in the New States* (London, 1964) is based far more on African examples, but is nevertheless worthy of study. See also John J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton, N.J., 1962). Another significant work in this area is Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), *Changing Patterns of Military Politics* (New York, 1962). In his later works, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–Military Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, Conn., 1968). Huntington came to emphasise institutional weaknesses in civilian polities as a causal factor for military takeovers, an analysis that many of his contemporaries held to be both normative and tautological.

Academic works on military sociology comprise an important part of the classical corpus on military politics. Two studies by Morris Janowitz, *Sociology and the Military Establishment* (New York, 1959) and *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960) can be regarded as precursors. Morris Janowitz (ed.), *The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization* (New York, 1964) and two books edited by Jacques Van Doorn, *Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays* (The Hague, 1968) and *The Military Profession and Military Regimes: Commitments and Conflicts* (The Hague, 1969), contain many valuable contributions. The literature was taken forward and consolidated in the two companion volumes co-edited by Janowitz and Van Doorn, *On Military Ideology* and *On Military Intervention* (Rotterdam, 1971).

Finally, the classical literature on Latin American military politics also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

consists of comparative case studies of specific countries. See, for example. Luigi Einaudi and Alfred C. Stepan, *Latin American Institutional Development: Changing Military Perspectives in Peru and Brazil* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1971); Liisa North, *Civil–Military Relations in Argentina, Chile and Peru* (Berkeley, 1966); Lyle N. McAlister, Anthony Maingot, and Robert Potash (eds.), *The Military in Latin American Sociopolitical Evolution: Four Case Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1970); and Charles D. Corbett, *The Latin American Military as a Socio-Political Force: Case Studies of Bolivia and Argentina* (Miami, 1972).

The study that most clearly marks a break with the classical literature on Latin American military politics is Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, 1973). O'Donnell's BA model had an enormous influence on subsequent literature. Two scholarly responses are Karen L. Remmer and Gilbert W. Merkx, 'Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism revisited', *LARR*, 17/2 (1982), 3–40 and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 'On the characterization of authoritarian regimes in Latin America', in David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1979).

Apart from Guillermo O'Donnell, a number of other academic studies of Latin American military politics were published in the heyday of military governments. Among them, the more noteworthy are Virgilio Beltrán, *El papel político y social de las FFAA en América Latina* (Caracas, 1970); Philippe C. Schmitter (ed.), *Military Rule in Latin America: Function, Consequences and Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973); Jacques Van Doorn, *The Soldier and Social Change* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1975); Guido Vicario, *Militari e politica in America Latina* (Rome, 1978); Mauricio Solaún and Michael A. Quinn, *Sinners and Heretics: The Politics of Military Intervention in Latin America* (Urbana, Ill., 1973); Issac Sandoval Rodríguez, *Las crisis políticas latinoamericanas y el militarismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Mario Esteban Carranza, *Fuerzas armadas y estado de excepción en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); James M. Malloy (ed.), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (London, 1977); and Irving Louis Horowitz and Ellen Kay Trimberger, 'State power and military nationalism in Latin America', *Comparative Politics*, 8/2 (1976). Roberto Calvo, *La doctrina militar de la seguridad nacional: Autoritarismo político y neoliberalismo económico en el Cono Sur* (Caracas, 1979) is a particularly stimulating book. Denis Martin, Alain Rouquié, Tatiana Yannapolous, and Philippe Decraene, *Os Militares e o poder na América Latina e na Africa* (Lisbon, 1975) presents a fascinating comparison between the two regions.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Other significant studies from the 1970s on military politics which include Latin American cases are: Bengt Abrahamson, *Military Professionalism and Political Power* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1972); Edward Feit, *The Armed Bureaucrats: Military Administrative Regimes and Political Development* (Boston, 1973); Eric A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977); Catherine McArdle Kelleher (ed.), *Political–Military Systems: Comparative Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974); Claude E. Welch, Jr. (ed.), *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries* (Albany, N.Y., 1976); Sheldon W. Simon (ed.), *The Military and Security in the Third World: Domestic and International Impacts* (Boulder, Colo., 1978); Morris Janowitz, *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations* (Chicago, 1977); Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times: On Professionals, Praetorians and Revolutionary Soldiers* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); and Alain Rouquié (ed.), *La Politique de Mars: Les processes politiques au sein des partis militaires* (Paris, 1981).

With the reemergence of democracy in the region in the 1980s some excellent books have been published on military politics in Latin America. Frederick M. Nunn, *Yesterday's Soldiers: European Military Professionalism in South America, 1890–1940* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983) provides essential historical background. Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), is outstanding. Alain Rouquié, *L'etat militaire en Amérique latine* (Paris, 1982); Sp. trans. *El estado militar en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1984); Eng. trans. *The Military and the State in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1987) is one of the finest books ever published on Latin American military politics. Also important is Genaro Arriagada Herrera, *El pensamiento político de los militares: Estudios sobre Chile, Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay,* 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1986). Other works include George Philip, *The Military in South American Politics* (London, 1985); Karen L. Remmer, *Military Rule in Latin America* (Boston, 1989); Paul Cammack and Philip O'Brien (eds.), *Generals in Retreat: The Crisis of Military Rule in Latin America* (Manchester, Eng., 1985); Augusto Varas, *La política de las armas en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1988); Pablo González Casanova, *Los militares y la política en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Augusto Varas (ed.), *La autonomía militar en América Latina* (Caracas, 1988); and Abraham F. Lowenthal and J. Samuel Fitch (eds.), *Armies and Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1986). Robert Wesson's two edited books, *New Military Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1982) and *The Latin American Military Institution* (New York, 1986) are also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

worth reading. Finally, John Markoff and Silvio R. Duncan Baretta, 'What we don't know about military coups: Observations on recent South American politics', *Armed Forces and Society,* 12/2 (1986) is a well-written and thought-provoking article.

Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr. (eds.), *The Politics of Anti-politics: The Military in Latin America,* 2nd ed. (Lincoln, Nebr., 1989) is a useful compilation of reading materials on Latin American military politics. Amos Perlmutter and Valerie Plave Bennett (eds.), *The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader* (New Haven, Conn., 1980) includes material on other regions as well.

Alain Rouquié, 'Demilititarization and the institutionalization of military-dominated polities in Latin America', in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy* (Baltimore, 1986), is one of the best pieces on the process of transition from military authoritarian rule to some form of civilian democratic governance from the perspective of the military establishments. James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987) is another useful work on this subject. Also worth reading are Martin C. Needler, 'The military withdrawal from power in South America', *Armed Forces and Society,* 6/4 (1980) and Karen L. Remmer, 'Redemocratization and the impact of authoritarian rule in Latin America', *Comparative Politics,* 17/3 (1985), 253–75. Samuel E. Finer, 'The retreat to the barracks: Notes on the practice and theory of military withdrawal from seats of power', *Third World Quarterly,* 7/1 (1985) and Talukder Maniruzzaman, *Military Withdrawal from Politics: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) are the best multi-regional studies of military withdrawals from power.

In post-authoritarian political situations, the relations that the civilian democratic regime establishes with its military institutions is a factor of cardinal importance in the consolidation of democracy. By far the best work on this crucial subject is Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S. R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial (eds.), *The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil–Military Relations in Latin America* (Lexington, Mass., 1990). Merilee S. Grindle's article, 'Civil–military relations and budgetary politics in Latin America', *Armed Forces and Society,* 13/2 (1987) looks at an important area of civil–military disputation. Another excellent book is Paul W. Zagorski, *Democracy vs. National Security: Civil–Military Relations in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), which contains comparative

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

analyses of civil–military relations in the areas of human rights, internal security, military reform and reform of the state. The novelty of this book lies in the systematic manner in which it focuses upon the various areas of civil–military disputation that arise in the post-authoritarian period. Finally, Morris Janowitz (ed.), *Civil–Military Relations: Regional Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981) presents a comparative view with other regions.

The annual publications of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London, and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) contain updated information on the related issues of military expenditures and arms purchases. *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers,* the official publication of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), is also a useful source of information. Significant works over the years on Latin American military expenditures include Joseph E. Loftus, *Latin American Defense Expenditures: 1938–1965* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1968) and Gertrude E. Heare, *Trends in Latin American Military Expenditures, 1940–1970: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela,* U.S. Department of State, Office of External Research, Publication 8618 (Washington, D.C., 1971). Another worthwhile contribution is Geoffrey Kemp, 'The prospects for arms control in Latin America: The strategic dimension', in Philippe C. Schmitter (ed.), *Military Rule in Latin America: Function, Consequences and Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973). Josef Goldblat and Victor Millan, *The Falklands/Malvinas War: Spur to Arms Buildup* (Stockholm, 1983) is also useful. Augusto Varas, *Militarization and the International Arms Race in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1985) is the best book on the subject. Robert E. Looney, *The Political Economy of Latin American Military Expenditures: Case Studies of Venezuela and Argentina* (Lexington, Ky., 1986) is a fine comparative study.

John Child, *Unequal Alliance: The Interamerican Military System, 1938–1978* (Boulder, Colo., 1980) is a superb history of the U.S.-dominated multilateral military arrangement in the Western Hemisphere. Jan Knippers Black, *Sentinels of Empire: The United States and Latin American Militarism* (New York, 1986) is another useful study of U.S.–Latin American military relations. Lars Schoultz, *National Security and United States Policy Toward Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), also contains important material on this subject. Philippe C. Schmitter, 'Foreign military assistance, national military spending and military rule in Latin America', in Schmitter (ed.), *Military Rule in Latin America: Function, Consequences and Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973) is an important contribution. A

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

related publication of interest is 'Some relationships between U.S. military training in Latin America and weapons acquisition patterns: 1959–1969', Arms Control Project, Center for International Studies, MIT (February 1970). J. Samuel Fitch, 'The political impact of U.S. military aid to Latin America', *Armed Forces and Society,* 5/3 (1979) makes interesting reading.

In the Latin American military tradition an important place has been assigned to books on geopolitics, and it is one of the favourite topics on which the generals and admirals of the region have written books. The names of the Brazilian generals Golbery do Couto e Silva (*Geopolítica do Brasil* [Rio de Janeiro, 1967]) and Carlos de Meira Mattos (*A Geopolítica e as projeções do poder* [Rio de Janeiro, 1977]); the Chilean generals Chrismar Escuti (*Geopolítica: Leyes que se deducen del estudio de la expansión de los estados* [Santiago, Chile, 1968]) and Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (*Geopolítica: Diferentes etapas para el estudio geopolítico de los estados* [Santiago, Chile, 1968]) and the Argentine general Juan E. Guglialmelli (numerous articles in *Estrategia* [Buenos Aires]) stand out. John Child, *Geopolitics and Conflict in South America: Quarrels Among Neighbors* (New York, 1985) is an excellent work that summarises the various national views. Argentine and Chilean admirals have written innumerable books and articles on Antarctica and the disputed insular territories in the South Atlantic. Virginia Gamba-Stonehouse covers these different standpoints superbly in her book, *Strategy in the Southern Oceans: A South American View* (London, 1989).

Military Balance, the annual publication of IISS, London, is the standard source on comparative arsenals. Adrian J. English's two books, *Armed Forces of Latin America: Their Histories, Development, Present Strength and Military Potential* (London, 1984) and *Regional Defence Profile No. 1: Latin America* (London, 1988), are superb.

There is no academic study of the training and socialisation process in Latin American military educational establishments, either comparative or country-specific. However, Michael D. Stephens (ed.), *The Educating of Armies* (London, 1989) contains a chapter on military education in post-Revolutionary Cuba.

Nearly all the literature cited above relates to Latin American *armies,* a word which is mistakenly treated by most scholars as being synonymous with *military.* Robert L. Scheina, *Latin America: A Naval History 1810–1987* (Annapolis, Md., 1987) is therefore a valuable addition to the corpus on Latin American military politics.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ARGENTINA

There are two excellent studies of the Argentine army. Robert A. Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina,* is the result of many years of sustained and focused scholarship. The first volume, subtitled *Yrigoyen to Perón* (Stanford, Calif., 1969), covers the years 1928–45. *Perón to Frondizi* (Stanford, Calif., 1980) analyses events up to 1962; a further volume in the future is to be devoutly wished for. Alain Rouquié, *Poder militar y sociedad política en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1981/1982); original Fr. *Pouvoir militaire et société politique en république argentine* (Paris, 1978) is also published in two volumes, with the first volume covering the period up to the GOU coup of 1943 and the second volume taking the story forward to the return of Perón in 1973. Potash and Rouquié have both written superb political histories, but they differ in perspective: the former approaches the topic as a historian, the latter as a political scientist. Taken together, they provide the reader with what is easily the most authoritative academic coverage of any Latin American military institution and its role in politics. See also F. Lafage, *L'Argentine des dictatures, 1930–1983: Pouvoir militaire et idéologie contre-révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1991).

Argentine military politics in the period between the fall of Perón in 1955 and the fall of Frondizi in 1962 are examined in Carlos A. Florit, *Las fuerzas armadas y la guerra psicológica* (Buenos Aires, 1963) and Rogelio García Lupo, *La rebelión de los generales* (Buenos Aires, 1963). J. Ochoa de Eguileor and Virgilio R. Beltrán, *Las fuerzas armadas hablan* (Buenos Aires, 1968) is a useful study of a slightly later period. A left-wing perspective on Argentine militarism can be found in Jorge Abelardo Ramos, *Historia política del ejército argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1973). Jorge A. Paita (ed.), *Argentina: 1930–1960: Sur* (Buenos Aires, 1961) contains an excellent chapter on the armed forces by Horacio Sueldo. Marvin Goldwert, *Democracy, Militarism, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1930–1966: An Interpretation* (Austin, Tex., 1972) is another worthwhile study of Argentine military politics. Goldwert's analytical classification of the Argentine armed forces into the two opposing camps of 'liberal nationalists' and 'integral nationalists' is both interesting and illuminating.

Guillermo O'Donnell, *Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Argentina, 1966–1973, in Comparative Perspective* (Berkeley, 1988) and William C. Smith, *Authoritarianism and the Crisis of the Argentine Political Economy* (Stanford, Calif., 1989) are both distinguished books on the military regimes of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'revolución argentina'. Like Potash and Rouquié, they are a couple of scholarly studies that are best read together. However, far from complementing each other, O'Donnell and Smith view Argentine military politics in general, and the period 1966–73 in particular, from radically different perspectives. And unlike O'Donnell, whose book focuses on the period 1966–73, Smith analyses the period 1976–83 as well. Other books worth reading on the 1966–73 period are Roberto Roth, *Los años de Onganía: Relato de un testigo* (Buenos Aires, 1980); Rubén M. Perina, *Onganía, Levingston, Lanusse: Los militares en la política argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1983); and Carlos Alberto Quinterno, *Militares y populismo (La crísis argentina desde 1966 hasta 1976)* (Buenos Aires, 1978).

Darío Cantón, *La política de los militares argentinos: 1900–1971* (Buenos Aires, 1971) is superb in its analysis of Argentine military politics in the twentieth century as viewed from the vantage point of the ouster of General Onganía and the collapse of the so-called Argentine Revolution of 1966. Robert Potash looks at the same period from the viewpoint of military professionalism in 'The impact of professionalism on the twentieth century Argentine Military', Program in Latin American Studies, Occasional Papers Series No. 3, University of Massachusetts (Amherst, Mass., 1977). Félix Luna, *De Perón a Lanusse* (Buenos Aires, 1972), deals with the period from the fall of Perón to his final return from exile. One of the best general articles on Argentine military politics is James Rowe, 'Argentina's restless Military', in Robert D. Tomasek (ed.), *Latin American Politics: Studies of the Contemporary Scene* (New York, 1970). Philip B. Springler, 'Disunity and disorder: Factional politics in the Argentine military', in Henry Bienen (ed.), *The Military Intervenes: Case Studies in Political Development* (Hartford, Conn., 1968) analyses fissures and divisions within the Argentine military institutions. See also Silvio Waisbord, 'Politics and identity in the Argentine Army: Cleavages and the generational factor', *LARR*, 26/2 (1991), 157–70.

Nunca Más (London, 1986), the official report of the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de las Personas (CONADEP), which was set up by the Alfonsín administration to investigate the 'disappearences' of the 'dirty war', is by far the best account of the extra-legal terror unleashed by the military state during the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (1976–83). Juan E. Corradi, 'The mode of destruction: Terrorism in Argentina', *Telos*, 54 (Winter 1982–3), is a good article on this grim topic. Other articles that are useful for the Proceso period include Ronaldo Munck, 'The "mod-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ern" military dictatorship in Latin America: The case of Argentina (1976–1982)', *LAP*, 12/4 (1985), 41–47, and David Pion-Berlin, 'The fall of military rule in Argentina: 1976–1983', *JIAS*, 27/2 (1985), 55–76. See also Andrés Fontana, 'Political decision making by a military corporation, 1976–1983' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1987).

A number of articles have appeared on the process of transition from military authoritarian rule to civilian democratic governance in Argentina. Of these, the most useful and interesting are Alain Rouquié, 'Argentina, the departure of the military: End of a political cycle or just an episode?', *International Affairs* (London), 59/4 (1983), 575–86, and Ronaldo Munck, 'Democratization and demilitarization in Argentina, 1982–1985', *BLAR*, 4/2 (1985), 85–93. See also Andrés Fontana, *Fuerzas armadas, partidos políticos y transición a la democracia en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1984). An important area of civil–military disputation during the Alfonsín administration was the question of military reform. Carlos J. Moneta, Ernesto López and Aníbal Romero, *La reforma militar* (Buenos Aires, 1985) and Augusto Varas, 'Democratización y reforma militar en la Argentina', Documento de Trabajo, FLACSO (Santiago 1986), are the most thought-provoking academic contributions on this topic. Civil–military relations during the Alfonsín administration itself are analysed superbly in David Pion-Berlin, 'Between confrontation and accommodation: Military and government policy in democratic Argentina', *JLAS*, 23/3 (1991), 543–71.

Félix Luna, *Golpes militares y salidas electorales* (Buenos Aires, 1983) is a brief summary of Argentine military politics since 1930. Scholarly studies of Argentine military politics are severely handicapped by the lack of memoirs by Argentine military officers. General Alejandro Lanusse's latest memoirs, entitled *Protagonista y testigo* (*Reflexiones sobre 70 años de nuestra historia*) (Buenos Aires, 1989), are a welcome exception to this general rule. This book supercedes his earlier memoir, *Mi testimonio*, not only on account of the later publishing date but also because the second version is far less self-serving than the first. Rogelio García Lupo, 'Los Alsogaray: Una dinastía militar', *Política*, 7/71–2 (1968) is an excellent article on one of Argentina's patrician military families.

While the in-house journals of Argentina's military institutions frequently carry articles and essays on military sociology, this is an area that has been grossly understudied by academics. The one obvious exception in this regard is the tiny chapter on the military in José Luis de Imaz, *Los que mandan* (*Those Who Rule*) (Albany, N.Y., 1970). Since the mid-1980s *La*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Nación (Buenos Aires) has carried a number of newspaper articles on military sociology written by retired naval captain Carlos Raimondi. However, the study by General Benjamin Rattenbach, *Sociología militar: Una contribución al estudio* (Buenos Aires, 1958), remains the best contribution on this topic by a military officer in book form.

Finally, most of the literature on Argentine military politics focuses on the Army and tends to ignore or marginalize the part played by the other military institutions. For a different perspective on the role of the military in Argentine political history, see Varun Sahni, 'The Argentine navy as an autonomous actor in Argentine politics' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1991).

BRAZIL

The academic literature on Brazilian military politics since the 1930s is vast in quantity and of a consistently high standard. Understandably, most of this literature deals with the 1964–85 military period. Fortunately, the preceding period has not been completely neglected by scholars. José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Armed forces and politics in Brazil: 1930–1945', *HAHR*, 62/1 (1982), 193–223, is excellent. See also Frank D. McCann, 'The Brazilian army and the problem of mission, 1939–1964', *JLAS*, 12/1 (1980), 107–26. Thomas Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930–1964* (New York, 1967) is indispensable. John W. F. Dulles, *Unrest in Brazil: Political Military Crises 1955–1964* (Austin, Tex., 1970) also looks at Brazilian military politics in the period preceding the coup of 1964. Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História militar do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965) is a pro-military book written by a leftist historian in the immediate aftermath of the coup. One of the best studies of the overthrow of the Goulart administration in 1964 is Phyllis R. Parker, *Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964* (Austin, Tex., 1979).

The single most important work on the 21 years of military rule that followed the 1964 coup is Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985* (Oxford, 1988). During the military period itself a number of useful studies of the regime were published outside Brazil and, after the *abertura* initiated by the Geisel administration, in Brazil as well. Of these, the most notable are Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J., 1971); Ronald M. Schneider, *The Political System of Brazil: The Emergence of a 'Modernizing' Authoritarian Regime* (New York, 1971); Alfred Stepan (ed.), *Authoritarian*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Brazil: Origins, Policies, Future (New Haven, Conn., 1973); Eliezer Rizzo de Oliviera, *As Forças armadas: Política e ideologia no Brasil, 1964–1969* (Petrópolis, 1976); Edmundo Campos Coelho, *Em busca de identidade: O Exército e a política na sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976); Alfredo Amaral Gurgel, *Segurança e democracia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); and Henry H. Keith (ed.), *Perspectives on Armed Politics in Brazil* (Tempe, Ariz., 1976). An interesting analysis of the first decade of military rule can be found in Barry Ames, *Rhetoric and Reality in a Military Regime: Brazil since 1964* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1975). See also Carlos Castelo Branco, *Os Militares no poder,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1977/1978). Alain Rouquié (ed.), *Les Partis militaires au Brésil* (Paris, 1980) and Philippe Faucher, *Le Brésil des militaires* (Montreal, 1981), are both significant books on Brazilian military politics and the best contributions on this subject in the French language. Other important contributions on Brazilian military politics written during the military years include the doctoral dissertation by Alexandre de Souza Costa Barros, 'The Brazilian military: Professional socialization, political performance and state building' (University of Chicago, 1978) and Frank McCann's article, 'Origins of the "new professionalism" of the Brazilian military', *JIAS,* 21/4 (1979).

Much has been made of the ideological role of the Escola Superior de Guerra in the 1964 coup and the subsequent military period. Antônio de Arruda, *ESG: Historia de sua doutrina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) is a useful work on the subject. In conjunction with this study, the following publications of the ESG are also worth reading: *Doutrina básica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979), *Complementos da doutrina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), and *Fundamentos da doutrina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981).

During the Costa e Silva and Medici administrations the Army intelligence agency, the Serviço Nacional de Informações (SNI), became a virtual 'army within an army'. An excellent work on this topic is Ana Lagda, *SNI: Como nasceu, como fonciona* (São Paulo, 1983). Alfred Stepan's *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, N.J., 1988) is a remarkable comparative study that illuminates the 1964–85 military period with much-needed hindsight. A good book on the Brazilian military institutions in the immediate post-authoritarian period is Eliezer Rizzo de Oliviera (ed.), *Militares, pensamento e açao política* (Campinas, 1987). Stanley Hilton, 'The Brazilian Military: Changing strategic perceptions and the question of mission', *Armed Forces and Society,* 13 (1987) is another worthwhile contribution.

For a wide-ranging political history of the Brazilian army, see Frank

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

D. McCann's fine study, *A Nação armada: Ensaios sobre a história de exército brasileiro* (Recife, 1989). Frederick M. Nunn, 'Military professionalism and professional militarism in Brazil, 1870–1970', *JLAS*, 4/1 (1972), 29–54, is another significant contribution. Robert A. Hayes, *The Armed Nation: The Brazilian Corporate Mystique* (Tempe, Ariz., 1989) will likewise be read by students of Brazilian military politics with much profit.

CHILE

Despite Chile's long history of stable representative government and strong institutionalised political parties, the Chilean military institutions were not neglected by academic scholars in the period before the coup of 1973. Roy Allen Hansen's unpublished doctoral dissertation, 'Military culture and organizational decline: A study of the Chilean Army' (University of California, Los Angeles, 1967), and Alain Joxe, *Las fuerzas armadas en el sistema político chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), were important pre-1973 studies of the Chilean military institutions and military politics. Also worth mentioning in this context is Frederick M. Nunn, *Chilean Politics, 1920–1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1970). Published soon after the 1973 coup, Liisa North's *The Military in Chilean Politics* (Toronto, 1974) was an important addition to the literature on Chilean military politics. Another excellent book covering the period before the coup is Frederick M. Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History: Essays on Civil–Military Relations, 1810–1973* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976).

On the 1973 coup Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964–1976* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977) and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Baltimore, 1978) are the best academic works. Less objective studies of the coup are Pio García (ed.), *Fuerzas armadas y el golpe de estado en Chile* (Mexico, D.F., 1974) and James Petras and Morris Morley, *The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government* (New York, 1975). Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985) is a remarkably honest account by the U.S. ambassador to Chile during the Allende administration.

One of the best studies of the Pinochet period is Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions* (Baltimore, 1986). Brian Loveman, 'Military dictatorship and political

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

opposition in Chile, 1973–1986', *JIAS*, 28/4 (1986–87), 1–38, covers similar ground. The chapter by Augusto Varas, 'The crisis of legitimacy of military rule in the 1980s', in Paul W. Drake and Iván Jaksic (eds.), *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile, 1982–1990* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991) is superb. The second part of Karen L. Remmer's book, *Military Rule in Latin America* (Boston, 1989), focuses on the Pinochet period and presents a useful analysis of the military regime's policy initiatives and their impact on Chile. Manuel Antonio Garretón, *El proceso político chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1983); Eng. trans. *The Chilean Political Process* (Boston, 1989) is also deserving of study.

The characteristic that most differentiates the post-1973 military regime in Chile from its counterparts in the region is the personalist nature of the dictatorship. The best study of the monopolising of power by Pinochet is Arturo Valenzuela, 'The military in power: the consolidation of one-man rule', in Drake and Jaksic (eds.), *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile.* A fascinating book in this context is Ascanio Cavallo, Manuel Salazar, and Oscar Sepúlveda, *La historia oculta del régimen militar* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). Genaro Arriagada, *La política militar de Pinochet* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); Eng. trans. *Pinochet: The Politics of Power* (Boston, 1988) is another interesting and stimulating work. The most significant political struggle within the Chilean armed forces after the 1973 coup was between Pinochet and the Air Force commander General Gustavo Leigh. With the latter's dismissal in 1978 Pinochet's position became unassailable. This crucial episode is covered in Florencia Varas, *Gustavo Leigh: El general disidente* (Santiago, Chile, 1979), a series of interviews.

Some of the best studies of Chilean military politics during the Pinochet period were published by the Santiago-based Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in the period following the Constitution of 1980: Augusto Varas, Felipe Agüero, and Fernando Bustamante, *Chile, democracia, fuerzas armadas* (Santiago, Chile, 1980); Varas and Agüero, *El proyecto político militar* (Santiago, Chile, 1982); Hugo Frühling, Carlos Portales, and Varas, *Estado y fuerzas armadas en el proceso político* (Santiago, Chile, 1983); and Varas, *Los militares en el poder: Régimen y gobierno militar en Chile, 1973–1986* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). Stephen Suffern, 'Les forces armées chiliennes entre deux crises politiques: 1973–1989', *Problèmes d'Amérique Latine,* 85/3 (1987) is a useful contribution.

For a dictator's-eye view of Chilean politics, see Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, *Política, politiquería, y demagogia* (Santiago, Chile, 1983). See also his *El día decisivo: 11 de septiembre de 1973* (Santiago, Chile 1980). The first

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

two volumes of Pinochet's autobiography are of little interest: *Camino recorrido: Memorias de un soldado* (Santiago, Chile, 1990). The first volume covers the period to 1973, and the second 1973–80; there will no doubt be more. Another noteworthy military autobiography is by Pinochet's predecessor, General Carlos Prats González, *Memorias: Testimonio de un soldado* (Santiago, Chile, 1985).

On civil–military relations during and after the transition to democracy, see Brian Loveman, '¿Misión cumplida? Civil–Military relations and the Chilean political transition', *JIAS*, 33/3 (1991). *Informe Rettig (Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación)*, 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1991) is the Chilean equivalent of the Argentine *Nunca Más*. The commission was set up by the Aylwin administration to report officially on human rights violations during the military regime.

PERU

Military politics in Peru has come to be closely identified with the reformist military regime that came to power after the 'left-wing' coup in 1968. On the military before 1968 the best book is Victor Villanueva, *El militarismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1962). See also Allen Gulach, 'Civil–military relations in Peru: 1914–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1973). Jorge Rodríguez Beruff, *Los militares y el poder: Un ensayo sobre la doctrina militar en el Perú, 1948–1968* (Lima, 1983) is an excellent study of Peruvian military politics before General Velasco's 1968 coup. Another important contribution in this context is Frederick Nunn, 'Professional militarism in twentieth century Peru: Historical and theoretical background to the Golpe de Estado of 1968', *HAHR*, 59/3 (1979), 391–417. Luigi Einaudi's book, *The Peruvian Military: A Summary Political Analysis* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1969), written soon after the 1968 coup, also makes for good reading. Daniel M. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics in Latin America: Peru from Sánchez Cerro to Sendero Luminoso* (New York, 1991) is excellent.

A string of interesting books on Peruvian military politics were written by Victor Villanueva in the first few years of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, including *¿Nueva mentalidad militar en el Perú?* (Buenos Aires, 1969) and *Ejército peruano: Del caudillaje anárquico al militarismo reformista* (Lima, 1973). Two articles by Julio Cotler are essential: 'Political crises and military populism in Peru', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 6/5 (1970–1) and 'Concentración del ingreso y

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

autoritarismo político en el Perú', *Sociedad y Política,* 1/4 (1973); the latter piece actually led to Cotler's expulsion from the country. See also José Z. García, 'Military government in Peru, 1968–1971' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1973); Luigi Einaudi, 'Revolution from within: Military rule in Peru since 1968', *Studies in Comparative International Development,* 8/1 (1973); Jane S. Jaquette, 'Revolution by Fiat: The context of policy-making in Peru', *Western Political Quarterly,* 25/4 (1972); and Carlos A. Astiz and José Z. García, 'The Peruvian Military: Achievement orientation, training, and political tendencies', *Western Political Quarterly,* 25/4 (1972). The ideological role attributed to the Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM) in post-1968 Peru is identical to that of the Escola Superior de Guerra in the post-1964 Brazil. Victor Villanueva's book on the subject, *El CAEM y la revolución de las fuerzas armadas* (Lima, 1972), is therefore a work of some significance. Villanueva's *Cien años del ejército peruano: Frustraciones y cambios* (Lima, 1971) and Francisco José del Solar, *El militarismo en el Perú* (Caracas, 1976) are both long-term studies of Peruvian military politics written during the reformist military period.

The post-1968 military regime generated an enormous scholarly interest overseas. Three superb studies that emerged during the military period are Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); K. J. Middlebrook and D. Scott Palmer, *Military Government and Political Development: Lessons from Peru* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1975); and Alfred Stepan, *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 1978). George Philip, *The Rise and Fall of the Peruvian Military Radicals* (London, 1978) is another useful contribution on post-1968 military politics. See also David Booth and Bernardo Sorj (eds.), *Military Reformism and Social Classes: The Peruvian Experience, 1968–90* (London, 1983).

A thoughtful and thought-provoking look back at the reformist military period is presented in Cynthia McClintock and Abraham Lowenthal (eds.), *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). Evelyne Stephens, 'The Peruvian military government, labor mobilization, and the political strength of the Left', *LARR,* 18/2 (1983), 57–93, takes a much-needed look at the crucial issue of the position of leftist groups during the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces. Alan Angell, 'El gobierno militar peruano de 1968 a 1980: El fracaso de la revolución desde arriba', *Foro Internacional,* 25 (1984) is a useful summary of the military period.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

Richard Millett's study of the Somocista National Guard, *Guardians of the Dynasty: A History of the Guardia Nacional and the Somoza Family* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1977) is perhaps the finest work on a military institution in Central America. Constantino Urcuyo Fournier's doctoral dissertation, 'Les Forces de sécurité publique et la politique au Costa Rica, 1960–1978', (Université de Paris-V, 1980), is a valuable contribution on military politics in a country that officially abolished its armed forces four decades ago. Useful pieces on Guatemalan military politics include Kenneth J. Grieb, 'The Guatemalan Military and the Revolution of 1944', *TA*, 32/4 (1976); Richard N. Adams, 'The Guatemalan Military', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 4/5 (1968); and George Black's contributions in 'Garrison Guatemala', *NACLA's Report of the Americas*, 17/1 (1983). The picture of Salvadorean military politics presented in Charles W. Anderson, 'El Salvador: The Army as reformer', in Martin C. Needler (ed.), *Political Systems of Latin America* (New York, 1970) should be compared with the view presented a decade later in William M. LeoGrande and Carla Anne Robbins, 'Oligarchs and officers: The crisis in El Salvador', *Foreign Affairs*, 58 (Summer 1980). An important recent contribution is Alain Rouquié, *Guerres et paix en Amérique Centrale* (Paris, 1992). Steve C. Ropp, *Panamanian Politics: From Guarded Nation to National Guard* (New York, 1982) is an excellent study of the Omar Torrijos period. Renato Pereira, *Panamá: Fuerzas armadas y política* (Panama City, 1979) is another worthwhile book on Panamanian military politics before Noriega. G. Pope Atkins, *Arms and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Boulder, Colo., 1981) is an excellent work. See also Howard J. Wiarda, *Dictatorship and Development: The Methods of Control in Trujillo's Dominican Republic* (Gainesville, Fla., 1968). Marvin Goldwert's comparative study, *The Constabulary in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962) makes for interesting reading. Luis Humberto Guzmán, *Políticos en uniforme: Un balance de poder del EPS* (Managua, 1992), is the only book-length study of the Sandinista army.

The U.S. role in Central America and the Caribbean remains a factor of paramount importance. A fine study on this subject is Don L. Etchison, *The United States and Militarism in Central America* (New York, 1975). John Saxe-Fernández, 'The Central American Defence Council and Pax Americana', in Irving Louis Horowitz (ed.), *Latin American Radicalism: A Documentary Report on Left and Nationalist Movements* (New York, 1969) comple-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ments Etchison's study well. In this context the book by the overthrown Dominican leader Juan Bosch, *El pentagonismo: Sustituto de imperialismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), is interesting despite being polemical.

Cuban military politics in the period before the Cuban Revolution is covered superbly in Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Army Politics in Cuba, 1898–1958* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976). Another worthwhile study is Rafael Fermoselle, *The Evolution of the Cuban Military, 1492–1986* (Miami, 1987). Jaime Suchlicki (ed.), *The Cuban Military Under Castro* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1989), and Jorge I. Domínguez, 'The civic soldier in Cuba', in Catherine Kelleher (ed.), *Political–Military Systems: Comparative Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974) analyse civil–military relations in the Castro period.

BOLIVIA

Gary Prado Salmon's study of Bolivian military politics, *Poder y FFAA, 1949–1982* (La Paz, 1984), could well become a minor classic. James Dunkerly, *Orígenes del poder militar: Historia política e institutional del ejército boliviano hasta 1935* (La Paz, 1987), already is one. Although this book only covers the period up to the end of the Chaco War, it nevertheless merits a mention in this post-1930 bibliography because it goes a long way in explaining the historical background for the military interventions that have plagued Bolivian politics from the late 1940s onwards. Herbert S. Klein's articles, 'David Toro and the establishment of "Military Socialism" in Bolivia', *HAHR*, 45/1 (1965), and 'Germán Busch and the era of "Military Socialism" in Bolivia', *HAHR*, 47/2 (1967) take a close look at the brief 'military socialist' period following the Chaco War. Dunkerley's *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952–1982* (London, 1984) contains an excellent treatment of Bolivian military politics. Guillermo Bedregal, *Los militares en Bolivia: Ensayo de interpretación sociológica* (La Paz, 1971) is well worth study. William H. Brill, *Military Intervention in Bolivia: The Overthrow of Paz Estenssoro and the MNR* (Washington, D.C., 1967) has not lost its academic appeal over the years. Jean-Pierre Lavaud, *L'instabilité politique de l'Amerique Latine: le cas bolivien* (Paris, 1991) is an excellent recent contribution, a large part of which deals specifically with the military.

COLOMBIA AND ECUADOR

A useful article on military politics in Colombia in the period following *La violencia* is J. León Helguera, 'The changing role of the military in Colom-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bia', *JIAS*, 3/3 (1961), 35–8. Richard Maullin's book, *Soldiers, Guerrillas, and Politics in Colombia* (Lexington, Mass., 1973), remains a classic study of Colombian military politics. J. Mark Ruhl, *Colombia: Armed Forces and Society* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1980) was a welcome addition to the literature. Other noteworthy books in recent years on military politics in Colombia include Alvaro Echeverría, *El poder y los militares: Un análisis de los ejércitos del continente y Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978) and Alfredo Peña, *Democracia y golpe militar* (Bogotá, 1979). A useful history of Colombian military politics is provided in Gonzalo Bermúdez Rossi, *El poder militar en Colombia: De la colonia al Frente Nacional* (Bogotá, 1982). Olga Behar, *Las guerras de la paz* (Bogotá, 1985) deserves to be read. The former commander-in-chief of the Colombian Army, General Fernando Landazábal Reyes, wrote a series of interesting books on various aspects of military politics in the 1980s, including *Conflicto social* (Medellín, 1982); *Páginas de controversia* (Bogotá, 1983); *El precio de la paz* (Bogotá, 1985); and *La integración nacional* (Bogotá, 1987).

J. Samuel Fitch, *The Military Coup d'Etat as a Political Process: Ecuador, 1948–1966* (Baltimore, 1977) is a useful study of military politics in Ecuador in the post-war period. It is well complemented by Augusto Varas and Fernando Bustamante, *Fuerzas armadas y política en Ecuador* (Quito, 1978) and Anita Isaacs, *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972–1992* (Oxford, 1993). See also Anita Isaacs, 'Problems of democratic consolidation in Ecuador', *BLAR*, 10/2 (1991), 221–38.

MEXICO

Although Mexico is one of the most important countries in the region and shares a long land border with the United States, the Mexican military establishment has been sorely understudied. The reason for this neglect is obvious: the Mexican military institutions have been peripheral to the political process since the late 1930s. David Ronfeldt (ed.), *The Modern Mexican Military: A Reassessment* (La Jolla, Calif., 1984) and Roderic A. Camp, *Generals in the Palacio: The Military in Modern Mexico* (New York, 1992) thus fill a yawning gap in the political science literature on Mexico. Edwin Lieuwen, *Mexican Militarism: The Political Rise and Fall of the Revolutionary Army, 1910–40* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1968) is a fine study of the political power of the Army in the years following the Mexican Revolution and its ultimate marginalization following the 'institutionalization' of the revolution in the 1930s. Other books of significance on the Mexican military establishment are Jorge Alberto Lozoya, *El ejército mexicano: 1911–1965*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Mexico, D.F., 1971) and Guillermo Boils, *Los militares y la política en México: 1915–1974* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Franklin D. Margiotta's article, 'Civilian control and the Mexican Military: Changing patterns of political influence', in Claude E. Welch, Jr., (ed.), *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries* (Albany, N.Y., 1976), is a useful contribution to the literature on military politics in Mexico.

PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY

For Paraguay, Andrew Nickson, 'The overthrow of the Stroessner regime: Re-establishing the status quo', *BLAR*, 8/2 (1989), 185–209 not only covers the February 1989 coup against Stroessner but also includes an excellent historical overview of the relations between the military and the Colorado Party.

Written amidst the gathering storm that finally led to direct military intervention in Uruguay in 1973, Gabriel Ramírez, *Las FFAA uruguayas y la crisis continental* (Montevideo, 1972) makes interesting retrospective reading. In recent years the literature on military politics in Uruguay has received an enormous boost with the writings of Carina Perelli and Juan Rial. Perelli and Rial, *De mitos y memorias políticas: La represión, el miedo y después . . .* (Montevideo, 1986) is a superb book on the repression of the military period. See also Paul C. Sondrol, '1984 revisited? A re-examination of Uruguay's military dictatorship', *BLAR*, 11/2 (1992), 187–203. Rial, *Las FFAA: Soldados políticos garantes de la democracia?* (Montevideo, 1986) and Perelli, *Someter o convencer: El discurso militar en el Uruguay de la transición y la redemocratización* (Montevideo, 1987) are excellent contributions on the military in the democratic transition. Charles G. Gillespie, *Negotiating Democracy: Politicians and Generals in Uruguay* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991) is superb. See also Cristina Torres, 'Las fuerzas armadas en la transición hacia la democracia', in Charles Gillespie (ed.), *Uruguay y la democracia* (Montevideo, 1985). Carina Perelli, *Los militares y la gestión política* (Montevideo, 1990) and Juan Rial, *Las fuerzas armadas en los años 90: Una agenda de discusión* (Montevideo, 1990) present thought-provoking views on the future of civil–military relations in Uruguay.

VENEZUELA

In spite of the passage of years since its publication, Winfield J. Burggraaff, *The Venezuelan Armed Forces in Politics, 1935–1959* (Columbia,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mo., 1972) remains the classic study of military politics in Venezuela. Angel Ziems, *El Gomecismo y la formación del ejército nacional* (Caracas, 1979) is a fine historical work. José Vicente Rangel, Luis Esteban Rey, Pompeyo Márquez, and Germán Lariet, *Militares y política (Una polémica inconclusa)* (Caracas, 1976) is a stimulating contribution to the subject. Another noteworthy book is Aníbal Romero, *Seguridad, defensa y democracia* (Caracas, 1980). Gene E. Bigler, 'The armed forces and patterns of civil–military relations', in John D. Martz and D. J. Myers (eds.), *Venezuela: The Democratic Experience* (New York, 1977) is an easily accessible and comprehensive study. Luis Enrique Rangel Bourgoin, *Nosotros los militares* (Caracas, 1983) deserves mention.

There is a tendency for scholars of Latin American military politics to ignore those countries in which the armed forces seem to be firmly under civilian control. The danger inherent in this scholarly neglect is that an unstudied military institution can over a period of time become a 'no-go zone' for scholars, and consequently a *terra incognita*. This danger is well illustrated by the Venezuelan case. The paucity of academic studies on Venezuelan military politics over the years has led to a woeful inadequacy of our collective knowledge on the subject. The inability of scholars to explain the events of 1992 is all too evident.

11. THE URBAN WORKING CLASS AND LABOUR MOVEMENTS

The literature on labour movements and the working class in Latin America in the period since 1930 is most abundant for Brazil and Mexico, followed by Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Peru. There is a limited literature on the remaining countries. Works dealing specifically with occupational structure, and with the political parties of the Left, have been omitted; they are covered in other bibliographic essays in this volume. Works dealing with labour law have also been omitted, unless these have a specific historical or substantive focus.

There are a number of general surveys of the field. Of these, perhaps the most interesting (though also highly debated) are R. B. Collier and D. Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), and C. Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). The former is a massive interpretative effort of the political incorporation of labour and its effects on political development in eight countries: Argentina, Chile,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Mexico. The latter, employing an interpretative scheme drawn from dependency and labour process theories, compares Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Colombia. An earlier work which is still a useful and reliable introduction is Hobart Spalding, Jr., *Organized Labor in Latin America* (New York, 1977). See also Moisés Poblete Troncoso and Ben Burnett, *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement* (New York, 1960); R. J. Alexander, *Labor Relations in Argentina, Brazil and Chile* (New York, 1962); Victor Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1968); Carlos Rama, *Historia del movimiento obrero y social latinoamericano contemporáneo* (Barcelona, 1976); and Moisés Poblete Troncoso, *El movimiento obrero latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1976). A careful Marxist account is J. Godio's *Historia del movimiento obrero latinoamericano,* 3 vols. (San José, C.R., 1979–85). There is also a four-volume collection of country studies (of uneven quality): Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

Historiographical and theoretical discussions on Latin American labour history include Kenneth Paul Erickson et al., 'Research on the urban working class and organized labor in Argentina, Brazil and Chile: What is left to be done?', *LARR,* 9/2 (1974); Charles Bergquist, 'What is being done? Some recent studies on the urban working class and organized labor in Latin America', *LARR,* 16/2 (1981), 203–223; and Emília Viotti da Costa, 'Experience versus structures: New tendencies in the history of labor and the working class in Latin America – What do we gain? What do we lose?, *International Labor and Working-Class History,* 36 (Fall 1989). An historically-oriented survey of the sociological literature is Francisco Zapata, 'Towards a Latin American sociology of labour', *JLAS,* 22/2 (1990), 375–402. See also, from a sociological perspective, two general books by Francisco Zapata: *Trabajadores y sindicatos en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988) and *El conflicto sindical en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). The first contains a series of essays on general topics and some case studies of Chilean and Mexican unions. The second is the only sustained comparative work on strike activity in Latin America.

Several works dealing specifically with women workers are mentioned below in the review of the literature on individual countries. In addition, June Nash and Helen Icken Safa (eds.), *Sex and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1980) has several papers on women workers, as does Magdalena León (ed.), *Sociedad, subordinación y feminismo,* vol. 3 (Bogotá, 1982).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Two articles deal in a systematic way with the diversity of Latin American experiences and offer typologies: Samuel Valenzuela, 'Movimientos obreros y sistemas políticos: Un análisis conceptual y tipológico', *DE*, 23/91 (1983), and Ian Roxborough, 'The analysis of labour movements in Latin America: Typologies and theories', *BLAR*, 2/2 (1981), 81–95.

On labour in the period at the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War, see Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America Between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). A number of works focus on the international dimensions of Latin American labour in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. See J. Kofas, *The Struggle for Legitimacy: Latin American Labor and the United States, 1930–1960* (Tempe, Ariz., 1992), which relies heavily on United States archives; L. Quintanilla Obregón, *Lombardismo y sindicatos en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1982) on the CTAL; and two works which deal with Latin America as part of a larger international political project: Ronald Radosh, *American Labor and United States Foreign Policy* (New York, 1969) and Gary Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London, 1983). The autobiographical account of Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York, 1967) also deserves mention.

Edward Epstein (ed.), *Labor Autonomy and the State in Latin America* (Boston, 1989) provides an overview of labour relations in the 1970s and 1980s. Francisco Zapata et al., *El sindicalismo latinoamericano en los ochenta* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) contains essays on the 1980s by some of the leading specialists in Latin America.

MEXICO

On Mexico, single-volume interpretations which serve as a useful point of departure include I. Bizberg, *Estado y sindicalismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). A more ambitious work is the 17-volume collection under the general editorship of P. González Casanova, *La clase obrera en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1980–8). Vols. 9–15 cover the period since 1930. See, in particular, A. Córdova, *En una época de crisis (1928–1934)* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); J. Basurto, *Del avilacamachismo al alemanismo (1940–1962)* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and J. L. Reyna and R. Trejo Delarbe, *De Adolfo Ruiz Cortines a Adolfo López Mateos (1952–1964)* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). Published collections of conference papers on Mexican labour history include: José Woldenberg et al., *Memorias del*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

encuentro sobre historia del movimiento obrero, 3 vols. (Puebla, 1980–1); Miguel Angel Manzano et al., *Memoria del primer coloquio regional de historia obrera* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); Guillermina Bahena et al., *Memoria del segundo coloquio regional de historia obrera,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1979); and Elsa Cecilia Frost et al. (eds.), *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1979).

The 1930s, and in particular the Cárdenas presidency (1934–40), is a period which has attracted researchers and has produced a polemical literature. Works with a focus on labour include A. Anguiano, *El estado y la política obrera del cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); J. Basurto, *Cárdenas y el poder sindical* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); J. Ashby, *Organized Labor and the Mexican Revolution under Lázaro Cárdenas* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963). Two volumes of the series under the general direction of Daniel Cosío Villegas and published by the Colegio de México, *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana,* 23 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1977–), are of interest for their interpretations of the labour movement: L. Meyer, *El conflicto social y los gobiernos del Maximato,* vol. 13 (Mexico, D.F., 1978); and A. Hernández Chávez, *La mecánica cardenista,* vol. 16 (Mexico, D.F., 1979).

The events of the 1940s and the 1948 Charrazo are detailed in three fine works: V. M. Durand Ponte, *La ruptura de la nación* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); V. M. Durand Ponte et al., *Las derrotas obreras, 1946–1952* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and R. Loyola (ed.), *Entre la guerra y la estabilidad política: El México de los 40* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). There are also important comments on labour in this period in three of the volumes in the *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana* series: L. Medina, *Del cardenismo al avilacamachismo,* vol. 18 (Mexico, D.F., 1978); B. Torres, *México en la Segunda Guerra Mundial,* vol. 19 (Mexico, D.F., 1979); and L. Medina, *Civilismo y modernización del autoritarismo,* vol. 20 (Mexico, D.F., 1979).

A useful survey of the 1950s is O. Pellicer de Brody and J. L. Reyna, *El afianzamiento de la estabilidad política* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), vol. 22 of the Colegio de México series. The various works cited below on the railway workers are also worth consulting for this period.

The period of union militancy in the 1970s is dealt with by R. Trejo Delarbe, *Este puno si se ve* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). The same author has also produced the very helpful *Crónica del sindicalismo en México (1976–1988)* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), which is an industry-by-industry account of labour conflict in this period. Another chronology is the four volumes of José Luis Cecena Gamez (ed.), *Movimiento obrero, 1970–1980 (Cronología)* (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

For Mexico there are a number of studies of particular industries, unions and labour confederations. The most thorough study of union organizations in the 1970s is a work produced by the research department of the Ministry of Labour: C. Zazueta and R. de la Peña, *La estructura del Congreso del Trabajo* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). A useful collection, based largely on periodical and secondary sources and dealing with the major unions, is the five volumes under the editorship of J. Aguilar, *Los sindicatos nacionales* (Mexico, D.F., 1986–9). There is also J. Aguilar (ed.), *Historia de la CTM, 1936–1990,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1990), though this also relies heavily on periodical and secondary sources. Also on the CTM there are A. Aziz Nassif, *El estado mexicano y la CTM* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); S. Yanez Reyes, *Genesis de la burocracia sindical cetemista* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). None of the other confederations has received nearly as much attention, though the excellent book by F. Barbosa Cano, *La CROM de Luis N. Morones a Antonio Hernández* (Puebla, 1980) does devote a few pages to the CROM in the 1930s and 1940s. On oil workers, see A. Alonso y R. López, *El sindicato de trabajadores petroleros y sus relaciones con PEMEX y el estado, 1970–1985* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); and V. Novelo, *La difícil democracia de los petroleros* (Mexico, D.F., 1991). On miners, see J. L. Sariego, *Enclaves y minerales en el norte de México: Historia social de los mineros de Cananea y Nueva Rosita, 1900–1970* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); and L. Reygadas, *Proceso de trabajo y acción obrera: Historia sindical de los mineros de Nueva Rosita, 1929–1979* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). There are a number of works on the railway workers, most of which focus on the strikes of 1958, including: A. Alonso, *El movimiento ferrocarrilero en México, 1958/1959* (Mexico, D.F., 1972); and E. Stevens, *Protest and Response in Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974). Union militancy in the steel industry in the 1970s is dealt with by I. Bizberg, *La acción obrera en Las Truchas* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). The unions in the electricity-generating industry are analysed by S. Gómez Tagle, *Insurgencia y democracia en los sindicatos electricistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1980) and Mark Thompson, 'Collective bargaining in the Mexican electrical industry', *British Journal of Industrial Relations,* 8/1 (1970). For secondary school teachers and their unions, see A. Loyo Brambila, *El movimiento magisterial de 1958 en México* (Mexico, 1979); Enrique Avila Carrillo and Humberto Martínez Brizuela, *Historia del movimiento magisterial, 1910–1989* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), and two books by G. Peláez: *Las luchas magisteriales de 1956–60* (Mexico, D.F., 1984) and *Historia del Sindicato nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); as well as Stevens, *Protest and Response,* mentioned above. There are several works on

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the automobile industry. I. Roxborough, *Unions and Politics in Mexico: The Case of the Automobile Industry* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984), and J. Aguilar, *La política sindical en México: Industria del automóvil* (Mexico, D.F., 1982) deal with the industry in the 1970s. An extended comment on these is Kevin Middlebrook, 'Union democratization in the Mexican automobile industry: A reappraisal', *LARR*, 24/2 (1988), 69–93. Two more recent studies with a labour process perspective are J. Carrillo (ed.), *La nueva era de la industria automotriz en México* (Tijuana, 1990); and Y. Montiel, *Proceso de trabajo, acción sindical y nuevas tecnologías en Volkswagen de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1991).

There is a useful two-volume collection of papers on women in the labour force: Jenifer Cooper et al. (eds.), *Fuerza de trabajo feminino urbano en México* (Mexico, 1989). Also worthy of note are Vicki Ruiz and Susan Tiano (eds.), *Women on the U.S.–Mexico Border* (Boston, 1987), Lourdes Benería and Martha Roldan, *The Crossroads of Class and Gender: Industrial Homework, Subcontracting, and Household Dynamics in Mexico City* (Chicago, 1987); and María Patricia Fernández-Kelly, *For We Are Sold. I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier* (Albany, N.Y., 1983).

Many important labour leaders have yet to find a biographer, and most of the existing biographies lack balance and objectivity. On Vicente Lombardo Toledano there is the hagiographic R. Millon, *Mexican Marxist – Vicente Lombardo Toledano* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966) and the almost diametrically opposed F. Chassen de López, *Lombardo Toledano y el movimiento obrero mexicano (1917/1940)* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). A number of largely journalistic books have more recently appeared on Fidel Velázquez, including Fernando Amilpa Trujillo, *Fidel Velázquez: Mi amigo Amilpa* (Mexico, D.F., 1991); Agustín Sánchez González, *Fidel: Una historia de poder* (Mexico, D.F., 1991); Jorge Mejía Prieto, *Fidel Velázquez: 47 años de historia y poder* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); and Carlos Velasco, *Fidel Velázquez* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). An interesting autobiography is Valentín Campa, *Mi testimonio: Memoria de un comunista mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). Campa was a leader of the railway workers and has much to say about the forties and fifties.

On the history of wages in Mexico, there are two careful studies: P. Gregory, *The Myth of Market Failure: Employment and the Labor Market in Mexico* (Baltimore, 1986) and J. Bortz, 'El salario obrero en el Distrito Federal, 1939–1975', *Investigación Económica* (October–December 1977). Finally, there is a book of photographs, Victorial Novelo (ed.), *Obreros somos: Expresiones de la cultura obrera* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

BRAZIL

There are no satisfactory substantial published English-language surveys of Brazilian labour since 1930, though the doctoral dissertation of Timothy Harding, 'The political history of organized labor in Brazil' (Stanford University, 1973) can be recommended as a place to start. In Portuguese a very good introduction is provided by Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, 'Sindicalismo e classe operária (1930–1964)', in B. Fausto (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira,* vol. 10 (São Paulo, 1981). An orthodox Marxist interpretation, with considerable detail and a sensitive periodization, is provided by L. Werneck Vianna, *Liberalismo e sindicato no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). A classic work dealing with the state of São Paulo is A. Simão, *Sindicato e estado* (São Paulo, 1966). Eder Sader et al., *Movimento operário brasileiro, 1900–1979* (Belo Horizonte, 1980) is a series of short interpretative essays. Kenneth Paul Erickson, *The Brazilian Corporative State and Working-Class Politics* (Berkeley, 1977) focuses on the question of corporatism and state control. Leôncio Martins Rodrigues has produced two interesting general essays: *Trabalhadores, sindicatos e industrialização* (São Paulo, 1974) and *La clase obrera en el Brasil* (Buenos Aires, 1969).

The period between 1930 and 1945 is, in historiographical terms, a veritable minefield. Historians of this period have disputed the relationship between organized labour and the state, with some seeing the Estado Novo as a political project largely independent of organized social forces, and with others taking the view that both labour and industrialists exerted some important influence on policy-making during the Estado Novo. Among the more important published works are: Robert Rowland, 'Classe operária e estado de compromisso', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 8 (1974); R. Barbosa de Araujo, *O Batismo do trabalho: A experiência de Lindolfo Collor* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); Angela Maria de Castro Gomes, *A Invenção do trabalhismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988); R. Antunes, *Classe operária, sindicatos e partido no Brasil: Da revolução de 30 até a Aliança Nacional Libertadora* (São Paulo, 1982); and the brief but interesting Kazumi Munakata, *A Legislação trabalhista no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1981), all of which concentrate on the 1930s. Zélia Lopes da Silva, *A Domesticação dos trabalhadores nos anos 30* (São Paulo, 1990) and René Gertz, 'Estado Novo: Um inventário historiográfico', in José Luiz Werneck da Silva (ed.), *O Feixe e o prisma: uma revisão do Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991), discuss some of the historiographical issues. Angela de Castro Gomes, *Burguesia e trabalho: Política e legislação social no Brasil, 1917–1937* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979), although mainly

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

dealing with an earlier period, is also very useful. João Almino, *Os Democratas autoritários: Liberdades individuais, de associação política e sindical na constituinte de 1946* (São Paulo, 1980) discusses the debates around the 1946 Constitution, with particular emphasis on labour. A survey of the period of the Estado Novo is contained in A. C. Bernardo, *Tutela e autonomia sindical: Brasil, 1930–1945* (São Paulo, 1982). The crucial period of the mid-forties is dealt with in considerable detail by John French's *The Brazilian Workers' ABC* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), which, as the title indicates, is a study of the ABC region of São Paulo. A careful study of the period between 1945 and the late 1960s is Heloisa Helena Teixeira de Souza Martins, *O Estado e a burocratização do sindicato no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1979). Filling a gap is J. A. Moisés, *Greve de massa e crise política* (São Paulo, 1978), which is a study of the 'strike of the three hundred thousand' in São Paulo in 1953–4, making the point that even in the 'quiet years' there was still considerable union militancy.

The period of labour insurgency during the Goulart presidency in the early 1960s is discussed in a number of general works covering this period, including Erickson, *The Brazilian Corporative State and Working Class Politics,* cited above. Specifically on the PTB and the CGT (and sometimes covering a broader historical span) are Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado, *CGT no Brasil, 1961–1964* (Belo Horizonte, 1981) and *PTB: Do Getulismo ao reformismo, 1945–1964* (São Paulo, 1989); Luis Alberto Moniz Bandeira, *Brizola e o trabalhismo* (Rio de Janiero, 1979); Maria Victoria Benevides, *O PTB e o trabalhismo* (São Paulo, 1989); and Maria Andrea Loyola, *Os Sindicatos e o PTB: Estudo de um caso em Minas Gerais* (Petrópolis, 1980).

The definitive work on trends in Brazilian wages is John Wells, 'Industrial accumulation and living standards in the long-run: The São Paulo industrial working class, 1930–75', parts 1 and 2, *Journal of Development Studies,* 19/2–3 (1983).

A number of early case studies by sociologists provide an insight into industrial relations in the fifties and sixties. J. Brandão Lopes in *Crise de Brasil arcaico* (São Paulo, 1967), deals with the textile industry in 1958 and in *Sociedade industrial no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1964) he reports two cases of factories studied in 1957. L. Martins Rodrigues, *Industrialização e atitudes operárias* (São Paulo, 1970) reports the results of a survey in a São Paulo car factory in 1963. More recent studies by sociologists and anthropologists which deserve mention are V. M. Candido Pereira, *O Coração da*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

fábrica (Rio de Janeiro, 1979) and textile workers in Rio, and J. S. Leite Lopes, *O Vapor do diabo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978) on the sugar industry in Pernambuco). J. S. Leite Lopes, *A Teçelagem dos conflitos de classe* (São Paulo, 1988) is a study of the textile city of Paulina, Pernambuco, relying heavily on anthropological fieldwork to reconstruct the history of a mill-town in the mid-twentieth century.

Union organization and leadership in Brazil has been well covered. J. A. Rodrigues, *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1968) is a general study of Brazilian union organization with data up to 1961. O. Rabello, *A Rede sindical paulista* (São Paulo, 1965) gives a useful snapshot of union organizations in São Paulo in 1964, and can be supplemented with a survey of São Paulo union leaders, carried out in 1963, by J. V. Freitas Marcondes, *Radiografia da lideranca sindical paulista* (São Paulo, 1964). There is a helpful study of the Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Industria (CNTI) in S. A. Costa, *Estado e contrôle sindical no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1986). On the union organizations of the 1980s, there are four excellent short studies by L. Martins Rodrigues: *Partidos e sindicatos* (São Paulo, 1990), *CUT: Os militantes e a ideologia* (São Paulo, 1990), *Força Sindical* (São Paulo, 1993), and *Retrato da CUT* (São Paulo, 1991). There is also M. Grondin, *Perfil dos dirigentes sindicais na Grande São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1985).

The importance of São Paulo, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, has led to a massive output of work on the metalworking industries. Many of these works are listed below in the section on the insurgency of the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, there is Braz José de Araujo, *Operários em luta: Metalúrgicos da Baixada Santista (1933–1983)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985), Dennis Linhares Barsted, *Medição de forças: O movimento grevista de 1953 e a época dos operários navais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), and José Ricardo Ramalho's study of a state-owned automobile factory which concentrates on the 1940s and 1950s, *Estado-patrão e luta operária* (São Paulo, 1989). The metalworkers' union of São Bernardo published a fascinating collection of photographs: Aloízio Mercante Oliva (ed.), *Imagens da luta, 1905–1985* (São Bernardo, 1987).

An excellent history of a Brazilian mining union is Y. de Souza Grossi, *Mina de Morro Velho: A Extração do homen* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981). A history of the São Paulo bankworkers between 1923 and 1944 is L. Bicalho Canedo, *O Sindicalismo bancário em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1978). The history of the chemical and pharmaceutical workers' union of São Paulo has been

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

written by A. Troyano, *Estado e sindicalismo* (São Paulo, 1978). Dock-workers are treated by Barsted, cited above (for Rio de Janeiro) and Ingrid Sarti, *Porto Vermelho* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981) (for the port of Santos).

The union insurgency of the late 1970s onward has received extensive treatment, mainly by social scientists. Many of these works focus on the metalworkers of Greater São Paulo. Among the more useful works are J. Humphrey, *Capitalist Control and Workers' Struggle in the Brazilian Auto Industry* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), V. M. Durand Ponte, *Crisis y movimiento obrero en Brasil: Las huelgas metalúrgicas de 1978–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), Eder Sader, *Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: Experiências e lutas dos trabalhadores da Grande São Paulo, 1970–1980* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988) and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, 'O Sindicalismo brasileiro entre a conservação e a mudança', in Bernardo Sorj and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida (eds.), *Sociedade e política no Brasil pós-64* (São Paulo, 1983).

On the situation in the 1980s, two useful works are Armando Boito, *O Sindicalismo de estado no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1991), and Armando Boito (ed.), *O Sindicalismo brasileiro nos anos 80* (São Paulo, 1991). In English a helpful survey is Margaret Keck, 'The new unionism in the Brazilian transition' in Alfred Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil* (New York, 1989). An interesting and broad-ranging essay is Antonio Guimarães and Nádya Araujo Castro, 'Espacios regionales de construcción de la identidad: La clase trabajadora en Brasil después de 1977', *Estudios Sociológicos*, 7/21 (1989).

Women workers have been relatively well studied in Brazil. Rosalina de Santa Cruz Leite, *A operária metalúrgica* (São Paulo, 1984) reports extensive interviews with women metalworkers; Jessita Martins Rodrigues, *A mulher operária* (São Paulo, 1979) is a study of women textile workers in San José dos Campos, in the state of São Paulo. A thorough sociological treatment is John Humphrey, *Gender and Work in the Third World: Sexual Divisions in Brazilian Industry* (London, 1987).

ARGENTINA

A useful introduction in English to the history of the labour movement in Argentina from a Marxist perspective is R. Munck, *Argentina: From Anarchism to Peronism* (London, 1987). In Spanish, also from a Marxist perspective, there is Julio Godio's five-volume overview, *El movimiento obrero argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1987–91). A special number of the *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 31 (December 1981) is dedicated to

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

historical perspectives on the working class of Argentina and Chile. Carlos Waisman, *Modernization and the Working Class* (Austin, Tex., 1982) is a theoretically oriented discussion by a sociologist of the process of labour incorporation in Argentina, Germany and Britain.

Most of the work on Argentine unionism is, of course, closely bound up with the debates on the origins and nature of Peronism. The 1930s are usually viewed either as a prelude to Peronism or as the last stages of an alternative project of (potentially) Socialist unionism. On the origins of Peronism, an older but still useful work is Samuel Baily, *Labor, Nationalism, and Politics in Argentina* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967). The view of Peronism stressing the importance of recent migration to the city and the 'massification' of the working class was challenged by a wave of revisionist historiography. The pioneering work was M. Murmis and J. C. Portantiero, *Estudios sobre los orígines del peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1971), where they argued that popular support for Perón came as much from the established working class as from recent immigrants to the city. This line of argument was strengthened by the publication of Juan Carlos Torre's article, 'Sobre as origens do peronismo – a CGT e o 17 de outubro de 1945', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 16 (1976). Another important article is Daniel James, 'October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass protest, Peronism and the Argentine working class', *Journal of Social History,* 21 (1988), 441–61. This gave rise to a lively debate, conducted largely in the pages of *Desarrollo Económico.* Several of the articles in this debate have been reproduced in Juan Carlos Torre (ed.), *La formación del sindicalismo peronista* (Buenos Aires, 1986). Accounts of the origins of Peronist unionism taking account of both orthodox and revisionist positions include J. C. Torre, *La vieja guardia sindical y Perón* (Buenos Aires, 1990), H. Matsushita, *Movimiento obrero argentino, 1930–1945* (Buenos Aires, 1983), Elena Susana Pont, *Partido Laborista: Estado y sindicatos* (Buenos Aires, 1984), and H. del Campo, *Sindicalismo y peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1983). A study which concentrates on the railway workers is D. Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930–1945* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985). Also on railway workers, see Joel Horowitz, 'Los trabajadores ferroviarios en la Argentina (1920–1943): La formación de una elite obrera', *DE,* 25/99 (1985).

Paul Buchanan, 'State corporatism in Argentina: Labor administration under Perón and Onganía', *LARR,* 20/1 (1985), 61–95, examines the role of the Ministry of Labour. Some of the articles published in Torre (ed.), *La formación del sindicalismo peronista,* cited above, treat the period of the first Peronist governments (1946–55) and Alvaro Abós, *La columna vertebral:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sindicatos y peronismo (Buenos Aires, 1983) take a broad look at unionism in Argentina from 1946 to 1976.

The international projection of Peronist unionism via the Agrupación de Trabajadores Latinoamericanos Sindicalistas (ATLAS) is covered by most works dealing with international unionism cited above, and has been specifically covered by Manuel Urriza, *CGT y ATLAS: Historia de una experiencia sindical latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1988) and Daniel Parcero, *La CGT y el sindicalismo latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

The relations between the military government that overthrew Perón in 1955 and the unions are discussed in Juan Carlos Torre and Santiago Senén González, *Ejército y sindicatos (los 60 días de Lonardi)* (Buenos Aires, 1969). The most important work on the Peronist 'resistance' period between the overthrow of Perón in 1955 and the return of the Peronists to power in 1973 is Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–76* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988), which has a subtle and sophisticated analysis of the factors creating a specifically Peronist working-class identity. Another general survey of the same period is Graciela Ducatenzeiler, *Syndicats et politique en Argentine, 1955–1973* (Montreal, 1980). An important work on the Frondizi government of the late 1950s is Marcelo Cavarozzi, *Sindicatos y política en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1984). Ernesto Salas has written a detailed study of the occupation of a meatpacking plant by the workers in 1959: *La resistencia peronista: La toma del frigorífico Lisandro de la Torre,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1990). A sociological study of the Argentine working class carried out in the mid-1960s has recently been republished: Torcuato Di Tella, *Política y clase obrera* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

The 1960s and 1970s are covered by Osvaldo Calello and Daniel Parcero, *De Vandor a Ubaldini,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1984). The relationship between unions and the military dictatorship of 1966–73 is treated by Alvaro Abós, *Las organizaciones sindicales y el poder militar (1976–1983)* (Buenos Aires, 1984). Focussing more directly on the Radical and Justicialista parties is Daniel Rodríguez Lamas, *Radicales, peronistas y el movimiento obrero (1963–1973),* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1989). Arturo Fernández has also published a study of the ideology of the Peronist union leadership during this period: *Ideologías de los grupos dirigentes sindicales (1966–1973),* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1986).

The events of the 'Cordobazo' of 1969 are covered by F. Delich, *Crisis y protesta social: Córdoba, mayo de 1969* (Buenos Aires, 1970), and by Beba C. Balvé and Beatriz S. Balvé, *'69: Huelga política de masas* (Buenos Aires,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1989). The second round of 1971 is the subject of B. Balvé et al., *Lucha de calles, lucha de clases* (Buenos Aires, 1973).

Juan Carlos Torre, *Los sindicatos en el gobierno, 1973–1976* (Buenos Aires, 1983) is the most reliable and useful work on the labour movement during the short-lived Peronist government of 1973–76.

The military dictatorship of 1976–83 is covered in Bernardo Gallitelli and Andrés Thompson (eds.), *Sindicalismo y régimenes militares en Argentina y Chile* (Amsterdam, 1982), and by Pablo Pozzi, *Oposición obrera a la dictadura* (Buenos Aires, 1988).

There are a number of works by social scientists on the period since the return to democracy in 1983. The most useful of these is R. Gaudio and A. Thompson, *Sindicalismo peronista/gobierno radical: Los años de Alfonsín* (Buenos Aires, 1990). The article by James McGuire, 'Union political tactics and democratic consolidation in Alfonsín's Argentina, 1983–1989', *LARR*, 27/1 (1992) 37–74 is particularly helpful in explaining the complex factional line-up in the CGT. On labour-management relations, O. Moreno, *La nueva negociación: La negociación colectiva en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1991) is very helpful. The Ministry of Labour published two useful collections of statistical data: *Sindicatos: Elecciones 1984–1986* (Buenos Aires, 1988) and *Estructura sindical en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

Union organization is dealt with in detail in Ruben Zorrilla, *Estructura y dinámica del sindicalismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1974). Studies of the leadership and its political tendencies include Alejandro Francisco Lamadrid, *Política y alineamientos sindicales* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Rubén Zorrilla, *Líderes del poder sindical* (Buenos Aires, 1988) and, by the same author, *El liderazgo sindical argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1988). Working-class living standards are considered in Adriana Marshall, 'La composición del consumo de los obreros industriales de Buenos Aires, 1930–1980', *DE*, 21/83 (1981).

Given the importance of organized labour in Argentina, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that there are not more studies of individual industries or unions. Notable exceptions are I. M. Roldán, *Sindicatos y protesta social en la Argentina: Un estudio de caso: El Sindicato de Luz y Fuerza de Córdoba (1969–1974)* (Amsterdam, 1978); Federico Neiburg, *Fábrica y Villa Obrera: Historia social y antropología de los obreros del cemento*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1988), and Natalia Duval, *Los sindicatos clasistas: SiTraC (1970–1971)* (Buenos Aires, 1988), a study of auto workers. A study of working conditions for teachers in the 1970s is Mariano Narodowski and Patricio Narodowski, *La crisis laboral docente* (Buenos Aires, 1988).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

On Uruguay, see Enrique Rodríguez, *Un movimiento obrero maduro* (Montevideo, 1988), and Francisco Pintos, *Historia del movimiento obrero del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1960). On Paraguay, see Ramiro Barboza, *Los sindicatos en el Paraguay: Evolución y estructura actual* (Asunción, 1987).

CHILE

The monograph by Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (London, 1972) is still a standard reference for the structure and organization of Chilean labour to the 1960s. See also Jorge Barría, *El movimiento obrero en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1971), and James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, *El radicalismo político de la clase trabajadora chilena* (Buenos Aires, 1969). On copper miners in the 1960s, see Jorge Barría, *Los sindicatos de la gran minería del cobre* (Santiago, Chile, 1970) and Manuel Barrera, *El conflicto obrero en el enclave cuprífero* (Santiago, Chile, 1973). Francisco Zapata has a chapter of his *Trabajadores y sindicatos en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) devoted to copper miners during the Pinochet dictatorship. He has also written two other short works: *Los mineros de Chuquicamata: Productores o proletarios?* (Mexico, D.F., 1975) and *Las relaciones entre el movimiento obrero y el gobierno de Allende* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). Information on strikes and on the attitudes of union leaders in the 1960s is available in Manuel Barrera, *El sindicato industrial como instrumento de lucha de la clase obrera chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1971). A minor classic is Torcuato Di Tella et al., *Sindicato y comunidad* (Buenos Aires, 1967), which compares union militancy in the coal mines of Lota and the steel plant of Huachipato, based on field work in the mid-fifties.

The most interesting work on the Allende period is Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution* (New York, 1986). A detailed study of a textile mill which was expropriated during the Popular Unity government, it describes the way in which the micropolitics of the factory articulated with national-level politics. The results of a survey of worker participation in management in 35 enterprises during the Allende government are analysed in Juan Espinosa and Andrew Zimbalist, *Economic Democracy: Workers' Participation in Chilean Industry, 1970–1973* (New York, 1978).

On the Pinochet period, see Jaime Ruiz-Tagle, *El sindicalismo chileno después del Plan Laboral* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); Guillermo Campero and José Valenzuela, *El movimiento sindical chileno en el capitalismo autoritario*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Santiago, Chile, 1981); Manuel Barrera et al., *Sindicatos y estado en el Chile actual* (Geneva, 1985); Manuel Barrera and Gonzalo Falabella (eds.), *Sindicato bajo régimenes militares* (Geneva, 1989) (which deals with Argentina, Brazil and Chile); Francisco Zapata et al., *El sindicalismo latinoamericano en los ochenta* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *Military Rule in Chile* (Baltimore, 1986); and Rigoberto García (ed.), *Chile 1973–1974* (Stockholm, 1985).

BOLIVIA

Bolivian labour history is dominated by the five-volume work of Trotskyist Guillermo Lora. This is available in an abridged version in English: *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977). See also Jorge Lazarte, *Movimiento obrero y procesos políticos en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1989), and Steven Volk, 'Class, union, party: The development of a revolutionary union movement in Bolivia (1905–1952)', *Science and Society,* 39/1 (1975). John Magill, *Labor Unions and Political Socialization: A Case Study of Bolivian Workers* (New York, 1974) deals specifically with the miners. Also on miners is Laurence Whitehead, 'Sobre el radicalismo de los trabajadores mineros de Bolivia', *RMS,* 42/4 (1980). June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* (New York, 1979), is an interesting account by an anthropologist of the role of belief-systems in creating community and occupational cohesiveness among tin miners. Domitla Barrios de Chungara, *Let Me Speak!* (London, 1978), is a powerful testimony by a female activist from the mining camps.

PERU AND ECUADOR

For Peru the obvious place to start is Denis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero peruano (1890–1980)* (Lima, 1980). An early and influential analysis of Peruvian labour, based on the notion of 'political bargaining', is James Payne, *Labor and Politics in Peru* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), with a focus on the late 1950s and early 1960s. A study of the textile labour force in the late fifties is David Chaplin, *The Peruvian Industrial Labor Force* (Princeton, N.J., 1967). Piedad Pareja, *Aprismo y sindicalismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1980), is the best source for the Bustamente government of 1945–8. The structure of the working class in the 1970s is discussed in Pedro Galín et al., *Asalariados y clases populares en Lima* (Lima, 1986), and a sophisticated analysis of the self-identity of workers is Jorge Parodi, *'Ser obrero es algo*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

relativo': Obreros, clasismo y política (Lima, 1986). Other general works are José Barba Caballero, *Historia del movimiento obrero peruano* (Lima, 1981), and Alberto Moya Obeso, *Sindicalismo aprista y clasista en el Perú (1920–1956)* (Trujillo, Peru, 1977). Specifically on mineworkers there are Jaysuno Abramovich, *Análisis socioeconómico del trabajador minero en el Perú* (Lima, 1983), Julian Laite, *Industrial Development and Migrant Labour* (Manchester, 1981); Heraclio Bonilla, *El minero de los Andes* (Lima, 1974); Dirk Kruijt and Menno Vellinger, *Labor Relations and Multinational Corporations* (Assen, Neth., 1979). Two works deal with the role of worker management in the industrial communities established under the military government of Velasco Alvarado: Giorgio Alberti et al., *Estado y clase: La comunidad industrial en el Perú* (Lima, 1977) and Evelyne Huber Stephens, *The Politics of Workers' Participation* (New York, 1980).

On Ecuador, Osvaldo Albornoz, *Historia del movimiento obrero ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1983); Osvaldo Albornoz et al., *28 de mayo y fundación de la CTE* (Quito, 1984), concentrating on Ecuador in the 1940s; and Juan-Pablo Pérez Sainz, *Clase obrera y democracia en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1985).

COLOMBIA

A good introduction to labour in Colombia is Daniel Pécaut, *Política y sindicalismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1973). Also worth consulting are Edgar Caicedo, *Historia de la luchas sindicales en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1982), and Victor Manuel Moncayo and Fernando Rojas, *Luchas obreras y política laboral en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978). Another survey, using Payne's notion of 'political bargaining', is Miguel Urrutia, *The Development of the Colombian Labor Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1969). Mauricio Archila Neira has written two works focussing on the cultural identity of the early Colombian working class: *Aquí nadie es forastero: Testimonios sobre la formación de una cultura radical: Barrancabermeja, 1920–1950* (Bogotá, 1986), and *Cultura e identidad obrera: Colombia, 1910–1945* (Bogotá, 1991). Focussing on the Catholic church and the formation of the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia in 1946 and its subsequent development, is Kenneth Medhurst, *The Church and Labour in Colombia* (Manchester, 1984). The condition of the working class of Bogotá in the 1950s is outlined by Camilo Torres, *La proletarización de Bogotá* (Bogotá, 1987). An interesting and detailed study of factory workers in Medellín in the 1960s is Charles Savage and George Lombard, *Sons of the Machine: Case Studies of Social Change in the Workplace* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). Another useful

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

study from the 1960s, this time of an oil town, is A. Eugene Havens and Michel Romieux, *Barrancabermeja: Conflictos sociales en torno a un centro petrolero* (Bogotá, 1966). The union situation in the 1970s and early 1980s is covered by a series of fine case studies in Hernando Gómez Buendía et al., *Sindicalismo y política económica* (Bogotá, 1986).

VENEZUELA

Julio Godio has written a three-volume work on Venezuelan labour which reproduces and summarizes a large number of documents: Julio Godio, *El movimiento obrero venezolano,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1980, 1982 and n.d.). The first volume covers 1850–1944, the second, 1945–80, and the third, 1965–80 in more detail. Godio has also written a history of the *Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela: 50 años de la CTV (1936–1986)* (Caracas, 1986). On the crucial period of the 1930s and 1940s the best source is Steve Ellner, *Los partidos políticos y su disputa por el control del movimiento sindical en Venezuela 1936–1948* (Caracas, 1980). A study of oil workers, focusing on the years between 1936 and 1957, is Héctor Lucena, *El movimiento obrero petrolero* (Caracas, 1982). A survey of labour organization in the 1970s is Cecilia Valente, *The Political, Economic, and Labor Climate in Venezuela* (Philadelphia, 1979).

CENTRAL AMERICA

A general discussion of the labour market in Central America in the postwar period was produced under the auspices of the ILO: Guillermo García Huidobro et al., *Cambio y polarización ocupacional en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1986). Manning Nash, *Machine Age Maya: The Industrialization of a Guatemalan Community* (Chicago, 1958) is an anthropological study of the adaptation of workers to industrial discipline in a textile mill in the Guatemalan highlands in the 1950s. On Honduras, see Mario Posas, *Luchas del movimiento obrero hondureño* (San José, C.R., 1981). On El Salvador, see Rafael Menjívar, *Formación y lucha del proletariado industrial salvadoreño* (San Salvador, 1979); For Costa Rica there is Daniel Camacho (ed.), *Desarrollo del movimiento sindical en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1985), which, after a brief historical survey, deals mainly with the postwar period.

A standard account of the history of Nicaraguan labour is Carlos Pérez Bermudez and Onofre Guevara, *El movimiento obrero en Nicaragua* (Mana-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

gua, 1985). An interesting revisionist account of the relations between labour and the early Somoza regime is Jeffrey Gould, ' "For an organized Nicaragua": Somoza and the Labour Movement, 1944–1948', *JLAS*, 19/2 (1987), 353–87. The role of labour in the 1979 revolution is treated by Carlos Vilas, 'The workers' movement in the Sandinista Revolution', in Richard Harris and Carlos Vilas (ed.), *Nicaragua: A Revolution Under Seige* (London, 1985).

CUBA

There is, not surprisingly, little scholarly work on the history of the Cuban labour movement. Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History, 1860–1958* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985) stands out as an exception, and indicates both what can be done and what still remains to be done. A sociological study based on a survey carried out in 1962 by Maurice Zeitlin, *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), provides us with a detailed view of Cuban workers' attitudes in the early phase of the revolution. A stridently anti-communist account is Rodolfo Riesgo, *Cuba: El movimiento obrero y su entorno socio-político* (Miami, 1985). A series of essays focussing on the economic condition of the Cuban working class between 1933 and 1958 is Carlos del Toro, *Algunos aspectos económicos, sociales y políticos del movimiento obrero cubano* (Havana, 1974). The post-revolutionary period is covered in Linda Fuller, *Work and Democracy in Socialist Cuba* (Philadelphia, 1992).

12. RURAL MOBILIZATIONS

Three well-known attempts to build a typology of peasant movements in Latin America in the twentieth century are Aníbal Quijano, 'Contemporary peasant movements', in Seymour Lipset and Aldo Solari (eds.), *Elites in Latin America* (New York, 1967); Henry A. Landsberger, 'The role of peasant movements and revolts in development', in H. A. Landsberger (ed.), *Latin American Peasant Movements* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1969), and Gerrit Huizer, *El potencial revolucionario del campesinado* (Mexico, D.F., 1973).

Other useful collections of articles on rural unrest are Rodolfo Stavenhagen (ed.), *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America* (New York, 1970); Ernest Feder (ed.), *La lucha de clases en el campo: Análisis*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

estructural de la economía latinoamericana (Mexico, D.F., 1975), and Henri Favre (ed.), 'Les mouvements indiens paysans aux XVIIIe, XIXe et XXe siècles', *Actes du XLIIe Congrès International des Américanistes* (Paris, 1976). But the most complete and up-to-date collective work, including chapters on every Latin American country, is Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1984–85). An illuminating synthesis is Henri Favre, 'L'Etat et la paysannerie en Mésoamérique et dans les Andes', *Etudes Rurales,* 81–2 (1981), 25–55. In a more abstract vein, a model for the changing nature of the rural social order and the increasing diversification of rural actors is provided by Eric R. Wolf, 'Fases de la protesta rural en América Latina', in Feder (ed.), *La lucha de clases en el campo.*

On the significance of *caudillos* and *caciques,* see the pioneering essays by Eric R. Wolf, 'Aspects of group relations in a complex society: Mexico', *American Anthropologist,* 58 (1956), 1065–78, and François Chevalier, ' "Caudillos" et "caciques" en Amérique: Contribution a l'étude des liens personnels', *Mélanges offerts a Marcel Bataillon par les hispanistes français, Bulletin Hispanique,* 51 (1962). See also Eric R. Wolf and Edward C. Hansen, 'Caudillo politics: A structural analysis', *CSSH,* 9 (1967), 168–79, and Guillermo de la Peña, 'Poder local, poder regional: Perspectivas socio-antropológicas', in Jorge Padua and Alain Vanneph (eds.), *Poder local, poder regional* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), 27–56.

The classic 'pre-revisionist' account of banditry in the Brazilian Northeast is Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Os cangaceiros: Les bandits d'honneur brésiliens* (Paris, 1968; Portuguese trans. São Paulo, 1977), on which Eric J. Hobsbawm drew for his portrait of *Bandits* (London, 1969). The revisionist literature includes Peter Singelmann, 'Political structure and social banditry in Northeast Brazil', *JLAS,* 7/1 (1975), 59–83; Billy Jaynes Chandler, *The Bandit King: Lampião of Brazil* (College Station, Tex., 1978); and Linda Lewin, 'The oligarchical limitations of social banditry in Brazil: The Case of the "Good Thief" Antonio Silvino', *Past and Present,* 82 (1979), 116–46. In an otherwise commendable work, 'Los campesinos y la política en Brasil', in P. González Casanova (ed.), *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos,* vol. 4 (1985), 9–83, José de Souza Martins seems to ignore the revisionist literature and supports the vision of Pereira de Queiroz and Hobsbawm. An intelligent, moderately anti-revisionist synthesis is Gilbert Joseph, 'On the trail of Latin American bandits: A re-examination of peasant resistance', *LARR,* 25/3 (1990), 7–53. Lewis Taylor's exhaustive study of *Bandits and Politics in Peru: Landlord and*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Peasant Violence in Hualgayoc, 1900–30 (Cambridge, Eng., 1988) is the most valuable source for a history of conflict in the northern Peruvian Sierra during the Leguía period.

General accounts of the agrarian situation and the activities of peasant leagues in post-revolutionary Mexico are Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937); Gerrit Huizer, *La lucha campesina en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), and Armando Bartra, *Los herederos de Zapata: Movimientos campesinos posrevolucionarios en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). There is a vast bibliography on Mexican *caudillos agrarios*. Felipe Carrillo Puerto has been eulogized by Francisco José Paoli and Enrique Montalvo in *El socialismo olvidado de Yucatán* (Mexico, D.F., 1980). A more critical (though still sympathetic) view on the same character can be found in Gilbert Joseph, 'Mexico's "Popular" Revolution: Mobilization and myth in Yucatán', *LAP*, 6/3 (1979) 46–65; see also his *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico and the United States* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982). José Guadalupe Zuno's memoirs, *Reminiscencias de una vida* (Guadalajara, 1956), is a useful document on his governorship of Jalisco. A good biography of Francisco J. Múgica (written when the *caudillo* was 55) is Armando de Maria y Campos, *Múgica* (Mexico, D.F., 1939). More analytical accounts are those by Heather Fowler Salamini, 'Revolutionary caudillos: Francisco Múgica and Adalberto Tejada', in D. A. Brading (ed.), *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), and Jorge Zepeda Patterson, 'Los caudillos en Michoacán: Francisco J. Múgica y Lázaro Cárdenas', in Carlos Martínez Assad (ed.), *Estadistas, caciques y caudillos* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Paul Friedrich's *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1977), is not only the best characterization of Primo Tapia and his following but also a lucid analysis of *caciquismo* in post-revolutionary Michoacán. Equally valuable is the sequel to this book, also by Friedrich: *Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method* (Austin, Tex., 1986). On Adalberto Tejeda and the Veracruz peasant leagues, Heather Fowler Salamini has written an outstanding monograph: *Agrarian Radicalism in Veracruz, 1920–38* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1978); Romana Falcón and Soledad García adopt a biographical approach in *La semilla en el surco: Adalberto Tejeda y el radicalismo en Veracruz* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). Saturnino Cedillo's peasant army is well portrayed in several books: Beatriz Rojas, *La pequeña guerra: Carrera Torres y los Cedillo* (Zamora, 1983); Dudley Ankerson, *Agrarian Warlord: Saturnino Cedillo and the Mexican Revolution in San Luis Potosí* (DeKalb, Ill., 1984), and particularly Romana Falcón, *Revolución y caciquismo: San Luis Potosí,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1910–1938 (Mexico, D.F., 1984). The social conditions for the emergence of the Cedillista movement are analysed by Mari-Jose Amerlinck, 'From hacienda to ejido: The San Diego de Río Verde case' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Stony Brook, 1980), and Victoria Lerner, 'Los fundamentos socioeconómicos del cacicazgo en el México posrevolucionario: El caso de Saturnino Cedillo', *HM*, 23/3 (1980).

Of the many studies on the agrarian strategies of Lázaro Cárdenas, see in particular Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937), an honest testimony and a rigourous analysis; Arnaldo Córdova, *La política de masas del cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Luis González, *Los días del presidente Cárdenas* (Mexico, D.F., 1981) (*Historia de la revolución mexicana,* 15), and Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). A critical point of view on the relations between Cardenismo and the peasants is provided in Marjorie Becker, 'Black and white and color: Cardenismo and the search for a Campesino ideology', *CSSH*, 29 (1987), 453–65. On Sinarquismo, Nathan Whetten wrote a lucid chapter in his *Rural Mexico* (Chicago, 1948). Recent analyses are provided by Jean Meyer, *El sinarquismo ¿un fascismo mexicano?* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); Servando Ortoll, 'Las legiones, la base y el sinarquismo: ¿Tres organizaciones distintas y un solo fin verdadero?', in Jorge Alonso (ed.), *El PDM, movimiento regional* (Guadalajera, 1989), 17–64, and Rubén Aguilar and Guillermo Zermeño, *Hacia una reinterpretación del sinarquismo actual* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). César Moheno gives the point of view of the peasant supporters of the movement in *Las historias y los hombres de San Juan* (Zamora, 1985).

James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London, 1988), includes examination of rural mobilizations in the 1920s and 1930s. On Sandino, see Gregorio Selser, *Sandino: General de hombres libres,* 2nd ed. (San José, C.R., 1972). Some information about Sandino's army is given by Jaime Wheelock Román, *Imperialismo y dictadura: Crisis de una formación social* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); but a thorough study of the internal organization of the movement is still lacking. On the 1932 Salvadorean uprising and ensuing massacre, see Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971) – which has good data but a misleading title: the revolt was more ethnic than 'Communist' – and Rafael Menjívar Larín, *El Salvador: El eslabón más pequeño* (San José, C.R., 1980). Roque Dalton constructed an ironic collage with different versions of the massacre in his *Historias*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

prohibidas del Pulgarcito (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Dalton also transcribed and edited the memoir of one of the Communist leaders of the revolt: *Miguel Mármol: Los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador* (San Salvador, 1972).

On Indian resistance in the Bolivian Andean region between the two World Wars, see the opening chapters of two comprehensive books on the subject: Fernando Calderón and Jorge Dandler (eds.), *Bolivia: La fuerza histórica del campesinado* (Cochabamba, 1984), and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *'Oprimidos pero no vencidos': Luchas del campesinado aymara y qhechwa de Bolivia, 1900–1980* (Geneva, 1986). Two excellent accounts of the changes in the Central Peruvian Sierra are Norman Long and Bryan Roberts (eds.), *Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1978) (the chapter by Carlos Samaniego being particularly relevant for the understanding of the 1930s), and Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). Compulsory and compulsive reading is José Carlos Mariátegui's classic, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima, 1928, English trans. Austin, Tex., 1975). On the rural impacts of Leguía's reforms, see François Chevalier, 'Official indigenismo in Peru in 1920: Origins, significance, and socio-economic scope', in Magnus Mörner (ed.), *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1970); and Wilfredo Kapsoli and Wilson Reátegui, *El campesinado peruano, 1919–1930* (Lima, 1987).

On the historiography of rural upheaval and politics in Colombia, see Jesús Antonio Bejarano, 'Campesinado, luchas agrarias e historia social en Colombia: Notas para un balance historiográfico', in P. González Casanova (ed.), *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos,* vol 3, 9–72. A classic description of La Violencia is Germán Guzmán, Orlando Fals Borda and Eduardo Umaña Luna, *La Violencia en Colombia,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1963–4). In his article 'Violence and the break-up of tradition in Colombia', in Claudio Véliz, ed., *Obstacles to Change in Latin America* (New York, 1965), Orlando Fals Borda emphasized intra-elite conflict as the main detonator of endemic conflict. Paul Oquist's *Violence, Conflict and Politics in Colombia* (New York, 1980) is a study on the historical roots and heterogeneous structural causes of this period. John Walton uses the Colombian case to exemplify the relationships between seemingly parochial peasant movements and national political conflicts in his *Reluctant Rebels: Comparative Studies of Revolution and Underdevelopment* (New York, 1984). A detailed and innovative regional study is Carlos Miguel Ortiz Sarmiento, *Estado y subversión en Colombia: La Violencia en El Quindío, Años 50* (Bogotá, 1985). On the importance of banditry, see Darío Betancourt and Martha L.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

García, *Matones y cuadrilleros: Origen y evolución de la violencia en el occidente Colombiano,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1991).

The best overall view of the social and political history of Guatemala during the years of populist reforms and their tragic aftermath remains Richard Newbold Adams, *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944–1966* (Austin, Tex., 1970), which includes a chapter by Brian Murphy on 'The stunted growth of campesino organizations' (438–78). Equally useful as a source of economic and social data is Nathan L. Whetten, *Guatemala: The Land and the People* (New Haven, Conn., 1961). Whetten explicitly compares the Mexican and the Guatemalan agrarian reform programmes. A lyrical defence of the Guatemalan Indian and the need for agrarian reform is to be found in *Guatemala: Las líneas de su mano* by Luis Cardoza y Aragón (Mexico, D.F., 1955). Neale J. Pearson's 'Guatemala: The peasant union movement, 1944–1954', in H. Landsberger (ed.), *Latin American Peasant Movements,* includes a good deal of useful data on the federations. In turn, Stokes Newbold's (pseudonym of Richard N. Adams) post-coup interviews of jailed peasants – supporters of Arbenz and members of *sindicatos* – show that the Guatemalan revolution included a broad spectrum of ideas on social reform, and political ideology and affiliation ('Receptivity to Communist-fomented agitation in rural Guatemala', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 5/4 (1957). Thomas and Marjorie Melville, who lived several years as missionaries in rural Guatemala, provide a moving chronicle of both the changes under Arbenz and the ruthless repression against thousands of Indians after the military coup in *Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership* (New York, 1971). An indispensable recent study is Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944–54* (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

On the agrarian mobilizations which followed the Bolivian revolution, Robert J. Alexander, *The Bolivian National Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1958) maintained that they were not spontaneous but organized from above, whereas Richard W. Patch, 'Bolivia: U.S. assistance in a revolutionary setting', in Richard N. Adams et al., *Social Change in Latin America Today* (New York, 1960), 108–76, defended exactly the opposite view. Subsequent research has shown that the nature of mobilizations varied according to region. For instance, the strength of grassroots organizations in Cochabamba and the clarity of their demands has been thoroughly documented by Jorge Dandler in *El sindicalismo campesino en Bolivia: Los cambios estructurales en Ucureña* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); see also his

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

chapters (with Juan Torruco), 'El Congreso Nacional Indígena de 1945 y la rebelión campesina de Ayopaya (1947)' and 'Campesinado y reforma agraria en Cochabamba (1952–3): Dinámica de un movimiento campesino en Bolivia', in F. Calderón and J. Dandler (eds.), *Bolivia: La fuerza histórica del campesinado.* Dwight B. Heath shows a situation of peasant passivity in the eastern lowlands, in 'Bolivia: Peasant syndicates among the Aymara of the Yungas – a view from the grass roots', in H. A. Landsberger, *Latin American Peasant Movements.* See also Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos pero no vencidos,* cited above. On the consequences of agrarian reform, see Jonathan Kelley and Herbert S. Klein, *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality: A Theory Applied to the National Revolution in Bolivia* (Berkeley, 1966), and Andrew Pearse, 'Campesinado y revolución: El caso de Bolivia', in Calderón and Dandler (eds.), *Bolivia.*

The history of the Ligas Camponesas in Brazil has been written with great sympathy by Clodomiro Santos de Moraes, 'Peasant Leagues in Brazil', in R. Stavenhagen (ed.), *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America.* Moraes, himself a participant, bitterly regrets the internal quarrels among peasant members and frequent strategic blunders of the leadership. Still sympathetic but more analytical are the works of Cynthia N. Hewitt, 'Brazil: The peasant movement of Pernambuco, 1961–1964', in H. Landsberger (ed.), *Latin American Peasant Movements,* cited above, 374–98; Shepard Forman, *The Brazilian Peasantry* (New York, 1975), and Fernando Antonio Azevedo, *As Ligas Camponesas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982). Francisco Julião provides his own version in three books: *Que são Ligas Camponesas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962), *Cambão: La cara oculta de Brasil* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), and *Brasil: Antes y después* (Mexico, D.F., 1968). A critical assessment of the organization and its main leader can be found in Anthony Leeds, 'Brazil and the myth of Francisco Julião', in Joseph Maier and Richard Weatherhead, *Politics of Change in Latin America* (New York, 1964), 190–204. To Leeds's accusations – that Julião was a careerist, that his methods were highly paternalistic, that there were no genuine popular leaders in Brazil, and that the whole Pernambuco mobilization was the consequence of élite internal quarrels – José de Souza Martins, in 'Los campesinos y la política en Brasil', cited above, opposes a view in which rural unrest is explained in terms of the deep contradictions existing in Brazilian agrarian economy – and not only in the Northeast – although he recognizes the divisions and hesitations of the political parties and urban groups competing for the support of the rural population.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

An overview of rural violence in the sierra before the 1968 military takeover is provided by Howard Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes: Peasant Mobilization in Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1975). See also Edward Dew, *Politics in the Altiplano: The Dynamics of Change in Rural Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1969), on peasant mobilizations in the Department of Puno. The best analysis of the movement at La Convención and Lares is Eduardo Fioravanti, *Latifundismo y sindicalismo agrario en el Perú* (Lima, 1972). See also Wesley W. Craig, Jr., *From Hacienda to Community: An Analysis of Solidarity and Social Change in Peru* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967). Eric Hobsbawm analyses the situation of the haciendas and the labour conditions from which the movement sprang in 'A case of neo-feudalism: La Convención, Peru', *JLAS*, 1/1 (1969), 31–50. William F. Whyte uses the case of La Convención, among others, to argue against the thesis of 'the political passivity' of the peasants in 'Rural Peru – peasants as activists', in D. B. Heath (ed.), *Contemporary Cultures and Societies in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1974), and Hugo Blanco (the Trotskyist leader) gives his own account in *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (New York, 1972). An interesting account of the agrarian struggle in a single village throughout the 1960s is Gavin Smith and Pedro Cano, 'Some factors contributing to peasant land occupations in Peru: The example of Huasicancha, 1963–1968', in Long and Roberts, *Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru*.

A very useful reader on the history of *indigenismo*, written from a critical point of view, is Claude Bataillon et al., *Indianidad, etnocidio e indigenismo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); see also Marie-Chantal Barre, *Ideologías indigenistas y movimientos indios* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), and Instituto Nacional Indigenista (ed.), *INI: 40 años* (Mexico, D.F., 1940). The writings of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán are an intelligent defence of the official Mexican *indigenismo;* see for instance his *Teoría y práctica de la educación indígena* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), and his classic *El proceso de aculturación y el cambio sociocultural en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1970). On the Peruvian case, see Thomas Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1974).

On the situation in the Mexican countryside from 1940 to 1970, the writings of Arturo Warman, *Los campesinos, hijos predilectos del régimen* (Mexico, D.F., 1972) and *Ensayos sobre el campesinado mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1980), and Roger Bartra, *Estructura agraria y clases sociales en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1974) and *Campesinado y poder político en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1982) are still useful as representatives of two opposite theoretical

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tendencies: Warman defends a 'peasantization' of Mexican agriculture whereas Bartra sees the future in 'proletarianization'. In addition, Warman wrote an outstanding regional study of Morelos: *'. . . We Come to Object', Mexican Peasants and the State* (Baltimore, 1980). On the taming of the CNC, see Moisés González Navarro, *La Confederación Nacional Campesina: Un grupo de presión en la reforma agraria mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1968). There are no detailed studies of the regional functioning of the UGOCM and the CCI, but good case material can be found in monographs such as Fernando Salmerón Castro, *Los límites del agrarismo: Proceso político y estructuras de poder en Taretan, Michoacán* (Zamora, 1989). On Jaramillo, see Rubén M. Jaramillo and Froylán C. Manjarrez, *Rubén Jaramillo: Autobiografía y asesinato* (Mexico, D.F., 1967); Raúl Macín, *Rubén Jaramillo: Profeta olvidado* (Montevideo, 1970), and Carlos Fuentes's reporting in *Política* magazine, included in his *Tiempo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). David Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido* (Stanford, Calif., 1973) chronicles repression against peasants and peasant resistance from 1940 to 1970. On the Guerrero guerrillas, there are only a brief article by Francisco Gómezjara, 'El proceso político de Genaro Vázquez hacia la guerrilla campesina', *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales,* 88 (1977), and two journalistic accounts: Orlando Ortiz, *Genaro Vázquez* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), and Luis Suárez, *Lucio Cabañas, el guerrillero sin esperanza* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

For a brilliant synthesis on the conditions of rural Cuba at the end of the 1950s, see Eric Wolf *Peasant Wars in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969) chap. 6. For an official and rather rhetorical version of peasant participation in the Cuban revolution, see Adolfo Martín Barrios, 'Historia política de los campesinos cubanos', in Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos,* vol. 1, 40–92. A descriptive overview and also a passionate and fascinating testimony of the armed struggle in Latin America throughout the 1960s is Richard Gott's *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America* (London, 1970). Adolfo Gilly, journalist and militant Trotskyite, also wrote a personal testimony of the guerrillas in those years: *La senda de la guerrilla* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). For an interesting analysis of the guerrillas' conditions of viability, see Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, 'Winners, losers, and also-rans: Toward a comparative sociology of Latin American guerrilla movements', in Susan Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley, 1989), 132–81. See also Regis Debray, 'Latin America: The Long March', *New Left Review,* 3 (1965). (Ten years later, Debray wrote a self-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

critical analysis, *La crítica de las armas* [Mexico, D.F., 1975], 2 vols.) On the Venezuelan Peasant Federation, see John Duncan Powell, *Political Mobilization of the Venezuelan Peasant* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). A personal, highly emotional eulogy of Camilo Torres, which includes letters and private documents, is Germán Guzmán Campos, *Camilo: Presencia y destino* (Bogotá, 1967). The disastrous adventure of Che Guevara in Bolivia was recorded by its two main protagonists: see *El diario del Che en Bolivia* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), and Inti Peredo, *Mi campaña con el Che* (Mexico, D.F., 1971). An unsympathetic but thorough account is Robert F. Lamberg, 'El Che en Bolivia: La 'Revolución' que fracasó', *Problemas del Comunismo,* 27/4 (1970), 26–38.

The Central American tragedy of repression and violence from the 1960s to the 1980s is recorded in the (already cited) books by Adams, North, Gott, and Dunkerley. A useful reader is Daniel Camacho and Rafael Menjívar (eds.), *Movimientos populares en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1985); the comparative perspective is also explicitly used by John Booth, 'Socioeconomic and political roots of national revolts in Central America', *LARR,* 26/1 (1991), 33–74. A thorough study of the Salvadorean peasant revolution in two specific regions is Carlos Rafael Cabarrús, *Génesis de una revolución: Análisis del surgimiento y desarrollo de la organización campesina en El Salvador* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); less analytical but equally instructive is Jenny Pearce's *Promised Land: Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango, El Salvador* (London, 1986). On the situation of El Salvador after 1980, see Ignacio Medina Núñez, *El Salvador: Entre la guerra y la esperanza* (Guadalajara, 1990). On the crucial revolutionary role played by migrant labourers, see two articles by Jeffrey Paige: 'Social theory and peasant revolution in Vietnam and Guatemala', *Theory and Society,* 12 (1983), 699–737, and 'Cotton and revolution in Nicaragua', in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *State versus Market in the World System* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1985). An official but well-informed version of the Nicaraguan agrarian reform is Jaime Wheelock Román, *Entre la crisis y la agresión: La reforma agraria sandinista* (Managua, 1985).

The best data on the initial steps in the Peruvian agrarian reform are still those provided by José María Caballero and Elena Alvarez, *Aspectos cuantitativos de la reforma agraria* (Lima, 1980); see also José Matos Mar and José Manuel Mejía, *La reforma agraria en el Perú* (Lima, 1980). Cynthia McClintock conducted an in-depth study of nine co-operatives and a control community, which allowed her to write a lucid book: *Peasant*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru (Princeton, N.J., 1981). A detailed local-level analysis of the functioning of new government agencies can be found in Norman Long and David Winder, 'From peasant community to production co-operative', *Journal of Development Studies*, 12/1 (1975), 75–94. A reappraisal of the process of social reform after ten years is in Abraham Lowenthal and Cynthia McClintock (eds.), *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). A longer time span is covered by Tanya Korovkin, *Politics of Agricultural Co-operativism: Peru, 1969–1983* (Vancouver, Can., 1990), though she concentrates on the analysis of three cotton estates.

On the background of peasant agitation in Chile, see Almino Affonso et al., *Movimiento campesino chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), and Arnold Bauer, *Chilean Rural Society to 1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). Robert Kaufman's *The Politics of Land Reform in Chile* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), dissects the rather complicated alliances and divisions among classes and groups in the Chilean countryside. See also Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919–1973* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976). A grassroots view of Frei's agrarian reform is James Petras and Hugo Zemelman, *Peasants in Revolt: A Chilean Case Study, 1965–1971* (Austin, Tex., 1972). On the Chilean Socialist experiment, a good overview is in J. A. Zammit (ed.), *The Chilean Road to Socialism* (Brighton, 1973). See also Fernando Mires, *La rebelión permanente: Las revoluciones sociales en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), chap. 6. A critical appraisal covering the agrarian situation under Frei, Allende and Pinochet is Leonardo Castillo and David Lehmann, 'Chile's three agrarian reforms: The Inheritors', *BLAR*, 1/2 (1982), 21–44, which complements Lehmann's earlier account of Frei's period, 'Agrarian reform in Chile: An essay in contradictions', in D. Lehmann (ed.), *Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Reformism* (London, 1974). A broad analysis of the Pinochet years was written by Sergio Gómez and Jorge Echenique, *La agricultura chilena: Las dos caras de la modernización* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

The rise and decline of the ANUC in Colombia is lucidly chronicled and analysed by León Zamosc, *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia* (Cambridge, 1986). An updated synthesis of the same work is 'Peasant struggles in the 1970s in Colombia' in Susan Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular Protest*. See also Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Política e ideología en el movimiento campesino colombiano: El caso de la ANUC* (Geneva and Bogotá, CINEP, 1987), and Cristina Escobar and Francisco de Roux, 'Movimientos populares en Colombia (1970–1983)', in Daniel Camacho

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Rafael Menjívar (eds.), *Los movimientos populares en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1989).

The diversification and capitalization of peasant agriculture is analysed in Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics and Ritual in the Morelos Highlands of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1981). An overview of rural unrest in Mexico from 1970 to the mid-1980s is Blanca Rubio, *Resistencia campesina y explotación rural en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); see also a more analytical interpretation in Michael W. Foley, 'Agenda for mobilization: The agrarian question and popular mobilization in contemporary Mexico,' *LARR*, 26/2 (1991), 39–74. The crisis of CNC control in a particular region is narrated in Eric Villanueva, *Crisis henequenera y movimientos campesinos en Yucatán, 1966–1983* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); see also Clarisa Hardy, *El estado y los campesinos: La Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC)* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). On the Echeverría years, see Steven E. Sanderson, *Agrarian Populism and the Mexican State: The Struggle for Land in Sonora* (Berkeley, 1981), and Fernando Rello, *Burguesía, campesinos y estado en México: El conflicto agrario de 1976* (Geneva, 1987). On the struggle for local political control, see Adriana López Monjardín, *La lucha por los ayuntamientos: Una utopía viable* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). The expansion of wage rural labour is documented in Luisa Paré, *El proletariado agrícola en México: ¿Campesinos sin tierra o proletarios agrícolas?* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), and Enrique Astorga Lira, *Mercado de trabajo rural en México: La mercancía humana* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). On the last decade, see Luisa Paré, 'Movimiento campesino y política agraria en México, 1976–1982', *RMS*, 47/4 (1985), 85–111; Gustavo Gordillo, *Campesinos al asalto del cielo: De la expropriación estatal a la apropiación campesina* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Jonathan Fox and Gustavo Gordillo, 'Between state and market: The campesinos' quest for autonomy', in Wayne Cornelius et al., *Mexico's Alternative Political Futures* (La Jolla, Calif., 1989), 131–72; and most of all Neil Harvey, *Peasant Movements and the Mexican State, 1979–1990* (London, 1991). The (less than fortunate) lot of Mexican agriculture and smallholding groups during the years of De la Madrid is described by José Luis Calva, *Crisis agrícola y alimentaria en México, 1982–1988* (Mexico, D.F., 1988).

The extent of peasant unrest and resistance to SINAMOS *after* the Peruvian agrarian reform is reviewed in Diego García Sayán, *Tomas de tierras en el Perú* (Lima, 1982). Information on the rise of Sendero Luminoso is provided by the reporting of Raúl González in his articles 'Por los caminos de Sendero', *Quehacer* (Lima), 19 (October 1982), and 'Las

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

batallas de Ayacucho', *Quehacer,* 21 (February 1983). Carlos Iván Degregori deals with the regional origins, social context and development of the movement in two lucid and informative essays: 'Sendero Luminoso: Los hondos y mortales desencuentros', Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Documentos de Trabajo, Serie Antropología, No. 2 (Lima, 1985), and 'Sendero Luminoso: Lucha armada y utopía autoritaria', Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Documentos de Trabajo, Serie Antropología, No. 3 (Lima, 1985). A broad analytical perspective, linking Sendero with the development of the Peruvian state, is adopted by Henri Favre, 'Perú: Sendero Luminoso y horizontes ocultos', *Cuadernos Americanos,* 4/4 (1987), 29–58; see also the interview with Henri Favre (conducted by Carlos Iván Degregori y Raúl González) in *Quehacer* (Lima), 54 (1988), 48–58. In turn, Cynthia McClintock's emphasis is on the particular situation of impoverishment of the southern highlands peasantry, in her paper 'Why peasants rebel: The case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso', *World Politics,* 37/1 (1984), 48–85. On the renewed crisis of the Colombian state, see Comisión de Estudios sobre la Violencia (ed.), *Colombia: Violencia y democracia: Informe presentado ante el Ministerio de Gobierno* (Bogotá, 1987) (which includes a discussion of rural problems, 190–210), Fabio Castillo, *Los jinetes de la cocaína* (Bogotá, 1987), and Jenny Pearce, *Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth* (London, 1990), especially part 3; see also the review article by Wolfgang Heinz, 'Guerrillas, political violence, and the peace process in Colombia', *LARR,* 14/3 (1989), 249–58.

A good deal of the literature on the 'new social movements' is reviewed in the collection of papers edited by David Slater, *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America* (Amsterdam, 1985); see also Fernando Calderón (ed.), *Los movimientos sociales ante la crisis* (Buenos Aires, 1986), and Elizabeth Jelín (ed.), *Ciudadanía e identidad: Las mujeres en los movimientos sociales latino-americanos* (Geneva, 1987). On the invasion of the Brazilian Amazon after 1970, see Joe Foweraker, *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), and two books by José de Souza Martins, *Expropriação e violencia: A questão política no campo* (São Paulo, 1980), esp. chap. 4, and *A militarização da questão agrária no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1984). Abundant documentary evidence on the new Indian organizations throughout Latin America can be found in Guillermo Bonfil (ed.), *Utopía y revolución: El pensamiento político contemporáneo de los indios en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). See also Claude Bataillon et al., *Indianidad, etnocidio e indigenismo en América Latina,* and Marie-Chantal Barre, *Ideologías indigenistas y movimientos*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

indios, cited above. On the emergence of new political actors (including the *katarista* movement) in Bolivia, see James M. Malloy and Eduardo Gamarra, *Revolution and Reaction in Bolivia, 1964–1985* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988). On *katarismo,* the best account is still Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Oprimidos pero no vencidos . . .* cited above, part 3. See also Xavier Albó, 'From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari', in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison, Wis., 1987). On the COCEI in Oaxaca, see Mari-France Prevot-Shapira and Helène Riviere D'Arc, 'Les zapoteques, le PRI et la COCEI: Affrontements autour des interventions de l'état dans l'Isthme de Tehuantepec', *Amerique Latine,* 15 (1983), 64–71. On the UCEZ in Michoacán, see Jorge Zepeda Patterson, 'No es lo mismo agrio que agrario ni comunero que comunista, pero se parecen', in J. Tamayo (ed.), *Movimientos sociales en el occidente de México* (Guadalajara, 1986). A more critical perspective on the UCEZ and the new ethnic political organizations is in Luis Vázquez León, *Ser indio otra vez: La purepechización de los tarascos serranos* (Mexico, D.F., 1992).

13. WOMEN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

There is no scarcity of documentary sources on women in twentieth-century Latin America, and there are several recent important bibliographical sources in English. An indispensable introduction is K. Lynn Stoner (ed.), *Latinas of the Americas: A Source Book* (New York, 1989), which includes Georgette Dorn, 'Bibliographies: Bibliography'. Meri Knaster (ed.), *Women in Spanish America: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, 1977) remains an useful source for works published before 1975; it was the first serious effort to collect an interdisciplinary and chronologically comprehensive bibliography on subjects related to women. Stoner's bibliography covers publications between 1975 and 1987 and contains important bibliographical essays by well-known scholars, assessing the state of the art in several fields.

Shorter historiographical essays published after Knaster's work provide useful surveys of the state of research. See Asunción Lavrin, 'Some final considerations on trends and issues in Latin American women's history', in Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 302–32; Marysa Navarro, 'Research on Latin Ameri-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

can Women,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1/5 (1979), 111–20; June Hahner, 'Recent research on women in Brazil,' *LARR*, 20/3 (1985), 163–79; K. Lynn Stoner, 'Directions in Latin American women's history, 1977–1985', *LARR*, 22/2 (1987), 101–34; and Asunción Lavrin, 'Women, the family and social change,' *World Affairs*, 150/2 (1987), 109–28, 'La mujer en México: Veinte años de estudio, 1968–1988: Ensayo historiográfico', in *Simposio de Historiografía Americanista* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), 545–93, and 'Women's studies', in Paula H. Covington (ed.), *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Critical Guide to Research Sources* (New York, 1992), 743–54 (complemented by a bibliography compiled by Aimee Algier-Baxter, 755–88). *Women, Culture and Politics in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1990), the result of an interdisciplinary seminar, includes essays on several topics and a useful guide to periodical literature.

There are two syntheses of the history of Latin American women: Ann M. Pescatello, *Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Societies and Cultures* (Westport, Conn., 1976), a comprehensive survey that falls short of being an adequate study or a trenchant inquiry; and Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Quest for Social Justice* (Hanover, N.H., 1991), a more successful attempt to summarize the history of women in the twentieth century. Among the few national histories allocating chapters to family, women and daily life is Jaime Jaramillo Uribe (ed.), *Nueva historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1989). Silvia Rodríguez Villamil and Graciela Sapriza, in *Mujer, estado y política en el Uruguay del siglo XX* (Montevideo, 1984), survey several key historical themes such as welfare, education, and civil and political rights in that country. Felícitas Klimpel's *La mujer chilena (El aporte femenino al progreso de Chile, 1910–1960)* (Santiago, Chile, 1962) is not strictly a historical book, but contains important historical information on education, the law, professional organizations, etc.

Collections of essays, thematically or chronologically arranged, are helping to build a strong foundation of in-depth historical studies. Several include information on twentieth-century history. See, for example, Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, cited above; Carmen Ramos (ed.), *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Ronaldo Vainfas (ed.), *História e sexualidade no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986). The following focus on the twentieth century: Ann Pescatello (ed.), *Female and Male in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1973), one of the first collections of essays in English on current women's themes, and Edna Acosta Belén (ed.), *The Puerto Rican Woman* (New York, 1979). June Nash and Helen Safa (eds.), *Sex and Class*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Latin America (New York, 1975) and *Women and Change in Latin America* (South Hadley, Mass., 1986), have broadened the range of questions raised by Pescatello's collection.

Interdisciplinary collections of essays on social and economic issues published mostly in Latin America have helped to establish the validity of women and gender studies in the area, while offering important insights from within to outside readers. See, for example, Magdalena León de Leal (ed.), *La mujer y el desarrollo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1977); Paz Covarrubias and Rolando Franco (comps.), *Chile: Mujer y sociedad* (Santiago, Chile, 1978); Magdalena León (ed.), *Sociedad, subordinación y feminismo* (Bogotá, 1982); Ministerio del Estado para la Participación de la Mujer en el Desarrollo, *Venezuela: Biografía inacabada: Evolución social, 1936–1983* (Caracas, 1983); GRECMU, *Investigación sobre la mujer e investigación feminista: Balance y perspectiva de la década de la mujer en América Latina* (Montevideo, 1984); Nora Galer et al., *Mujer y desarrollo* (Lima, 1985); María Angélica Meza, *La otra mitad de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); María Cristina Laverde Toscano and Luz Helena Sánchez Gómez, *Voces insurgentes* (Bogotá, 1986).

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Although several recent works on labour history include information on women, we lack an adequate coverage of the process of women's incorporation into the labour force, or of their participation in the labour movements of any given country prior to the 1950s. In this field much remains to be done. Among the few works focusing on the period prior to the Second World War are, June Hahner, 'Women and work in Brazil', in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Fla., 1977), 87–117; Dawn Keremetsis, 'La industria de empaques y sus trabajadoras: 1910–1940', *Encuentro* (Guadalajara), 2/1 (1984), 57–74, and 'Latin American women workers in transition: Sexual division of labor force in Mexico and Colombia in the textile industry', *TA*, 40 (1984), 491–504; Silvia Rodríguez Villamil, 'El trabajo femenino en Montevideo, 1880–1914', in N. Filgueira et al., *La mujer en el Uruguay: Ayer y hoy* (Montevideo, 1983). While these works provide data on workers, working conditions and legislation, other studies underline the dynamics of ideology and the realities of the labour market. See, for example, Catalina H. Wainerman and Marysa Navarro, *El trabajo de la mujer argentina: Un análisis preliminar de las ideas dominantes en las primeras décadas del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1979); Catalina Wainerman, *La mujer y el trabajo en la Argentina desde la perspectiva de la Iglesia Católica* (Buenos Aires, 1980); Sandra McGee Deutsch, 'The Catholic church, work, and womanhood in Argentina, 1890–1930', *Gender and History*, 3/3 (1991); 304–25; Maria Valeria J. Pena and Elça M. Lima, 'Lutas ilusórias: A mulher na política operária na Primeira República,' in Carmen Barroso and Albertina Oliveira Costa (eds.), *Mulher, Mulheres* (São Paulo, 1983), 17–34; Asunción Lavrin, 'Women, labor and the left: Argentina and Chile, 1900–1925', *The Journal of Women's History*, 1/2 (1989), 88–116. A labour study focusing on the period after the Second World War is Marysa Navarro, 'Hidden, silent, and anonymous: Women workers in the Argentine trade union movement', in Norbert C. Soldon (ed.), *The World of Women's Trade Unionism: Comparative Historical Essays* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 165–98. See also John D. French, 'Women and working class mobilization in postwar São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1948', *LARR*, 24/3 (1989), 99–125.

Sociological studies have begun to highlight women's presence in the informal sector of the economy. See Margo L. Smith, 'Domestic service as a channel of upward mobility for the lower-class woman: The Lima case', in Ann Pescatello (ed.), *Female and Male*, 191–207; Alberto Rutte García, *Simplemente explotadas: El mundo de las empleadas domésticas de Lima* (Lima, 1976); Elsa M. Chaney, *Sellers and Servants: Working Women in Lima, Peru* (New York, 1985); Elsa M. Chaney and María García Castro (eds.), *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 1989); Isabel Laura Cárdenas, *Ramona y el robot: El servicio doméstico en barrios prestigiosos de Buenos Aires (1895–1985)* (Buenos Aires, 1986); Thelma Gálvez and Rosalba Todaro, *Yo trabajo así . . . en casa particular* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); and Macarena Mack et al., *Los trabajos de las mujeres entre el campo y la ciudad, 1920–1982* (Santiago, Chile, 1986).

A growing concern with the role of women in economic development in the second half of the century has spawned a considerable number of works by social scientists. Few of these studies offer any historical background, and their main contribution lies in the acute analysis of social, economic, and cultural aspects of female labor from the 1960s. The methodology of gathering statistical data on women's contributions to the national economies and development has been sharply criticized in a noteworthy essay by Catalina Wainerman, *El trabajo femenino en el banquillo de los acusados: La medición censal en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1981) that is a desirable preamble to any research based on official sources. An excellent study combining the analysis of labour, status, and social change is Susan

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bourque and Kay B. Warren, *Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981). Magdalena León de Leal, et al., *Mujer y capitalismo agrario: Estudio de cuatro regiones colombianas* (Bogotá, 1982), and M. León de Leal (ed.), *Las trabajadoras del agro* (Bogotá, 1982) are important regional rural studies that highlight the role of women in the formal and the informal sectors of the economy. *América Indígena,* 38/2 (1978) has several important studies on rural female labour. Anthropological studies offer valuable information on rural women. See, for example, Lynn Stephen, *Zapotec Women* (Austin, Tex., 1991); Florence Babb, *Between Field and Cooking Pot: The Political Economy of Marketwomen in Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1989), and the 1985 issue of *Allpanchis,* a publication of the Bartolomé de Las Casas Study Center in Cuzco.

Industrial and urban work is by far the most discussed topic, and studies on Brazil stand out in numbers and quality. Most analyses have been published in periodicals, or as working papers issued by research centers or in essay collections. Among the book-length studies, see Eva Alterman Blay, *Trabalho domesticado: A mulher na indústria paulista* (São Paulo, 1978); Maria V. J. Pena, *Mulheres e trabalhadoras: presência feminina na constituição do sistema fabril* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); Ana Maria Q. Fausto Neto, *Família operária e reprodução da força do trabalho* (Petrópolis, 1982); Esmeralda Blanco Bolsonaro de Moura, *Mulheres e menores no trabalho industrial: Os factores sexo e idade na dinámica do capital* (Petrópolis, 1982), and Jennifer Cooper, Teresita de Barbieri, Teresa Rendón, Estela Suárez, and Esperanza Tuñón, *Fuerza de trabajo femenina urbana en México,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1989).

An important early Marxist interpretation of women, labour and social roles is Heleith Saffioti, *A Mulher na sociedade de classes: Mito e realidade* (São Paulo, 1969), a 1960s critique of the exploitation of female work in capitalist societies. Maria Cristina A. Bruschini and Fúlvia Rosemberg, *Trabalhadoras do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1982) is an useful collection of essays on both rural and urban workers. Maruja Barrig's *Las obreras* (Lima, 1986) surveys the labour issues of female workers employed in the pharmaceutical and garment industries in Lima. A recent study of women in the urban labour market in Ecuador offers the opportunity to compare data among large and small countries: Centro de Planificación y Estudios Sociales, *Mujer y trabajo* (Quito, 1990), formulates theoretical approaches and looks into health problems, the informal sector, and general employment statistics in the country. The situation of female textile workers in Mexico in the 1970s was explored by Virve Piho in 'Life and labor of the woman

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

textile worker in Mexico City', in Ruby Rohrlich-Leavitt (ed.), *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge* (The Hague, 1975), 199–246. Two other historically-grounded essays are included in Rohrlich-Leavitt's collection: Blanca Silvestrini, 'Women as workers: The experience of the Puerto Rican woman in the 1930s', 247–60, and June Nash, 'Resistance as protest: Women in the struggle of Bolivian tin-mining communities', 261–71. The special case of women working at home for factories in the 1980s is the subject of Lourdes Benería and Marta Roldán, *The Crossroads of Class and Gender: Industrial Homework, Subcontracting, and Household Dynamics in Mexico City* (Chicago, 1987).

The examination of the special case of women in transnational industries on the Mexico–United States border has produced a significant numbers of works. Among the best are Patricia Fernández-Kelly, *For We Are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier* (Albany, N.Y., 1983), and Jorge Carrillo and Alberto Hernández, *Mujeres fronterizas en la industria maquiladora* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). See also Sandra Arenal, *Sangre joven: Las maquiladoras por dentro* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) and Norma Iglesias, *La flor más bella de la maquiladora* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). While these works portray a group of women through the testimonies of many, others focus on the experience of one subject, who is presumed to speak for the rest. Both methodologies illustrate a trend towards testimonial literature in an effort to add insight into the daily experience and struggles of non-elite women. The originator of the life-story approach was Oscar Lewis, whose *Four Women* (Urbana, Ill., 1977) although like most of his work, a much-edited and polished account, may be used with profit. For Peru, see Esther Andradi and Ana María Portugal, *Ser mujer en el Perú* (Lima, 1978). On Cuban women, see Laurette Sejourné, *La mujer cubana en el quehacer de la historia* (Mexico, D.F., 1980). For other countries, see June H. Turner, *Latin American Women: The Meek Speak Out* (Silver Spring, Md., 1980); *Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila, a Woman of the Bolivian Mines* (New York, 1978); Elizabeth Burgos Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (New York, 1984); Elvia Alvarado, *Don't be Afraid Gringo: A Honduran Woman Speaks from the Heart* (New York, 1987); Brenda Carter et al., *A Dream Compels Us: Voices of Salvadorean Women* (Boston, 1989); Daphne Patai, *Brazilian Women Speak: Contemporary Life Stories* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988); Fran Leeper Bliss, *La partera: Story of a Midwife* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980), the life story of a Peruvian midwife; Maria Berno, *Historias testimoniales del campo* (Santiago, Chile, 1983); Teresa Valdés, *Venid, benditas de mi Padre: Las pobladoras, sus*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

rutinas y sus sueños (Santiago, Chile, 1988); Kristina Bohman, *Women of the Barrio: Class and Gender in a Colombian City* (Stockholm, 1984); and Nena Delpino, *Saliendo a flote: La jefa de familia popular* (Lima, 1990).

A useful collection of essays focusing on 'popular' urban women with data from the 1960s to the mid-1980s in serviceable tabular form is ECLA/CEPAL, *La mujer en el sector popular urbano* (Santiago, Chile, 1984). See also CEPAL, *Mujeres jóvenes en América Latina* (Montevideo, 1985) and *La mujer en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Also helpful are *Diagnóstico de la situación económica de la mujer peruana* (Lima, 1975); *Breviario sociodemográfico de la mujer en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); *Estadística sobre la mujer: Inventario* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); *Five Studies on the Situation of Women in Latin America* (Santiago, Chile, 1983); Violeta Sara Lafosse, 'El status de la mujer y sus implicaciones demográficas, in *Problemas poblacionales peruanos* (Lima, 1980), 293–314; Elsa M. Chaney, 'Latin America and the Caribbean', in *Women of the World* (Washington, D.C., 1984); and Teresa Valdés et al. (eds.), *Mujeres latinoamericanas en cifras: Avances de investigación* (Santiago, Chile, 1992).

On the impact of female employment on the internal structure of the family and the strategies for family survival, see Elizabeth Jelín and María del Carmen Feijóo, *Trabajo y familia en el ciclo de vida femenino: El caso de los sectores populares de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1980); Elssy Bonilla de Ramos, *La madre trabajadora* (Bogotá, 1981); Verena Stolcke, *Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives* (London, 1988). More generally on the female experience in a situation of social and economic change, see Elizabeth Jelin (ed.), *Women and Social Change in Latin America* (London, 1990); Yamile Azize Vargas (ed.), *La mujer en Puerto Rico: Ensayos de investigación* (Río Piedras, 1987); and M. León de Leal (ed.), *Sociedad, subordinación y feminismo: Debate sobre la mujer en América Latina y el Caribe* (Bogotá, 1982).

The migration of women from rural to urban areas as part of a larger dynamic of population shifts and changes in the economic profile of certain areas is little-researched. Demographers, sociologists and economists are beginning to develop this topic. For an extensive bibliography, see Ann V. Millard, 'Demography', in K. Lynn Stoner (ed.), *Latinas of the Americas,* 61–107. A classic study for female indigenous migration to Mexico is Lourdes Arizpe, *Indígenas en la Ciudad de México: El caso de la 'Marías'* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). See also Brígida García and Orlandina de Oliveira, 'Dinámica poblacional de México', *Encuentro,* 2/1 (1984), 75–108; and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, *La mujer migrante: Segundo seminario latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1985). Case studies of poor urban

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

women engaged in the informal sector of the economy are valuable. See, for example, Vivian Arteaga and Noemí Larrazabal, *La mujer pobre en la crisis económica: Las vendedoras ambulantes de La Paz* (La Paz, 1988), and the collective work, Centro de Promoción de la Mujer, *La necesidad tiene cara de mujer: Recorridos en una experiencia de generación de ingresos* (La Paz, 1991).

EDUCATION

Despite its importance in explaining key aspects of women's changing roles, the study of women's education is a much neglected field. A general view of the field is given by Edna Acosta Belén, 'Education', in K. Lynn Stoner (ed.), *Latinas of the Americas*. See also 'Education', in Meri Knaster (ed.), *Women in Spanish America*. Amanda Labarca's *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1939) remains a classic source for Chile. Other historical works include Maria Julia Ardao, *La creación de la sección de enseñanza secundaria y preparatoria para mujeres en 1912* (Montevideo, 1962); Cynthia J. Little, 'Education, philanthropy and feminism: Components of Argentine womanhood, 1860–1926', in Asunción Lavrin (ed.), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, cited above; and Ernesto Meneses's history of educational trends in Mexico, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México, 1821–1911* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). A recent study of female journalism in Argentina since the mid-nineteenth century is Nestor Tomás Auza, *Periodismo y feminismo en la Argentina, 1830–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1988). Women's journals and magazines abound in all countries and should become an important source for the study of women's history.

Histories of female educational institutions in the twentieth century are scarce. See, Eva Alterman Blay, *Mulher, escola e profissão: Um estudo do ginásio industrial feminino na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1981). For recent statistical analyses of women's education, see, Eulalia Donoso Conde, 'Education and high-level employment: The case of the Latin American women', and 'Women's choice of university careers in six Latin American countries', *Statistical Bulletin of the OAS*, 8/1–2 (1986), 1–31, and 8/3–4 (1986), 1–25.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

The involvement of women in political and social activities up to the mid-1960s may be examined in the books and articles written by the protagonists themselves. See, as examples, María Abella de Ramírez, *Ensayos*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

feministas (Montevideo, 1965), an anthology of the journalistic work she carried out in the first decade of the century; Josefa T. de Aguerri, *Anhelos y esperanzas* (Managua, 1935); Paulina Luisi, *Pedagogía y conducta sexual* (Montevideo, 1950), a collection of the author's writings on education and sexual education, and *Otra voz clamando en el desierto,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1948), a collection of her writings on prostitution; María Cano, *Escritos* (Medellín, 1985); Armanda Labarca, *¿A dónde va la mujer?* (Santiago, Chile, 1934), and *Feminismo contemporáneo* (Santiago, Chile, 1947); Margarita Robles de Mendoza, *La evolución de la mujer en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1931); María Ríos Cárdenas, *La mujer mexicana es ciudadana* (Mexico, D.F., 1940); M. Loreto H., *Personalidad de la mujer mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1961); Lucila Rubio de Laverde, *Ideales feministas* (Bogotá, 1944); Ofelia Uribe de Acosta, *Una voz insurgente* (Bogotá, 1963); Angela Acuña Chacón, *La mujer costarricense a través de cuatro siglos* (San José, C.R., 1969); Alicia Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia* (Buenos Aires, 1945). Among the men who wrote important works on behalf of women's rights are Genaro García, *Apuntes sobre la condición de la mujer* (Mexico, D.F., 1891); Baltasar Brum, *Los derechos de la mujer* (Montevideo, 1923); Enrique Dickmann, *Emancipación civil, política y social de la mujer* (Buenos Aires, 1935); Carlos Vaz Ferreira, *Sobre feminismo* (1914; Montevideo, 1945).

The earliest account of a suffrage movement in Latin America is Morton Ward, *Woman Suffrage in Mexico* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962). The political activities of women in Mexico have been analysed from a different angle by a more recent work, Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (Westport, Conn., 1982). For a historical overview of the feminist movements in Brazil and Cuba, see June E. Hahner, *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850–1940* (Durham, N.C., 1990), and K. Lynn Stoner, *From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Women's Movement for Legal Reform, 1898–1940* (Durham, N.C., 1991); Maxine Moyneux, 'No God, No Boss, No Husband: Anarchist feminism in nineteenth century Argentina', *LAP,* 13/1 (1986), 119–45; Nora Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo: Historia de una mujer proscrita* (San Juan, P.R., 1990). An able survey of the suffrage movement in Chile and women's political activities through 1952 is offered by Edda Gaviola A. et al., *Queremos votar en las próximas elecciones* (Santiago, Chile, 1986).

An account of the development of Mexican feminism in the 1970s can be found in Ana Lau Jaiven, *La nueva ola del feminismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). On the political activities of women in Brazil in the 1970s,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

see Fanny Tabak et al., *A mulher como objeto de estudo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), and *Autoritarismo e participação política da mulher* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). On Chile, see María Angélica Meza, *La otra mitad de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1986), and on Bolivia, Coordinadora de la Mujer, *Feminismo y política* (La Paz, 1986). Among the few published theoretical studies of feminism, Ana Sojo, *Mujer y política: Ensayo sobre el feminismo y el sujeto popular* (San José, C.R., 1985) expounds on contemporary feminist currents, including Latin American reactions. On the work of the Chilean, Julieta Kirkwood, see Patricia Crispi (ed.), *Tejiendo rebeldías: Escritos feministas de Julieta Kirkwood* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). Finally, see Nancy Saporta et al., 'Feminism in Latin America: From Bogotá to San Bernardo', *Signs*, 17/2 (1992), 393–434.

On women's resistance under military regimes, see Patricia Marie Chuchryk, 'Protest, politics and personal life: The emergence of feminism in a military dictatorship, Chile, 1973–1983', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, York University, Toronto, 1984); Olga Caballero Aquino, *Por orden superior* (Asunción, 1989); and María Elena Valenzuela, *La mujer en el Chile militar* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). The transition to democracy in several South American countries in the early 1980s has provided a medium for the organization of women's groups of several ideological affiliations pursuing a variety of political activities. These movements, as they appeared in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru and Chile, have been analysed by several authors, notably: Jane S. Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy* (Boston, 1989); Sonia E. Alvarez, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), and Fundación Friedrich Nauman, *Participación política de la mujer en el Cono Sur*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1987).

Interpretive works on the meaning of gender relations as expressed in social and political activities add an important theoretical framework to the analysis of women in society. Few such works have been written so far. Elsa Chaney, *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 1979), analyses the character of female participation in politics in Peru and Chile in the twentieth century. The dialectical relationship between the emphasis on motherhood as a role (*marianismo*) and patriarchalism has been discussed by Evelyn Stevens in '*Marianismo:* The other face of *Machismo* in Latin America', in Ann Pescatello (ed.), *Female and Male in Latin America*, 89–101.

The Cuban and the Nicaraguan revolutions have inspired many short essays, articles and chapters in books. Many are propagandistic or shallow,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and few present informative overviews of the topic. The following present thoughtful syntheses or cogent arguments: Max Azicri, 'Women's development through revolutionary mobilization: A study of the Federation of Cuban Women', *International Journal of Women's Studies,* 2 (1979), 27–50; Lourdes Casal, 'Revolución and *Conciencia:* Women in Cuba', in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett (eds.), *Women, War and Revolution* (New York, 1980); and Lois M. Smith, 'Progress, science and myth: The health education of Cuban women', *Cuban Studies,* 19 (1989), 167–96. Margaret Randall's *Mujeres en la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), *Women in Cuba: Twenty Years Later* (New York, 1981), and *Todas estamos despiertas* (Mexico, D.F., 1980), on Cuban and Nicaraguan women, are impassioned defenses of the changes experienced by women in those revolutionary regimes. Very little detachment is found in other works, although they are valuable sources of information: Helen Collinson, *Women and Revolution in Nicaragua* (London, 1990); Paolo Pérez Alamaña, *Organización, identidad y cambio: Las campesinas en Nicaragua* (Managua, 1990); Elizabeth Maier, *Las sandinistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). An incisive analysis of feminism in Nicaragua during the *sandinista* period is Ileana Rodríguez, *Registradas en la historia: 10 años del quehacer feminista en Nicaragua* (Managua, 1990). For information on women in other Central American countries, see Marilyn Thomson, *Women of El Salvador: The Price of Freedom* (Philadelphia, 1986); Ana Isabel García and Enrique Gomáriz (eds.), *Mujeres centroamericanas: Efectos del conflicto,* 2 vols. (San José, C.R., 1989); and María Candelaria Navas, 'Los movimientos femeninos en Centroamérica, 1970–1983', in Daniel Camacho and Rafael Menjívar (eds.), *Movimientos populares en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1985).

The political biography of Eva Perón has developed a niche for itself in the historiography. Her powerful figure has been examined in a large number of studies. Among the most balanced are Marysa Navarro, *Evita* (Buenos Aires, 1981) and 'Evita's charismatic leadership', in Michael L. Conniff (ed.), *Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1982); and Julie M. Taylor, *Eva Perón: The Myths of a Woman* (Chicago, 1979). On other important women in politics and the arts, see Mirta Henault, *Alicia Moreau de Justo* (Buenos Aires, 1983), a mixture of narrative and personal reminiscences; Margot Arce de Vázquez, *Gabriela Mistral: The Poet and Her Work* (New York, 1964); Hayden Herrera, *Frida: A Biography of of Frida Kahlo* (New York, 1983); and Doris Meyer, *Victoria Ocampo: Against the Wind and the Tide* (Buenos Aires, 1970). Useful introductions to women writers are Jean Franco, *Plotting*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico (New York, 1989); Evelyn Picón Garfield (ed.), *Women's Fiction from Latin America* (Detroit, 1988); Susan Bassnett (ed.), *Knives and Angels: Women Writers in Latin America* (London, 1990); and Sara Castro-Klarén, Sylvia Molloy and Beatriz Sarlo, *Women's Writing in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1991). Further references to literary figures may be found in the section on Literature, Mass Media and Folklore in Meri Knaster (ed.), *Women in Spanish America,* and in the section on 'Biography' in K. Lynn Stoner (ed.), *Latinas of the Americas.*

THE FAMILY

Studies on the family are mostly either sociological or anthropological in nature. Using the concepts of patriarchy and gender relations, two studies shed light on the historical developments of the family in Andean Peru. They are Fiona Wilson, 'Marriage, property, and the position of women in the Peruvian Andes', in Raymond T. Smith (ed.), *Kinship, Ideology and Practice in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), 297–326, and Florencia E. Mallon, 'Patriarchy in the transition to capitalism: Central Peru, 1830–1950', *Feminist Studies,* 13/2 (1987), 379–407.

Since the 1960s the family has been under scrutiny by international organizations as well as by scholars. See Comisión Inter-Americana de Mujeres, *Seminario inter-americano sobre fortalecimiento de la institución familiar* (Caracas, 1960), which under a bland format gives us a perception of the family and its problems in that period. A classic study of the typology of the family in Colombia is Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1968). Using an interdisciplinary approach, Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Marisol Pérez-Lizaur reconstructed a Mexican family throughout several generations: *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820–1980* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For a profile of the family in several countries, see Mam Singh Das and Clinton J. Jesser (eds.), *The Family in Latin America* (Sahibabad, India, 1980). Also useful are Elssy Bonilla (ed.), *Mujer y familia en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1985), and Mariza Correa et al., *Colcha de retalhos: Estudos sobre a família no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1982). An analytical study of the relationship between family structure and its economic contours is given by Thomas W. Merrick and Marianne Schmink, 'Households headed by women and urban poverty in Brazil,' in M. Buvinic et al., *Women and Poverty in the Third World* (Baltimore, 1983). Also of interest to the study of the family and population policies are J. M.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Stycos, *Ideology, Faith, and Family Planning in Latin America: Studies in Public and Private Opinion on Fertility Control* (New York, 1971); Peter McDonough and Amaury De Souza, *The Politics of Population in Brazil* (Austin, Tex., 1981); Iéda Siqueira Wiarda, 'Women, population policy, and democracy', in Howard J. Wiarda (ed.), *The Coming Struggle for Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1980), 107–26.

Donna Guy has opened a new field of inquiry with her studies on prostitution in twentieth-century Buenos Aires. See 'White slavery, public health, and the socialist position on legalized prostitution in Argentina, 1913–1936', *LARR*, 23/3 (1988), 60–80; 'Prostitution and penal criminality in Buenos Aires, 1875–1937,' in Lyman Johnson (ed.), *The Problem of Order in Changing Societies: Essays on Crime and Politics in Argentina and Uruguay, 1750–1940* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990), and *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991). The analysis of teen-age pregnancy, abandoned mothers, domestic violence and violence against women are recent topics of great interest to women, and are largely developed by centers for women's studies and activist groups. See Anahí Viladrich, *Madres solteras adolescentes* (Buenos Aires, 1991); Carmen Tocón Armas and Armando Mendiburu M., *Madres solteras: Madres abandonadas* (Chimbote, Peru, 1991); Ximena Bedregal et al., *Hilos, nudos y colores: En la lucha contra la violencia hacia las mujeres* (Mexico, D.F., 1991); *¡Que se acabe el silencio! ¡Contra el maltrato a la mujer!* (Matagalpa, Nic., 1991); *Mujer y violencia: La otra cara del amor* (Quito, 1991); *Violencia: E possivel viver sem ela* (Petrópolis, 1991); and *Incriminación a la violencia contra la mujer* (Santo Domingo, 1991).

14. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The historiography and social science literature on the Catholic church in Latin America since 1930 is large and unsatisfactory. There are two main reasons why it is unsatisfactory. First, most ecclesiastical archives, especially that of the Vatican, remain closed to scholars for this period. Secondly, most of the publications on the subject since the late 1960s have been written from the partisan perspectives of the Catholic Left and Catholic Right. From these have emerged two orthodoxies: the one perceiving the diffusion of a 'theology of liberation' as a radical break with five gloomy centuries of overidentification of the Roman Catholic church in Latin America with encrusted and oppressive power structures; the other,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

with equal rigidity, seeing the changes of the 1960s and 1970s as posing a grotesque challenge from within to the creative traditions of five centuries of self-abnegating missionary activity. Both of these orthodoxies are highly critical in tone; neither is self-critical in spirit. Few attempts have been made to examine the cumulative significance of the sequence of small changes in the church between 1930 and the early 1960s. No serious attempt has been made to challenge the assumption that a major transformation occurred in the church in the 1960s and 1970s, or, if it occurred, to identify and quantify in how many parishes and among how many Catholics it had a profound impact.

A number of general histories of the Catholic church and of Christianity Latin America deserve mention: Enrique Dussel (ed.), *The Church in Latin America, 1492–1992* (New York, 1992); Enrique Dussel, *Historia de la iglesia en América Latina,* 5th ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1984); English trans. *History of the Church in Latin America* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1981); and Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Gottingen, 1978; Sp. trans. Salamanca, 1985); Jean Meyer, *Historia de los cristianos en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1989) and, most ambitious of all, the multi-volume *Historia general de la iglesia en América Latina* (*HGIAL*), edited by Enrique Dussel for the Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina (CEHILA) in Mexico City: volumes already published include vol. 5 on Mexico (1984), vol. 6 on Central America (1986), vol. 7 on Colombia and Venezuela (1979) and vol. 8 on Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador (1987) all of which include chapters on the period since 1930.

The standard history in English of the Catholic church in Latin America before the impact of Vatican II is J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1966). The essays in two volumes edited by D. H. Levine, *Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986) and *Churches and Politics in Latin America* (London, 1990) provide a convenient starting point for the study of the church since the 1960s from a perspective broadly sympathetic to the reformist elements in the Catholic church. These can be fruitfully explored further in Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde (eds.), *The Progressive Church in Latin America* (Notre Dame, In., 1989); Thomas Bruneau, M. Mooney and C. Gabriel (eds.), *The Catholic Church and Religion in Latin America* (Montreal, 1984); Dermot Keogh (ed.), *Church and Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1990); Edward L. Cleary and Hannah Stewart-Gambino (eds.), *Conflict and Competition – The Latin American Church in a Changing*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Environment (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Daniel H. Levine, *Popular Voices in Latin American Catholicism* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Edward Cleary (ed.), *Born of the Poor: The Latin American Church since Medellín* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1990); Levine and Mainwaring, 'Religion and popular protest in Latin America: Contrasting experiences', in Susan Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley, 1989); and Brian Smith, 'Religion and social change: Classical theories and new formulations in the context of recent developments in Latin America', *LARR,* 10/2 (1975), 33–54. The standard text of the Catholic Left is Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America – Colonialism to Liberation,* cited above. See also John Eagleson (ed.), *Christians and Socialism: Documentation of the Christians for Socialism Movement in Latin America* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1975) and Giulio Girardi, *Chrétiens pour le socialisme* (Paris, 1976). There is no comparable set of essays on the conservative or centrist factions within the church. There are, however, useful readings in Lyle C. Brown and William F. Cooper (eds.), *Religion in Latin American Life and Literature* (Waco, Tex., 1985).

Earlier writings by foreigners that indicate a growing alertness to religious issues in Latin America include William J. Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism: A Self-Evaluation* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1958); Leslie M. Dewart, *Christianity and Revolution* (New York, 1963); François Houtart and Emile Pin (eds.), *The Church and the Latin American Revolution* (New York, 1965) and *La iglesia latinoamericana en la hora del concilio* (Fribourg, 1963); William V. D'Antonio and Fredrick B. Pike (eds.), *Religion, Revolution and Reform* (New York, 1964); Emanuel de Kadt, 'The Latin American church and Pope Paul's visit', *The World Today,* 24 (September 1968) and 'Paternalism and populism: Catholicism in Latin America', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 2/4 (1967); Thomas G. Sanders, 'The Church in Latin America', *Foreign Affairs,* 48 (January 1970); Henry Landsberger (ed.), *The Church and Social Change in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1970); Karl M. Schmitt, *The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America* (New York, 1972); Frederick C. Turner, *Catholicism and Political Development in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971); and Ivan Vallier, *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970).

On the Second CELAM meeting held in 1968 at Medellín, see the official documents contained in CELAM, *The Church in the Present Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1970); and Joseph Comblin, 'Problèmes sacerdotaux d'Amérique Latine', CIDOC Document 68 (Cuernavaca, 1968). Other influential works writ-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ten in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council and the Second CELAM Meeting at Medellín range from Roger Vekemans, *Agonía o resurgimiento? Reflexiones teológicas acerca de la 'contestación' en la Iglesia* (Barcelona, 1972) to, from a radically different perspective, Leonardo Boff, 'Jesucristo libertador: Una visión cristológica desde Latinoamérica oprimida', in *Panorama de la teología latinoamericana* (Salamanca, 1984). On the Catholic church and national security doctrines, Roberto Calvo, 'The church and the doctrine of national security', *JIAS*, 21/1 (1979), 669–88; and on the churches and human rights, Brian Smith, 'Churches and human rights in Latin America: Recent trends in the Subcontinent', *JIAS*, 21/1 (1979), 89–128. Perspectives from the Catholic right are contained usefully in Alfonso López Trujillo, Secretariado General del CELAM, *Medellín: Reflexiones en el CELAM* (Madrid, 1977) and *Opciones y interpretaciones en la luz de Puebla* (n.p., n.d.) For the Third CELAM meeting held at Puebla, see CELAM, *La evangelización en el presente y en el futuro de América Latina, Puebla, México, 1978: Preparación documento de consulta a las conferencias episcopales* (Bogotá, 1979); *III Conferencia General del Episcopado Latino Americano, Puebla: Documento de trabajo* (Bogotá, 1978); *III Conferencia General del Episcopado Latino Americano, Puebla: La evangelización en el presente y en el futuro de América Latina* (Bogotá, 1979); and CELAM, *Iglesia y educación en el futuro de América Latina* (Bogotá, 1987). See also Enrique Dussel, *De Medellín a Puebla* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), and Renato Poblete, 'From Medellin to Puebla: Notes for Reflexion', *JIAS*, 21/1 (1979), 31–44. On the aftermath of Puebla, see Alexander Wilde, 'The years of change in the church: Puebla and the future', *JIAS*, 21 (August 1979), 299–312, and Edward L. Cleary (ed.), *Path from Puebla: Significant Documents of the Latin American Bishops since 1979* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

A standard introduction to liberation theology is found in Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1973) and, more briefly, 'Liberation, theology and proclamation' in Claude Geffre and Gutiérrez (eds.), *The Mythical and Political Dimensions of the Christian Faith* (New York, 1974), 53–77. See also two works by Hugo Assmann, *Opresión-liberación: desafío a los cristianos* (Montevideo, 1971) and *Theology for a Nomad Church* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1976); Enrique Dussel, *History of Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1976) and *Hipótesis para una historia de la teología latinoamericana* (Bogotá, 1986); Samuel Silva Gotay, *El pensamiento cristiano revolucionario en América Latina y el Caribe* (Salamanca, 1981); Pablo Richard, *Materiales para una historia de la teología latinoamericana* (San José, C.R., 1984); Leonardo and Clodovis

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology* (New York, 1987); Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (New York, 1987) and 'Latin American liberation theology', *Theological Studies,* 34/3 (1973), 357–95; Paul Sigmund, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?* (New York, 1990), Alfred Hennelly (ed.), *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (New York, 1990); Michael Novak (ed.), *Liberation Theology* (Washington, D.C., 1987); Michael Dodson, 'Liberation theology and Christian radicalism in contemporary Latin America', *JLAS,* 11 (May 1979), 203–22; W. E. Hewitt, 'Myths and realities of liberation theology: The case of the basic Christian communities in Brazil' in Richard Rubinstein and John Roth (eds.), *The Political Significance of Liberation Theology* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

BRAZIL

On Brazil, Ralph Della Cava, 'Catholicism and society in twentieth-century Brazil', *LARR,* 11/2 (1976), 7–50, remains a convenient guide to the literature of the 1960s and early 1970s. Consult especially two books by Thomas C. Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Church* (Cambridge, Eng., 1974) and *The Church in Brazil: The Politics of Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1982). These should be read in conjunction with Bruneau's 'Power and influence: Analysis of the church in Latin America and the case of Brazil', *LARR,* 8/2 (1973), 25–51, and 'Brazil: The Catholic church and Christian base communities', in Levine (ed.), *Religion and Political Conflict.* Margaret Patricia Todaro (Williams), 'Pastors, prophets and politicians: A study of the Brazilian Catholic Church, 1916–1945 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Colombia University, 1971), José Oscar Beozzo, 'A Igreja, 1930–1945', in Boris Fausto (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira,* Tomo III, vol. 4 (São Paulo, 1984) and Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916–1982* (Stanford, Calif., 1986) provide broad overviews. On recent trends see also Mainwaring's articles, 'The Catholic church, popular education and political change in Brazil', *JIAS,* 26/1 (1984), 'Grassroots popular movements, identity and democratization in Brazil', *Comparative Political Studies* (July 1987) and 'Brazil: The Catholic church and the popular movement in Nova Igaçú, 1974–1985', in Levine (ed.), *Religion and Political Conflict.* On the 1960s, Emanuel de Kadt, *Catholic Radicals in Brazil* (London, 1970) provides a lively account. See also de Kadt, 'Religion, the church and social change in Brazil', in Claudio Véliz (ed.), *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(London, 1967), Rowan Ireland, 'The Catholic church and social change in Brazil', in Riordan Roett (ed.), *Brazil in the 1960s* (Nashville, Tenn., 1972) and Thomas G. Sanders, 'Catholicism and development: The Catholic Left in Brazil' in Kalman Silvert (ed.), *Churches and States: The Religious Institution and Modernization* (New York, 1967).

On the church and opposition to military regimes between 1964 and 1985, see Bruneau, 'Church and Politics in Brazil: The Genesis of Change', *JLAS*, 17/2 (1985), 271–93; Ralph della Cava, *A Igreja em flagrante: Catolicismo e sociedade na imprensa brasileira, 1964–1980* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); Paulo José Krischke, *A Igreja e as crises políticas no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1979); and Maria Helena Moreira Alves, *Estado e oposição no Brasil (1964–1984)* (Petrópolis, 1984) and 'Grassroots organizations, trade unions and the church – A challenge to controlled abertura in Brazil', *LAP*, 11/1 (1984). The views of Dom Helder Câmara are contained in *The Church and Colonialism: The Betrayed of the Third World* (Danville, N.J., 1969) and *Revolution through Peace* (New York, 1972). Base communities are explored in W. E. Hewitt, 'The influence of social class on activity preferences of comunidades de base (CEBs) in the Archdiocese of São Paulo', *JLAS*, 19/1 (1987), 141–56 and *Base Christian Communities and Social Change in Brazil* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991). A perspective of the counter-revolutionary right is obtained in Sociedade para a Defesa da Tradição, Família e Propriedade, *Meio século da epopeia anticomunista* (São Paulo, 1980).

On the church during the 'transition to democracy', see T. C. Bruneau and W. E. Hewitt, 'Patterns of church influence in Brazil's political transition', *Comparative Politics*, 22/1 (1989); Paulo Krishke and Scott Mainwaring (eds.), *A Igreja nas bases em tempo de transição* (Porto Alegre, 1986); Ralph Della Cava, 'The "People's Church", the Vatican, and *Abertura*' in Alfred Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil* (New York, 1989); with a specific focus on base communities, Paulo Jose Krischke, 'Church base communities and democratic change in Brazilian society', *Comparative Political Studies*, 24/2 (1991); and two articles by Manfredo Araujo de Oliveira, 'CEBs e constitutiente: Um desafio a modernidade', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, 46/183 (1986), 601–10 and 'As CEBs e os dilemas do processo de democratização', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, 49/195 (1990). For continuing radical criticism, see two reports by Comissão Pastoral de Terra, *Conflitos no campo do Brasil* (Goiânia, 1990) and *O Genocídio do nordeste* (São Paulo, 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ARGENTINA

On Argentina, John J. Kennedy, *Catholicism, Nationalism and Democracy in Argentina* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958) remains useful; and Richard Pattee (ed.), *El catolicismo contemporáneo en HispanoAmérica* (Buenos Aires, 1951) can be used selectively. See also Pablo Marsal S., *Perón y la iglesia* (Buenos Aires, 1955); Michael Dodson, 'The Catholic church in contemporary Argentina', in A. Ciria (ed.), *New Perspectives on Modern Argentina* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972), 57–67; 'Religious innovation and the politics of Argentina: A study of the movement for priests for the Third World' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), and 'Priests and Peronism: Radical clergy in Argentine politics', *LAP,* 1 (Fall 1974), 58–72; Gerardo Farell, *Iglesia y pueblo en Argentina (1960–1974)* (Buenos Aires, 1976); Emilio Mignone, *Witness to the Church – the Complicity of the Church and Dictatorship in Argentina* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1988).

CHILE

On Chile, Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile* (Princeton, N.J., 1982) is fundamental. See also Smith, 'The impact of foreign church aid: The case of Chile' in Gregory Baum and Andrew Greeley (eds.), *Communication in the Church* (New York, 1978); Humberto Muñoz Ramírez, *Sociología religiosa de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1957); and Oscar Domínguez, *El campesino chileno y la Acción Católica Rural* (Fribourg, 1961).

COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA

On Colombia, Christopher Abel, *Política, iglesia y partidos en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987), contains materials on clashes between liberal Catholics and the Catholic Right in the 1930s and 1940s. For right-wing clerical perspectives, including an onslaught against masonry, Protestantism and Communism influenced by both the Francoist victory in Spain and the Cold War, see Germán Cadavid, *Los fueros de la iglesia ante el liberalismo y el conservatismo en Colombia* (Medellín, 1955). See also, on the period 1930–62, an essay by Rodolfo de Roux in *HGIAL,* vol. 7. On the church between the 1960s and the 1990s, see Daniel H. Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America: The Catholic Church in Colombia and Venezuela* (1981); Kenneth Medhurst, *The Church and Labour in Colombia* (Manches-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ter, Eng., 1984); and, for institutional factors, David Mutchler, *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America, with Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile* (New York, 1971). The literature on Carlos Torres is extensive but poor. See Camilo Torres, *Cristianismo y revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1970) and *La revolución: Imperativo cristiano* (n.p., n.d.), along with Germán Campos Guzmán, *Camilo, el cura guerrillero* (Bogotá, 1967). On Venezuela, see Isidoro Alonso et al., *La iglesia en Venezuela y Ecuador* (Bogotá, 1962) and Levine, *Religion and Politics,* cited above.

MEXICO

On Mexico the literature is sparse and disappointing. But see essays by Carlos Alvear Acevedo (on 1900–62) and Jesús García (on the period since 1962) in *HGIAL* 5; Claude Pomerlau, 'The changing church in Mexico and its challenge to the state', *Review of Politics,* 43 (1981), 450–9; R. Ramos, Isidoro Alonso and D. Garre, *La iglesia en México: Estructuras eclesiásticas* (Fribourg, 1963); and Kaja Finkler, 'Dissident sectarian movements: The Catholic church and social class in Mexico', *CSSH,* 25/2 (1983), 277–305.

PERU

On Peru, see Jeffrey Klaiber, *Religión y revolución en el Perú, 1824–1976* (Lima, 1977), an essay on the period 1930–62 in *HGIAL,* vol. 8, and *La iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde la independencia* (Lima, 1988); Eng. trans., *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821–1985: A Social History* (Lanham, Md., 1992).

CUBA AND THE CARIBBEAN

On Cuba, see Margaret Crahan, *The Church and Revolution in Cuba and Nicaragua* (Bandoora, Aus., 1988) and 'Salvation through Christ or Marx: Religion in revolutionary Cuba', *JIAS,* 21 (February 1979), 156–84; Mateo Jover, 'The Church', in Carmelo Mesa-Lago (ed.), *Revolutionary Change in Cuba* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1974), 399–426; Alice L. Hageman and Philip E. Wheaton (eds.), *Religion in Cuba Today* (New York, 1971); Celso Montero-Rodríguez, *Cristianos en la revolución cubana* (Estella, Spain, 1978); Raúl Gómez Trero, *The Church and Socialism in Cuba* (New York, 1986); and John M. Kirk, *Between God and the Party: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Cuba* (Gainesville, Fla., 1989). See especially Frei Betto, *Fidel y la religión* (Havana, 1985). For the Dominican Republic, see Wil-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

liam Louis Wipfler, *Poder, influencia e impotencia: La iglesia como factor socio-político en República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1980). And for Haiti, see Marian McClure, 'The Catholic church and rural social change: Priests, peasant organization and politics in Haiti' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1985).

CENTRAL AMERICA

For Central America, see, from the perspective of the Catholic Left, Penny Lernoux, *People of God: The Struggle for World Catholicism* (New York, 1989); Philip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christianity in the Central American Revolution* (New York, 1984); Margaret Randall, *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution* (Vancouver, 1983); Laura Nuzzi O'Shaughnessy and Luis H. Serra, *The Church and Revolution in Nicaragua* (Athens, Ohio, 1986); Philip J. Williams, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Nicaragua and Costa Rica* (London, 1989); Robert A. White, 'Structural factors in rural development: The church and the peasant in Honduras' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1977); Umberto Belli, *Breaking Faith: The Sandinista Revolution and Its Impact on Freedom and Christian Faith in Nicaragua* (Westchester, Ill., 1985); Guillermo Meléndez, *La iglesia de los pobres en América Central (1960–82)* (San José, C.R., 1982); and especially Ernesto Cardenal, *The Gospel in Solentiname,* 3 vols. (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1976–9). On Guatemala, Mary Holleran, *Church and State in Guatemala* (New York, 1949) remains useful. Finally, chapters by Jorge Edwardo Arellano on Nicaragua, Rodolfo Cardenal on El Salvador and Ricardo Bendaña Peromo on Guatemala in *HGIAL* 6 deserve mention.

15. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Until fifty years ago publications on Protestantism in Latin America consisted mainly of the writings and memoirs of missionaries, reporting and interpreting their work, frequently with a promotional or apologetic purpose. The reports of the early Pan American Missionary Conferences (Panama, 1916; Montevideo, 1925; and Havana, 1929) and surveys and statistics provided by World Dominion Press, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (CCLA) and the International Missionary Council provide some data on the beginnings of Protestant missions. Finally, the denominational journals in different countries should also be mentioned.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

There are practically no significant collections of sources for the history of Latin American Protestantism. The sections on Protestantism in Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina (CEHILA), *Para una historia de la evangelización en América Latina* (Barcelona, 1977), 165–269, *Materiales para una historia de la teología en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1981), 343–88, and *Raíces de la teología latinoamericana* (San José, C.R. 1985), 241–60, offer some information on sources. See also H. Mackenzie Goodpasture, *Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America* (Maryknoll, NY., 1989). The most recent and reliable statistical survey is David Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (New York, 1982).

General bibliographies on Protestantism in Latin America, although not specializing in historiographical material, can be profitably consulted. The most complete (up to 1975) is John Sinclair, *Protestantism in Latin America: A Bibliographical Guide,* 2nd ed. (Pasadena, Calif., 1976). The general histories of Damboriena, H.-J. Prien and J.-P. Bastian (see below) include valuable bibliographies, as do the books by David Stoll and David Martin (also see below). The annual bibliographical guide published since 1973 by the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET) in Buenos Aires, *Bibliografía teológica comentada,* report most of the books and journals publishing in the area of theology and related fields in Spanish and Portuguese.

General histories of Protestantism in Latin America are a recent phenomenon. The Presbyterian missionary Thomas S. Goslin published in 1956 a small handbook, *Los evangélicos en América Latina: Siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires, 1956) with some basic information. The Catholic historian Prudencio Damboriena, S.J. gathered a large amount of historical, descriptive and statistical material which, although used with a clearly polemical purpose, yields valuable information: *El Protestantismo en América Latina,* 2 vols. (Fribourg, 1962.) Undoubtedly the two best general histories are by Protestant European historians (both with long residence in Latin America): Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Gottingen, 1978; Spanish translation, *La historia del cristianismo en América Latina,* Salamanca, 1985), which includes the history of Protestantism within a general history of Christianity in the continent, and Jean-Pierre Bastian, *Breve historia del protestantismo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) and the later, expanded edition: *Historia del protestantismo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). See also Pablo A. Deiros, *Historia del cristianismo en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1992).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

National histories of Protestantism include, for Brazil, Emile Léonard, *O Protestantismo brasileiro: Estudo de eclesiologia e história social* (São Paulo, 1963) and the multi-volume *História da igreja no Brasil* (CEHILA, Petrópolis, 1985), with the Protestant sections the responsibility of Prof. van der Grijp; for Cuba, Marcos Antonio Ramos, *Panorama del protestantismo en Cuba* (San José, C.R., 1985); for Ecuador, Washington Padilla, *La iglesia y los dioses modernos: Historia del protestantismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1989). All of them present the Protestant churches in the context of the social, political and cultural history of the country – a new fact in Protestant Latin American historiography. The contrast can be established with the factually accurate but rather decontextualized work of Jean-Baptiste Kessler, 'A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile' (unpublished dissertation, University of Utrecht, 1967). Specifically dealing with the relation between Protestantism and society is Jean-Pierre Bastian, *Protestantismo y sociedad en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1984) and his doctoral dissertation on the role of Protestantism in the Mexican revolution: *Los disidentes: Sociedades protestantes y la revolución en México, 1872–1911* (Mexico, D.F., 1989). See also Deborah J. Baldwin, *Protestantism and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Thinkers and Social Change* (Urbana, Ill., 1990). The significance of the religious factor in the general crisis in Central America has elicited a number of studies, some of them related to Protestantism. See in particular the work of the missionary Wilton Nelson, *El protestantismo en Centro América* (San José, C.R., 1982). For more recent works, see Guillermo Meléndez, *Iglesia, cristianismo y religión en América Central: Resumen bibliográfico, 1960–1988* (San José, C.R., 1988).

Monographs on specific projects that deserve mention include: on World Vision, Haydée Canelos Salazar, 'Factores externos, ideología y descomposición campesina' (unpublished dissertation, Universidad Central de Ecuador, 1985) and, on the new tele-evangelism, Hugo Assmann, *La iglesia electrónica: Su impacto en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1987) and Ana María Ezcurra, *La ofensiva neoconservadora: La iglesia de USA y la lucha ideológica hacia América Latina* (Madrid, 1982) – all analysing the ideological functions of recent fundamentalist missions in Latin America. Finally, there have been several attempts by Latin American Protestant theologians to evaluate the meaning of Protestantism in the continent. Rubem Alves, *Protestantismo e repressão* (São Paulo, 1979), Eng. trans., *Protestantism and Repression: A Brazilian Case Study* (New York, 1979); and Julio de Santa Ana, *Protestantismo, cultura y sociedad: Problemas y perspectivas de la fe evangélica en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1970) contrast the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Protestant principle of freedom and transformation with the history of repression (Alves) or cultural isolation (de Santa Ana) which Protestant churches have frequently followed in Latin America. This is also the tone of José Miguez Bonino, Carmelo Alvarez and Robert Craig (eds.), *Protestantismo y liberalismo en América Latina* (San José, C.R., 1983). Also critical, but from a more evangelical perspective, are Orlando Costas, *El protestantismo en América Latina hoy* (San José, C.R., 1975); René Padilla (ed.), *Hacia una teología evangélica latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and Carmelo Alvarez, *El protestantismo latinoamericano entre la crisis y el desafío* (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

Research on Pentecostalism in Latin America occupies a place by itself in published literature. The classic work on the history and typology of Pentecostalism is Walter J. Hollenweger's dissertation in 8 vols., *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung* (1969); Eng. trans. (abridged), *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1972). In Latin America the first sociological interpretations, in a Weberian direction, come from the Brazilian Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith: Culture, Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile* (Nashville, Tenn., 1967) and the Swiss Christian Lalive d'Epinay, *El refugio de las masas: Estudio sociológico del protestantismo chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1968); Eng. trans., *Haven to the Masses* (London, 1969). Juan Tennekes has criticized the concept of the 'social strike' of the Pentecostals, coined by Lalive, which presupposes a radical dualism and has insisted on their vision of a material and spiritual salvation (salvation and healing) and the more pragmatic reasons for their separation from the world: 'La nueva vida: El movimiento pentecostal en la sociedad chilena' (unpublished dissertation, the Free University of Amsterdam, 1973). Stephen D. Glazier, *Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1980) is a useful collection. The Brazilian historian Antonio G. Mendonça understands Pentecostalism as a contemporary Latin American Protestant manifestation of 'the church of the poor' which has been a constant throughout the history of Christianity: *O Celeste porvir: A Inserção do protestantismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1984). Francisco C. Rolim, *Pentecostais no Brasil, uma interpretação socio-religiosa* (Petrópolis, 1985) insists on the need to interpret Pentecostalism from within. Two more recent works by the sociologists David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley, 1990) and David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford, 1990), although not limited to Pentecostalism, give the larger attention to Pentecostal growth.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Several seminaries, study centers and institutes publish valuable historical and interpretive materials in their journals, books or occasional bulletins. The following deserve special mention: Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones (DEI, San José, C.R.); Centro Ecumênico de Investigações (CEDI, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), which publishes the monthly *Tempo e Presença* and occasional papers and monographs; the Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Religiosos (ISER, São Paulo, Brazil), which publishes *Cadernos de ISER;* the Centro Intereclesial de Estudios Teológicos y Sociales (CIETS, Managua, Nicaragua) with the theological journal *Xilotl* and occasional papers; the Fraternidad Teológica Evangélica (FTE, Buenos Aires, Argentina) with the *Boletín Teológico* and the publishing house Nueva Creación; the Centro Evangélico Latinoamericano de Estudios Pastorales (CELEP, San José, Costa Rica), with its journal *Pastoralia* and occasional papers; Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET, Buenos Aires, Argentina), which publishes *Cuadernos de Teología* as well as the annual *Bibliografía Teológica Comentada.*

16. MEXICO, *c.* 1930–1946

The best guide to Mexican history in the period is provided by the multivolume, multi-authored *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana,* published by the Colegio de México, ten volumes of which cover the period 1928–1952. The first two, Lorenzo Meyer, Rafael Segovia and Alejandra Lajous, *Los inicios de la institucionalización* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) and *El conflicto social y los gobiernos del maximato* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) deal respectively with the political and social history of the Calles Maximato. Four successive volumes cover the Cárdenas presidency: Luis González, *Los artífices del cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), sets the scene; the same author's *Los días del presidente Cárdenas* (Mexico, D.F., 1979) deftly captures both the key events and the president's character; Alicia Hernández Chávez, *La mecánica cardenista* (Mexico, D.F., 1979) offers acute analysis and original research; and Victoria Lerner, *La educación socialista* (Mexico, D.F., 1979) deals with education policy in the 1930s. Historical research on the 1940s – a crucial but relatively little-studied decade – has been pioneered by Luis Medina, *Del cardenismo al avilacamachismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Bianca Torres Ramírez, *México en la segunda guerra mundial* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); Luis Medina, *Civilismo y modernización del autoritarismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); and Blanca Torres Ramírez, *Hacia la utopía industrial* (Mexico, D.F.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1984). Rafael Loyola (coord.), *Entre la guerra y la estabilidad política: El México de los 40* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) is a valuable collection of articles dealing with domestic politics, international relations, the economy and culture during the war. Stephen R. Niblo, *The Impact of War: Mexico and World War Two* (LaTrobe University, Institute of Latin American Studies, Occasional Paper, Melbourne, 1988) is a succinct, original study, especially of the socio-economic impact of the war.

The Colegio series, however, offers no broad interpretations of Cardenismo. These can be found in: Fernando Benítez, *Lázaro Cárdenas y la revolución mexicana, vol. III, El cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), which is persuasively sympathetic; Tzvi Medín, *Ideología y praxis política de Lázaro Cárdenas* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), a sound, balanced analysis; Anatoli Shulgovski, *México en la encrucijada de su historia* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), an unusually good piece of Soviet historiography; and Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), which places Cardenismo within a (non-Procrustean) theoretical context. Some sense of contrasting interpretations of Cardenismo is provided by: Octavio Ianni, *El estado capitalista en la época de Cárdenas* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); Arnaldo Córdova, *La política de masas del cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Romana Falcón, 'El surgimiento del agrarismo cardenista – Una revisión de las tesis populistas', *HM*, 27/3 (1978), 333–86; Wayne A. Cornelius, 'Nation building, participation, and distribution: The politics of social reform under Cárdenas', in Gabriel A. Almond et al., eds., *Crisis, Choice and Change: Historical Studies of Political Development* (Boston, 1973); Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *A la sombra de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), ch. 4; and Liisa North and David Raby, 'The dynamics of revolution and counter-revolution: Mexico under Cárdenas, 1934–40', *Latin American Research Unit Studies* (Toronto), 2/1 (1977), some of whose arguments are developed in Alan Knight, 'Cardenismo: Juggernaut or Jalopy?' JLAS, 26/1 (1994), 73–107.

The place of Cardenismo within the broad revolutionary process is discussed by: Donald Hodges and Ross Gandy, *Mexico 1910–1982: Reform or Revolution* (London, 1983); Juan Felipe Leal, 'The Mexican State, 1915–1973: A historical interpretation', *LAP*, 2/2 (1975), 48–63; Alan Knight, 'The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois, Nationalist, or Just a "Great Rebellion"?' *BLAR*, 4/2 (1985), 1–37; and Stuart F. Voss, 'Nationalizing the Revolution: Culmination and circumstance', in Thomas Benjamin and Mark Wasserman (eds.), *Provinces of the Revolution: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1910–1929* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1990).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

More personalist in approach are: Nathaniel and Sylvia Weyl, *The Reconquest of Mexico: The Years of Lázaro Cárdenas* (London, 1939) and William Cameron Townsend, *Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexican Democrat* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1952), both somewhat hagiographic; they can be contrasted with Victoriano Anguiano Equihua's critical *Lázaro Cárdenas, su feudo y la política nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1951), which has in turn influenced Enrique Krauze, *General misionero, Lázaro Cárdenas* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). In contrast to these analytical and judgmental sources, John W. F. Dulles, *Yesterday in Mexico: A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919–1936* (Austin, 1961), offers a detailed narrative of the early 1930s. Luis Suárez, *Cárdenas: Retrato inédito* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) combines letters and family recollections; Cárdenas's own words and writings are also collected in *Epistolario de Lázaro Cárdenas,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975) and *Lázaro Cárdenas, Obras, I: Apuntes, 1913–1940* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). Among the numerous relevant political memoirs/anthologies are: Emilio Portes Gil, *Quince años de política mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1954) and Luis L. León, *Crónica del poder* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), both of which cover the decline and fall of Calles; Narciso Bassols, *Obras* (Mexico, D.F., 1964) and Victor Manuel Villaseñor, *Memorias de un hombre de izquierda,* vol. 1, *Del Porfiriato al Cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) give leftist viewpoints.

On the crucial agrarian question, Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido, Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937) is a compendious classic, but its analysis stops *c.* 1934; Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago, 1948), covers the whole period. Armando Bartra, *Los herederos de Zapata: Movimientos campesinos posrevolucionarios en México, 1920–80* (Mexico, D.F., 1985) offers a useful, brief overview of peasant movements since the revolution, while Lyle C. Brown, 'Cárdenas: Creating a campesino power base for presidential policy', in George Wolfskill and Douglas W. Richmond (eds.), *Essays on the Mexican Revolution: Revisionist Views of the Leaders* (Austin, Tex., 1979), stresses the political instrumentality of agrarismo. There are many excellent local studies which shed light on the agrarian reform (as well as on local politics, *caciquismo,* and state–federal relations): Dudley Ankerson, *Agrarian Warlord, Saturnino Cedillo and the Mexican Revolution in San Luis Postosí* (DeKalb, Ill., 1984); Raymond Buve, 'State governors and peasant mobilisation in Tlaxcala', in D. A. Brading (ed.), *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980); Ann L. Craig, *The First Agraristas: An Oral History of a Mexican Agrarian Reform Movement* (Berkeley, 1983), which deals with Los Altos de Jalisco; Romana Falcón, *Revolución y caciquismo: San Luis Potosí, 1910–1938* (Mex-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ico, D.F., 1984); Romana Falcón and Soledad García Morales, *La semilla en el surco, Adalberto Tejeda y el radicalismo en Veracruz, 1883–1960* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), whose subject has also been tackled by Heather Fowler Salamini, *Agrarian Radicalism in Veracruz, 1920–1938* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971); Thomas Benjamin, *A Rich Land, A Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989), chaps. 7 and 8, and Antonio García de León, *Resistencia y utopía*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1985), vol. 2, chap. 7 (good though contrasting studies of Chiapas); Paul Friedrich, *The Princes of Naranja: An Essay in Anthrohistorical Method* (Austin, Tex., 1986), which deepens and extends the author's earlier study of the radical Michoacán community of Naranja, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Chicago, 1970). Geographically close but politically distant stands San José de Gracia, the subject of Luis González, *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Eng. trans., *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, Tex., 1974), a classic study of a Michoacán community through the *longue durée* from the Conquest down to the 1960s. Less evocative, but more analytical, is Tomás Martínez Saldana and Leticia Gándara Mendoza, *Politica y sociedad en México: El caso de los Altos de Jalisco* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), which ranges from the revolution to the 1970s. David Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido* (Stanford, Calif., 1973) describes agrarian activism and politicking in Puebla during the same period; Frans J. Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Toronto, 1980), is a perceptive study of highland Hidalgo; Arturo Warman, *. . . Y venimos a contradecir: Los campesinos de Morelos y el estado nacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), Eng. trans., *We Come to Object: The Peasants of Morelos and the National State* (Baltimore, 1980) and Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics and Ritual in the Morelos Highlands of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1981), analyse the post-revolutionary experience of Zapata's fellow Morelenses.

The important Laguna conflict and expropriation have been analysed by: Clarence Senior, *Land Reform and Democracy* (Gainesville, Fla., 1958); Joe C. Ashby, *Organized Labor and the Mexican Revolution under Lázaro Cárdenas* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963); Iván Restrepo and Salomón Eckstein, *La agricultura colectiva en México: La experiencia de La Laguna* (Mexico, D.F., 1975); and Barry Carr, 'The Mexican Communist Party and agrarian mobilization in the Laguna, 1920–40: A worker-peasant alliance', *HAHR*, 62/3 (1987), 371–404. The rise and fall of collective *ejidos* outside the Laguna are recounted by Fernando Benitez, *Ki: El drama de un pueblo y de una planta*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Mexico, D.F., 1962), which deals with Yucatán; Susana Glantz, *El ejido colectivo de Nueva Italia* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), on Michoacán; and Ronfeldt, *Atencingo*. Moisés González Navarro, *La Confederación Nacional Campesina en la reforma agraria mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1985) provides a good overview of the official *campesino* movement from the 1920s through to the present (see chaps. 5–8).

Studies on the labour movement include Ashby, *Organized Labor;* Arturo Anguiano, *El estado y la política obrera del cardenismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), a leftist critique of Cardenismo; Victor Manuel Durand, *La ruptura de la nación: Historia del movimiento obrero mexicano desde 1938 hasta 1952* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); and the valuable series edited by Pablo González Casanova, *La clase obrera en la historia de México,* the relevant volumes of which are: Arnaldo Córdova, *En una época de crisis (1928–1934)* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); Samuel León and Ignacio Marván, *En el cardenismo (1934–1940)* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); and Jorge Basurto, *Del avilacamachismo al alemanismo (1940–1952)* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). Federico Besserer, Victoria Novelo and Juan Luis Sariego, *El sindicalismo minero en México, 1900–1952* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), is brief. For the railroad workers see Ashby, *Organized Labor,* and *Los ferrocarrileros hablan* (Puebla, 1983), part 3. Unorganized labor – especially the urban poor – have been scarcely studied. Moisés González Navarro, *La pobreza en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), is an original study, ranging from the colony to the present; chap. 4 has data on the 1930s and 1940s.

The petroleum workers' movement and the expropriation of 1938 are best covered by Lorenzo Meyer, *México y los Estados Unidos en el conflicto petrolero (1917–42)* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Eng. trans., *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–1942* (Austin, Tex. 1977); Lorenzo Meyer and Isidro Morales, *Petróleo y nación (1900–1987): La política petrolera en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1990); and Jonathan Brown and Alan Knight, eds., *The Mexican Petroleum Industry in the Twentieth Century* (Austin, Tex., 1992), which contains articles on the oil workers, the political and international significance of the expropriation, and the history of PEMEX after 1938. E. David Cronon, *Josephus Daniels in Mexico* (Madison, Wis., 1960), analyses the important role of the U.S. ambassador, whose own memoirs appeared as *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947). General overviews of U.S.–Mexican relations are provided by Howard Cline, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1963); Karl M. Schmitt, *Mexico and the United States, 1821–1973: Conflict and Co-existence* (New York, 1974); Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and Lorenzo Meyer, *The United States and Mexico* (Chicago,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1985); and Alan Knight, *U.S.–Mexican Relations, 1910–1940: An Interpretation* (San Diego, 1987). Economic nationalism – the nub of several U.S.–Mexican disputes in the interwar period – is discussed by Alan Knight, 'The political economy of revolutionary Mexico, 1900–1940', in Christopher Abel and Colin M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State* (London, 1985).

On the politics of the Left during the period, see Manuel Márquez Fuentes and Octavio Rodríguez Araujo, *El partido comunista mexicano (en el período de la Internacional Comunista, 1919–1943)* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); Karl M. Schmitt, *Communism in Mexico, a Study in Political Frustration* (Austin, Tex., 1965); Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo (ed.), *Historia del comunismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), chaps. 4 and 5; and Arturo Anguiano, Guadalupe Pacheco and Rogelio Vizcaíno, *Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). The key figure of Vicente Lombardo Toledano is described by Robert Paul Millon, *Mexican Marxist – Vincente Lombardo Toledano* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966) and Francie R. Chassen de López, *Lombardo Toledano y el movimiento obrero mexicano (1917–1940)* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), chaps. 4–8. A major synthetic study of the Mexican Left since the Revolution is Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth Century Mexico* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1992).

For the development of the official party, first the PNR, then the PRM (finally the PRI), see the meticulous study of Luis Javier Garrido, *El Partido de la Revolución Institucionalizada: La formación del nuevo estado en México (1928–1945)* (Mexico, D.F., 1986) and Carmen Nava Nava, *Ideología del Partido de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). Data on the political elite are analysed by Peter H. Smith, *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1979); for which, see also Roderic A. Camp's compendious *Mexican Political Biographies, 1935–75* (Tucson, Ariz., 1975).

Education has been well researched by Lerner, *La educación socialista;* John A. Britton, *Educación y radicalismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Josefina Vázquez de Knauth, 'La educación socialista de los años treinta', *HM,* 18/3 (1969), 408–23; and David L. Raby, *Educación y revolución social en México, 1921–1940* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). An important new wave of educational and cultural studies includes: Marjorie Becker, 'Black and white and color: *Cardenismo* and the search for a *campesino* ideology', *CSSH,* 29, (1987), 453–68, an innovative revisionist critique of Cardenismo; and, from a different standpoint, Mary Kay Vaughan, 'La política comparada del magisterio en

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Puebla y Sonora en la época cardenista', *Memoria,* X Simposio de Historia de Sonora, Hermosillo, 1987, and the same author's 'Women school teachers in the Mexican Revolution: The story of Reyna's braids', *Journal of Women's History,* 2/1 (1990), 143–68. Note also the valuable oral history series, Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares, *Los maestros y la cultura nacional,* 5 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

On anti-clericalism, see the final section of Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada,* vol. 1, *La guerra de los cristeros* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); and, for an important case study, Carlos Martínez Assad, *El laboratorio de la revolución: El Tabasco garridista* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). The resurgent Catholic radical right of the 1930s has been researched by Jean Meyer, *El sinarquismo, un fascismo mexicano?* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); for older, more hostile analyses see Whetten, *Rural Mexico,* chap. 20, and Mario Gill, *El sinarquismo: Su origen, su esencia, su misión* (Mexico, D.F., 1944). Hugh G. Campbell, *La derecha radical en México, 1929–49* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) analyses both the Catholic and the secular radical Right. B. von Mentz, V. Radkau, D. Spenser and R. Pérez Montfort, *Los empresarios alemanes, el Tercer Reich y la oposición derecha a Cárdenas,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988) is a valuable collection, the first volume of which analyses the German economic presence in twentieth-century Mexico, the second, the impact of Nazism; for the war, see also Friedrich Schuler, 'Alemania, México y los Estados Unidos durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial', *Secuencia,* 7 (1987), 173–86. T. G. Powell, *Mexico and the Spanish Civil War* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1981) discusses the foreign policy issue which most agitated domestic politics; on which, see also Patricia W. Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1973). The best study of the Cedillo revolt of 1938 is Carlos Martínez Assad, *Los rebeldes vencidos* (Mexico, D.F., 1990); while Alex M. Saragoza, *The Monterrey Elite and the Mexican State, 1880–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1988), chap. 8, analyses the Monterrey bourgeoisie's successful resistance to Cardenismo. These several currents fed into the contentious 1940 presidential election, which is discussed by Ariel José Contreras, *México 1940: Industrialización y crisis política* (Mexico, D.F., 1977) and Albert L. Michaels, 'The crisis of Cardenismo', *JLAS,* 2/1 (1970), 51–79.

The broad patterns of government policy and budgeting during the 1930s and 1940s are charted by James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change since 1910* (Berkeley, 1970); on which, see also Dan A. Cothran, 'Budgetary secrecy and policy strategy:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mexico under Cárdenas', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 2/1 (1986), 35–58. Economic trends can be followed in Clark W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy: Twentieth-Century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1970) and Leopoldo Solís, *La realidad ecónomica mexicana: Retrovisión y perspectivas* (Mexico, D.F., 1970). The best analyses of 1930s import-substitution industrialization are those of Enrique Cárdenas: 'The Great Depression and industrialization: The case of Mexico', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis* (London, 1984), 222–41 and *La industrialización de México durante la gran depresión* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). Stephen H. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), concludes an innovative study with the 1930s (chap. 10), while Sanford A. Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1954) focusses on wartime industrialization. Trade is discussed by Timothy King, *Mexico: Industrialization and Trade Policies since 1940* (London, 1970); mining, by Marvin D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890–1950* (New York, 1964); agriculture, by Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, *The Modernization of Mexican Agriculture: Socio-economic Implications of Technological Change, 1940–1970* (Geneva, 1976) and Steven E. Sanderson, *Agrarian Populism and the Mexican State: The Struggle for Land in Sonora* (Berkeley, 1981), both of which combine general analysis with case studies of the state of Sonora.

A good overview of cultural trends in the period is given by Carlos Monsiváis, 'Notas sobre la cultura mexicana en el siglo XX', in Daniel Cosío Villegas (ed.), *Historia general de México,* tomo IV (Mexico, D.F., 1976) (see also Monsiváis' contribution to Loyola (ed.), *Entre la guerra y la estabilidad política*). Film is covered by Carl J. Mora, *Mexican Cinema: Reflections of a Society, 1896–1980* (Berkeley, 1982), chaps. 2 and 3. Mexican women's history is making progress, especially in specific fields (such as education); Dawn Keremetsis, 'Del metate al molino, la mujer mexicana de 1910 a 1940', *HM*, 32/2 (1983), 285–302, and Anna Macías, *Against All Odds* (Westport, Conn., 1982), chap. 6, offer broad syntheses.

Finally, foreign eyewitness accounts of the 1930s and early 1940s include: Graham Greene, *The Lawless Roads* (London, 1939), an anti-anticlerical tract; Evelyn Waugh, *Robbery Under Law: The Mexican Object Lesson* (London, 1939), a diatribe against the oil expropriation; Frank L. Kluckhohn, *The Mexican Challenge* (New York, 1939), by a journalistic critic of Cardenista policy; R. H. K. Marett, *An Eye-witness of Mexico* (London, 1939) and Virginia Prewett, *Reportage on Mexico* (New York, 1941), which are rather more neutral; and Betty Kirk, *Covering the Mexican*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Front (Norman, Okla., 1942), which emphasises the Axis threat. Partisan and often unreliable as these are, they at least engage with current political and social issues. In contrast, the eyewitness accounts of the later 1940s and 1950s tend towards bland travelogues: proof that Mexico was seen no longer as a troublesome nest of banditry and Bolshevism, but rather as a safe haven of tourism and tequila.

17. MEXICO SINCE 1946

There is not yet an extensive historiographical literature on Mexico in the period after 1946 because of both its proximity to the present day and the absence of epic events. Nor is there a longstanding tradition of political or public memoirs, though that may be in an incipient phase. For a general overview, see Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History,* now in its fourth edition (New York, 1991). Interpretive studies of Mexican politics include Daniel Levy and Gabriel Székely, *Mexico: Paradoxes of Stability and Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1983; revised ed., 1987); Roberto Newell and Luis Rubio, *Mexico's Dilemma: The Political Origins of Economic Crisis* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); and Roderic A. Camp (ed.), *Mexico's Political Stability: The Next Five Years* (Boulder, Colo., 1986). Alan Riding's journalistic account, *Distant Neighbors: A Portrait of the Mexicans* (New York, 1985), is informative but highly controversial. Earlier analyses include José Luis Reyna and Richard S. Weinert (eds.), *Authoritarianism in Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1977), and Miguel Basáñez, *La lucha por la hegemonía en México, 1968–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1981).

Standard works on the political system by North Americans include Robert E. Scott, *Mexican Government in Transition* (Urbana, Ill., 1958; 2nd ed., 1964); Frank R. Brandenburg, *The Making of Modern Mexico* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964); L. Vincent Padgett, *The Mexican Political System* (Boston, 1966; rev. ed., 1976); Kenneth F. Johnson, *Mexican Democracy: A Critical View* (Boston, 1971; 3rd rev. ed., 1984); Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Judith Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis* (New York, 1983); and John J. Bailey, *Governing Mexico: The Statecraft of Crisis Management* (New York, 1988). Mexican perspectives appear in Rolando Cordera and Carlos Tello, *La disputa por la nación* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), Enrique Krauze, *Por una democracia sin adjetivos* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), Jorge Castañeda, *México: El*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

futuro en juego (Mexico, D.F., 1987), Soledad Loaeza and Rafael Segovia (eds.), *La vida política mexicana en crisis* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), Héctor Aguilar Camín, *Después del milagro* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), Pablo González Casanova and Jorge Cadena Roa (eds.), *Primer informe sobre la democracia: México 1988* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *A la sombra de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), and Miguel Basáñez, *El pulso de los sexenios: 20 años de crisis* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). Studies of political economy include Raymond Vernon, *The Dilemma of Mexico's Development: The Role of the Private and Public Sectors* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963) and Roger D. Hansen, *The Politics of Mexican Development* (Baltimore, 1971). A classic interpretation in the regime also appears in Pablo González Casanova, *Democracy in Mexico,* trans. Danielle Salti (New York, 1970). On the formation of political elites, see Peter H. Smith, *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1979) and Roderic Ai Camp, *Mexico's Leaders: Their Education and Recruitment* (Tucson, Ariz., 1980). On business elites, see Alex Zaragoza, *The Monterrey Elite and the Mexican State* (Austin, Tex., 1988); Roderic Ai Camp, *Entrepreneurs and Politics in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (New York, 1989); and Sylvia Maxfield, *Governing Capital: International Finance and Mexican Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990). What little we know about the contemporary army is contained in David Ronfeldt (ed.), *The Modern Mexican Military: A Reassessment* (La Jolla, Calif., 1984), and Roderic Ai Camp, *Generals in the Palacio* (New York, 1992). Essential research tools are provided in Roderic Camp, *Mexican Political Biographies, 1935–1975* (Tucson, Ariz., 1976) and Presidencia de la República, *Diccionario biográfico del gobierno mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1984 and 1989).

For speculation and analysis on the presidential succession, see Roderic A. Camp, 'Mexican presidential candidates: Changes and portents for the future', *Polity,* 16/4 (1984), Daniel Cosío Villegas, *La sucesión presidencial* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), and Francisco José Paoli, *El cambio de presidente* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). The cabinet of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–94) receives close attention in Luis del Villar, *Los que mandan: lo desconocido del gabinete de Salinas* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). On elections, see Arturo Alvarado (ed.), *Electoral Patterns and Perspectives in Mexico* (La Jolla, Calif., 1987); essays by Kevin J. Middlebrook, Juan Molinar Horcasitas and Wayne A. Cornelius in Paul W. Drake and Eduardo Silva (eds.), *Elections and Democratization in Latin America, 1980–1985* (La Jolla, Calif., 1986); and Jaime González Graf, *Las elecciones de 1988 y la crisis del sistema político* (Mexico, D.F., 1989). A broad analysis of political forces

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and prospects appears in Wayne A. Cornelius, Judith Gentleman and Peter H. Smith (eds.), *Mexico's Alternative Political Futures* (La Jolla, Calif., 1989).

Path-breaking work on the period from the Second World War to 1960 has emerged through a series of studies on the *Historia de la Revolución Mexicana* carried out by a research team at El Colegio de México. These include, on 1940–52, Luis Medina, *Civilismo y modernización del autoritarismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1979), and on 1952–60, Olga Pellicer and José Luis Reyna, *El afianzamiento de la estabilidad política* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), and Olga Pellicer de Brody and Esteban L. Mancilla, *El entendimiento con los Estados Unidos y la gestación del desarrollo estabilizador* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). Other treatments of this period include James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change since 1910* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967). An illustrative case study from the López Mateos era (1958–64) can be found in Susan Kaufman Purcell, *The Mexican Profit-Sharing Decision: Politics in an Authoritarian Regime* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975). On the López Portillo *sexenio* (1976–1982), see Gabriel Székely, *La economía política del petróleo en México, 1976–1982* (Mexico, D.F., 1983) and Carlos Tello, *La nacionalización de la banca* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). A unique source on the De la Madrid presidency (1982–88) is the annual publication of the Unidad de la Crónica Presidencial, Presidencia de la República, *Crónica del sexenio: Las razones y las obras: Gobierno de Miguel de la Madrid.* A compelling description of the 1982 crisis appears in Joseph Kraft, *The Mexican Rescue* (New York, 1984); for broad perspective, see William R. Cline (ed.), *International Debt and the Stability of the World Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1983). Also notable is Rosario Green, *La deuda externa de México de 1973 a 1988: De la abundancia a la escasez de créditos* (Mexico, D.F., 1989).

Important studies of economic policy include Clark W. Reynolds, *The Mexican Economy: Twentieth-Century Structure and Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1970) and his well-known interpretive article 'Why Mexico's "stabilizing development" was actually destabilizing (with some implications for the future)', *World Development,* 6/7–8 (1978); Leopoldo Solís, *Economic Policy Reform in Mexico: A Case Study for Developing Countries* (New York, 1981); David Barkin, *Distorted Development: Mexico in the World Economy* (Boulder, Colo., 1990); and Dwight L. Brothers and Adele E. Wick (eds.), *Mexico's Search for a New Development Strategy* (Boulder, Colo., 1990). On foreign investment, see Bernardo Sepúlveda and Antonio Chumacero, *La inversión extranjera en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); Gary Gereffi, *The Phar-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

maceutical Industry and Dependency in the Third World (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Douglas C. Bennett and Kenneth E. Sharpe, *Transnational Corporation versus the State: The Political Economy of the Mexican Automobile Industry* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); and Harley Shaiken and Stephen Herzenberg, *Automobiles and Global Production: Automobile Engine Production in Mexico, the United States, and Canada* (La Jolla, Calif., 1987). Evolution of the oil industry is covered in Lorenzo Meyer and Isidro Morales, *Petróleo y nación (1900–1987): La política petrolera en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). For broad treatments of Mexican agriculture, see Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, *The Modernization of Mexican Agriculture: Socio-economic Implications of Technological Change, 1940–1970* (Geneva, 1976); Armando Bartra, *La explotación del trabajo campesino por el capital* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); Gustavo Esteva, *La batalla en el México rural* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); Paul Lamartine-Yates, *Mexico's Agricultural Dilemma* (Tucson, Ariz., 1981); David Barkin and Blanca Suárez, *El fin de la autosubsistencia alimentaria* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); and Susan Sanderson, *Land Reform in Mexico: 1910–1980* (Orlando, Fla., 1984). Merilee S. Grindle provides an insightful analysis of Echeverría's 'integrated' development plan in *Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Peasants in Mexico: A Case Study in Public Policy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977). On the policies of the López Portillo administration, see Cassio Luiselli Fernández, *The Route to Food Self-Sufficiency in Mexico: Interactions with the U.S. Food System* (La Jolla, Calif., 1985) and Jonathan Fox, 'The political dynamics of reform: The case of the Mexican food system, 1980–1982' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1986).

On the *campesino* movement, see Moisés González Navarro, *La Confederación Nacional Campesina: Un grupo de presión en la reforma agraria mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), and on political attitudes in the countryside, see Carlos Salinas de Gortari, *Political Participation, Public Investment, and Support for the System: A Comparative Study of Rural Communities in Mexico* (La Jolla, Calif., 1982). On social responses and movements, see Arturo Warman, *'We Come to Object': The Peasants of Morelos and the National State* (Baltimore, 1980); Lourdes Arizpe, *La migración por relevos y la reproducción social del campesinado* (Mexico, D.F., 1980); Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics and Ritual in the Morelos Highlands of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1981); Stefano Varese, *Proyectos étnicos y proyectos nacionales* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); Luisa Paré, *El proletariado agrícola de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); and Adriana López Monjardin, *La lucha por los ayuntamientos* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). For analytical and comparative overviews, see Joe Foweraker and Ann L. Craig (eds.), *Popular Movements and Social*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Change in Mexico (Boulder, Colo., 1990) and Mercedes González de la Rocha and Agustín Escobar Latapi (eds.), *Social Responses to Mexico's Economic Crisis of the 1980s* (La Jolla, Calif., 1991).

The political outlooks and resources of migrant slum dwellers form the subject of Wayne A. Cornelius, *Politics and the Migrant Poor in Mexico City* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), and Susan Eckstein, *The Poverty of Revolution: The State and the Urban Poor in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). Among the remarkably scarce studies of organized labour are Kevin Jay Middlebrook, 'The political economy of Mexican organized labor, 1940–1978' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1982), and César Zarzueta and Ricardo de la Peña, *La estructura del Congreso del Trabajo: Estado, trabajo y capital en México: Un acercamiento al tema* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). Welcome additions to this field are Ian Roxborough, *Unions and Politics in Mexico: The Case of the Automobile Industry* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984); Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *La clase obrera en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1980), vols. 11–15; Raúl Trejo Delarbre, *Crónica del sindicalismo en México (1976–1988)* (Mexico, D.F., 1990); and Kevin J. Middlebrook (ed.), *Unions, Workers, and the State in Mexico* (La Jolla, Calif., 1991).

Donald J. Mabry offers a sweeping historical interpretation of campus politics in *The Mexican University and the State: Student Conflicts, 1910–1971* (College Station, Tex., 1982), and Daniel C. Levy analyses the postwar scene in *University and Government in Mexico: Autonomy in an Authoritarian System* (New York, 1980). For compelling material on the student movement of 1968 and the Tlatelolco massacre, see Ramón Ramírez, *El movimiento estudiantil de México: Julio–diciembre de 1968*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1969); Elena Poniatowska, *La noche de Tlatelolco* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); and Sergio Zermeño, *México, una democracia utópica: El movimiento estudiantil del 68* (Mexico, D.F., 1978).

Standard sources on Mexican foreign policy are the masterful studies by Mario Ojeda, *Alcances y límites de la política exterior de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) and *México: El surgimiento de una política exterior activa* (Mexico, D.F., 1986). On more recent developments see Sergio Aguayo and Bruce M. Bagley (eds.), *En busca de la seguridad perdida: Aproximaciones a la seguridad nacional mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1990). On relations with the United States, see Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and Lorenzo Meyer, *The United States and Mexico* (Chicago, 1986); Carlos Vásquez and Manuel García y Griego (eds.), *Mexican–U.S. Relations: Conflict and Convergence* (Los Angeles, 1983); Clark Reynolds and Carlos Tello (eds.), *U.S.–Mexican Relations: Social and Economic Aspects* (Stanford, Calif., 1983);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

George W. Grayson, *The United States and Mexico: Patterns of Influence* (New York, 1984), as well as Grayson's subsequent *Oil and Mexican Foreign Policy* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1988). A flurry of books around the time of the presidential succession of 1988 included Robert A. Pastor and Jorge Castañeda, *Limits to Friendship: The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1988); Susan Kaufman Purcell (ed.), *Mexico in Transition: Implications for U.S. Policy* (New York, 1988); and the report of the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States–Mexican Relations, *The Challenge of Interdependence: Mexico and the United States* (Lanham, Md., 1988), an effort that led to the publication of Rosario Green and Peter H. Smith (eds.), *Dimensions of United States–Mexican Relations,* 5 vols. (La Jolla, Calif., 1989–90). For a thoughtful perspective on the problem of drug trafficking, see Sergio García Ramírez, *Narcotráfico: Un punto de vista mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), and on the emerging free-trade issue of the 1990s, see Gustavo Vega Canovas (ed.), *México ante el libre comercio con América del Norte* (Mexico, D.F., 1991).

18. CENTRAL AMERICA

There is abundant literature on Central America since 1930. See Edelberto Torres Rivas and Maria Eugenia Gallardo, *Para entender Centroamérica: Resumen bibliográfico* (San José, C.R., 1985), and Kenneth Grieb, *Central America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, 1988). An analysis of what has been written in the last twenty-five years, however, reveals that 80 percent of all Spanish texts about Central America in general or any of the countries in particular have been written since 1979. Similarly, what has been written in English consists, in essence, of a literature of 'the crisis'. Nevertheless, both before and after 1979, important works were published which are fundamental to an understanding of Central American history.

There are few works which treat the Central American region as a whole and which at the same time respect national features and local peculiarities. Franklin Parker, *The Central American Republics* (London, 1964), contains an analysis of and useful information about the economy, society and institutions of each country, covering the period up to 1960. More comprehensive and underlining regional homogeneity is Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Central America: A Nation Divided,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), which also contains an exhaustive 'Selective Guide to the Literature on Central

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

America.' The two-volume text by Mario Monteforte Toledo, *Centro América: Subdesarrollo y dependencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1972) is important for the quantitative information it contains. Also important because they contain interpretive propositions for the entire region are Edelberto Torres-Rivas, *Interpretación del desarrollo social centroamericano* (San José, C.R., 1971), one of the first works to treat the region as a whole; and Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Breve historia de Centroamérica* (Madrid, 1986). The most detailed and comprehensive political history of Central America in the twentieth century is James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London, 1988).

Several other works also address themselves to Central America as a whole but concentrate on specific aspects or specific periods. Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, *La hoz e el machete* (San José, C.R., 1986; Eng. trans., 1993), examines the role of the Third International in Central America, 1920–1936. For the period of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath, see Thomas M. Leonard, *The United States and Central America, 1944–1949* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1984); Andrés Opazo, *Estructura agraria, dinámico de población y desarrollo capitalista en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1978), is a detailed analysis of changes in agriculture and population movements. In *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolution* (New York, 1984), Phillip Berryman explains the changes experienced by the Central American church and the role of the clergy in political struggle.

Of the many works written on the political crisis that developed at the end of the 1970s, three contain particularly well-articulated analytical propositions: Donald E. Schulz and Douglas H. Graham (eds.), *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America and the Caribbean* (Boulder, Colo., 1984), a collection of historical and theoretical essays; Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolution: The United States in Central America* (New York, 1984; 2nd rev. ed. 1993), an examination of U.S. policy in the region; and Morris Blachman, William LeoGrande and Kenneth Sharpe, *Confronting Revolution: Security Through Diplomacy in Central America* (New York, 1986), a collection of essays on international relations in the Central American crisis and without doubt the most complete work on the search for peace and security in the region. See also Peter Calvert, *The Central American Security System: North–South or East–West?* (Cambridge, Eng. 1988). Roy Gutman, *Banana Diplomacy: The Making of American Policy in Nicaragua (1981–87)* (New York, 1988), is an excellent, well-documented, analytical case study of U. S. opposition to the Sandinista experiment in Nicaragua.

On the Central American economy several books are indispensable.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

First is the result of an ambitious research project carried out by SIECA (Secretaria de Integración Económica Centroamericana), also called the Rosenthal report, after the economist who headed the project: *El desarrollo integrado de Centroamérica en la presente década: Bases y propuestas para el perfeccionamiento y la reestructuración del Mercado Común* (Buenos Aires, 1973) comprises thirteen volumes of the most complete review of the regional economy ever undertaken. Two studies with a regional perspective by North American economists are John Weeks, *The Economies of Central America* (New York, 1985), a general analysis concentrating on the period since 1950; and Robert C. Williams, *Export Agriculture and the Crisis in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), an extraordinary and well-documented look at the effects of the regional economic 'boom' of the sixties and seventies and, in particular, the social – and ecological –impact of the introduction into Central America of the export production of cotton and cattle. W. A. Durham, *Scarcity and Survival in Central America: Ecological Origins of the Soccer War* (Stanford, Calif., 1979), contains a rigorous quantitative analysis of population problems in El Salvador and an interpretation of the so-called 'useless war' of 1969. Also important is Richard Fagen (ed.), *Transition and Development: Problems of Third World Socialism* (New York, 1986), which brings together various analyses of economic policy in revolutionary Nicaragua and offers a theoretical discussion on the viability of socialist change in the Central American 'periphery'. Juan Alberto Fuentes, *Desafíos de la integración centroamericana* (San José, C.R., 1989) is the best analysis of the current problems facing the regional common market and of the experience of twenty years of economic integration. Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe (PREALC), *Cambio y polarización ocupacional en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1986) is the best study of employment, the labour market and the informal sector. Finally, the study by Rafael Menjívar and Juan Diego Trejos, *La pobreza en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1990) summarizes the social effects of economic stagnation and the rise in poverty.

Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America Since 1920* (Cambridge, 1987) is without doubt the best work published to date on Central America. It contains not only an economic history of the last sixty years but also an outstanding analysis of the region's political and social life. Ana Isabel García and Enrique Gomáriz (eds.), *Mujeres centroamericanas: Efectos del conflicto* 2 vols. (San José, C.R., 1989) is also important for an understanding of the region. The first volume analyses

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the structural tendencies, supported by detailed statistics, in the condition of women and the second volume analyses the 'crisis' and its effect on women.

19. GUATEMALA

Despite its age and limited attention to historical developments, Richard N. Adams, *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan Social Structure, 1944–1966* (Austin, Tex., 1970) continues to occupy a central place in the literature on Guatemala in the twentieth century. A more recent narrative account of republican history is Jim Handy, *Gift of the Devil: A History of Guatemala* (Toronto, 1984), popular in style but with a full scholarly apparatus. The period up to the mid-1930s is covered in the engaging study by Chester Lloyd Jones, *Guatemala Past and Present* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1940). Providing full statistical material supported by a rather uneven text on the following two decades is Mario Monteforte Toledo, *Guatemala: Monografía sociológica* (Mexico, D.F., 1959), while Carlos Guzmán-Böckler and Jean-Loup Herbert, *Guatemala: Una interpretación histórico-social* (Mexico, D.F., 1970) is overwhelmingly analytical in perspective. Alfonso Bauer Paiz, *Como opera el capital yanqui en Centroamérica: El caso de Guatemala* (Mexico, D.F., 1956), and Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership* (New York, 1971), are both polemical in style and secondary studies but do give cogent overviews of two important factors in twentieth-century society and economy.

General economic developments in the postwar period are treated in more technical fashion in World Bank, *The Economic Development of Guatemala* (Baltimore, 1951), and Lehman B. Fletcher et al., *Guatemala's Economic Development: The Role of Agriculture* (Ames, Iowa, 1970). The complexities of peasant agriculture are treated in many studies, among the most suggestive of which are Lester Schmid, *The Role of Migratory Labor in the Economic Development of Guatemala,* Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, Research Paper (Madison, Wis., 1967); Manuel Gollas, 'Surplus labor and economic efficiency in the traditional sector of a dual economy: The Guatemalan case', *Journal of Development Studies,* 8/4 (1972); Ivon Lebot, 'Tenencia de la tierra en el Altiplano Occidental de Guatemala', *ESC,* 13 (1976); Thomas J. Maloney, 'El impacto social del esquema de desarrollo de la Franja Transversal del Norte sobre los Maya-Kekchi en Guatemala', *ESC,* 29 (1981),

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Carol A. Smith, 'Local history in global context: Social and economic transition in Western Guatemala', *CSSH*, 26/2 (1984). Smith's long article on the urban sector, 'El desarrollo de la primacia urbana', *Mesoamérica*, 8 (1984), is one of the very few studies to follow the pioneering work in this field by Bryan Roberts, *Organizing Strangers* (Austin, Tex., 1973), although it takes a more structural and historical perspective.

Much of the extensive work undertaken in the field of anthropology subordinates historical approaches, but some studies in this discipline have greatly advanced historical knowledge and thrown light on contemporary socio-political developments: Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago, 1959); Ruth Bunzel, *Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan Village* (Seattle, 1952); Ricardo Falla, *Quiché rebelde* (Guatemala City, 1979); John D. Early, 'The changing proportion of Maya Indian and Ladino in the population of Guatemala, 1954–1969', *American Ethnologist*, 2/2 (1975); Paul Diener, 'The Tears of St. Anthony: Ritual and revolution in Eastern Guatemala', *LAP*, 5/3 (1978); Robert M. Carmack, 'Spanish–Indian Relations in Highland Guatemala, 1800–1944', in Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (eds.), *Spaniards and Indians in South Eastern Mesoamerica: Essays in the History of Ethnic Relations* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983); 'Death and disorder in Guatemala', *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 7/1, special issue (1983); and *Panzós: Testimonio* (Guatemala City, 1979). A magisterial but highly controversial survey of the history of the 'Indian question' is given in Severo Martínez Peláez, *La patria del criollo* (Guatemala City, 1973), to which a vivid and powerful autobiographical counterpoint may be found in Elizabeth Burgos Debray (ed.), *I . . . Rigoberta Menchú* (London, 1983). Both works are placed in a general contemporary context in Carol A. Smith, 'Indian class and class consciousness in pre-revolutionary Guatemala', Working Paper no. 162, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, D.C., 1984). The impact of political violence on the indigenous population in the 1970s and 1980s is the central preoccupation of three quite different but equally impressive texts: Beatriz Manz, *Refugees of a Hidden War: The Aftermath of Insurgency in Guatemala* (Albany, N.Y., 1988); Robert Carmack (ed.), *Harvest of Violence: The Mayan Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (Norman, Okla., 1988); and Carol A. Smith, *Guatemalan Indians and the State, 1540 to 1988* (Austin, Tex., 1990), which contains a particularly useful bibliography as well as examples of some of the best historical and anthropological writing on the country in recent years.

Consolidated studies of developments in the formal and national circles of power and politics are much thinner on the ground. Other than the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

contemporary hagiographies, Kenneth J. Grieb, *Guatemalan Caudillo: The Regime of Jorge Ubico* (Athens, Ohio, 1979), is a solitary study and remains the principal consolidated source on politics during the 1930s. The final section of David McCreery, 'Debt servitude in rural Guatemala, 1876–1936', *HAHR*, 63/4 (1983), provides a somewhat more sober view of the impact of Ubico's policies in one important area. Thirty-five years after the overthrow of the 'Revolution' there was still no monographic treatment of the governments of Arévalo and Arbenz based on primary sources, although many of these had been transferred to the U.S. Library of Congress in the wake of the 1954 'Liberation'. The most important scholarly analysis of relations with the United States is Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944–1954* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). See also two articles by Gleijeses: 'The Agrarian Reform of Jacobo Arbenz', *JLAS*, 21/3 (1989), and 'The death of Francisco Arana: A turning point in the Guatemalan Revolution', *JLAS*, 22/3 (1990). Certain aspects of this period are also covered in Ronald M. Schneider, *Communism in Guatemala, 1944–1954* (New York, 1958); Leo A. Suslow, *Aspects of Social Reform in Guatemala, 1944–1949* (New York, 1950); Neale J. Pearson, 'Guatemala: The peasant union movement, 1944–1954', in Henry A. Landsberger (ed.), *Latin American Peasant Movements* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969); and Robert Wasserstrom, 'Revolution in Guatemala: Peasants and politics under the Arbenz government', *CSSH* 17/4 (1975); Luis Cardoza y Aragón, *La revolución guatemalteca* (Guatemala City, 1955); Manuel Galich, *Por que lucha Guatemala: Arévalo y Arbenz: Dos hombres contra un imperio* (Buenos Aires, 1956). Far greater attention has been paid to the intervention and counter-revolution of 1954, but the leading studies of that crisis do consider its local background to varying degree: Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York, 1982); Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin, Tex., 1982); José M. Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention: The Case of Guatemala in 1954* (Boulder, Colo., 1978). A wide range of Guatemalan and U.S. literature on the intervention and its background is noted in Julio Adolfo Rey, 'Revolution and liberation: A review of recent literature on the Guatemalan Situation', *HAHR*, 38/2 (1958).

From 1954 the government of Guatemala rested largely with the military and proved resistant to detailed monographic treatment. Differing views on the electoral process can be found in Kenneth F. Johnson, *The Guatemalan Presidential Election of March 16, 1966: An Analysis*, Institute for the Com-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

parative Study of Politics (Washington, D.C., 1967), and John W. Sloan, 'Electoral frauds and social change: The Guatemalan example', *Science and Society,* 34/3 (1970). A polemical, pro-guerrilla perspective is taken in Eduardo Galeano, *Guatemala: Occupied Country* (New York, 1969), and in views from within the guerrilla provided in Ricardo Ramírez, *Lettres du front guatemaltèque* (Paris, 1970), and Orlando Fernández, *Turcios Lima* (Havana, 1968), themselves subjected to unsympathetic analysis in David A. Crain, 'Guatemalan revolutionaries and Havana's ideological offensive of 1966–1968', *JIAS,* 17/2 (1975). Mario Payeras, *Days of the Jungle: The Testimony of a Guatemalan Guerrillero, 1972–76* (New York, 1983), is an insider's account of the emergence of the second generation of rebels against a military order described in great detail and with minimal sympathy in Michael McClintock, *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala* (London, 1985). Both sides are depicted in the polemical study by George Black, *Garrison Guatemala* (London, 1984), which is more up-to-date but less sober and interested in socio-economic developments than Roger Plant, *Guatemala: Unnatural Disaster* (London, 1978), while a wider variety of sources is provided in Jonathan Fried et al. (eds.), *Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History* (New York, 1983), which shares the radical tone of the other two texts. At the end of the 1980s the only consolidated text to consider the transfer to constitutional government and the initial experience of the Cerezo administration was James Painter, *Guatemala: False Hope, False Freedom* (London, 1987), which paints an exceptionally sombre picture. See also Robert H. Trudeau, 'The Guatemalan election of 1985', in John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989).

20. EL SALVADOR

Despite a significant increase in the number of studies – largely of a secondary character – since 1980, the scholarly literature on El Salvador in the twentieth century remains thin. Although they were written before the political developments that prompted the 'new wave' of books, two English-language texts remain indispensable as general surveys: David Browning, *El Salvador: Landscape and Society* (Oxford, 1971), which adopts a predominantly geographical approach to socio-economic development, and Alastair White, *El Salvador* (London, 1973), which devotes more space to history and politics. Mario Flores Macal, *Origen, desarrollo y crisis*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de las formas de dominación en El Salvador (San José, C.R., 1983), and Rafael Guidos Vejar, *Ascenso del militarismo en El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1982) provide general overviews of political history, while the work of Rafael Menjívar links politics more closely to developments in political economy: see *Crisis del desarrollismo: Caso El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1977); *El Salvador: El eslabón más pequeño* (San José, C.R., 1981); and *Formación y lucha del proletariado* (San José, C.R., 1982). Menjívar also contributes a chapter to *Centroamérica hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), an important collection of comparative essays that situates the country within a regional framework. W. H. Durham, *Scarcity and Survival in Central America: Ecological Origins of the Soccer Wars* (Stanford, Calif., 1979) also takes a comparative approach, contrasting the rural subsistence economy of the country with that in Honduras, a counterpoint being given by Eduardo Colindres, *Fundamentos económicos de la burguesía salvadoreña* (San José, C.R., 1977), which was the basis for the author's many articles on the landlord class and direction of the modern coffee and cotton sectors. Other useful economic surveys include T. J. Downing, 'Agricultural modernization in El Salvador' (Occasional Paper, Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Cambridge, 1978), and Hector Dada, *La economía de El Salvador y la integración social, 1954–1960* (San José, C.R., 1983).

Segundo Montes, *El compadrazgo: Una estructura de poder en El Salvador* (San Salvador, 1979), and Carlos Cabarrús, *Génesis de una revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), are rare studies of social structure, the first concentrating on aspects of Indian society and the second focussed on the north of the country and the origins of the contemporary peasant rebellion. There is still no adequate study of the 1932 revolt from the perspective of the peasantry, but the general origins and political course of the uprising are covered in some detail by Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971). Roque Dalton, *Miguel Marmol* (New York, 1987) is an outstanding biographical account of a radical activist that covers the first four decades of the twentieth century. A modest biography of the Communist leader of the 1932 rising is provided by Jorge Arias Gómez, *Farabundo Martí* (San José, C.R., 1972), but none yet exists for General Martínez. Aspects of Martínez's government are, however, covered in Kenneth J. Grieb, 'The United States and the rise of General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez', *JLAS*, 3/2 (1971); Everett Wilson, 'The crisis of national integration in El Salvador, 1919–1935' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1970), and Robert E. Elam, 'Appeal to arms: The Army and politics in El Salvador, 1931–

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1964', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1968), which remains the best resource on modern military history. The dictator's overthrow is studied with precision in Patricia Parkman, *Nonviolent Insurrection in El Salvador: The Fall of Maximiliano Hernández Martínez* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988). The 1969 war with Honduras is treated in general terms by Thomas P. Anderson, *The War of the Dispossessed: Honduras and El Salvador, 1969* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981), and within a socio-economic framework in Marco Carías and Daniel Slutsky (eds.), *La guerra inútil* (San José, C.R., 1971), and Vincent Cable, 'The "Football War" and the Central American Common Market', *International Affairs*, 45 (1969). Material on modern political parties is scarce, the only monograph being Stephen Webre, *José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadorean Politics, 1960–1978* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), written before Duarte became president but valuable for its treatment of political life in the 1960s. The later period is presented in unqualified partisan and populist style in José Napoleón Duarte with Diana Page, *Duarte: My Story* (New York, 1986), which possesses a degree of interest beyond its natural incorporation of anecdotal and propagandistic material but still lacks the scholarly counterpart needed to provide a judicious assessment of this complex individual in the final years of his life. A good example of orthodox political science that reflects the expectations of some democratic progress during the 1960s is Ronald H. McDonald, 'Electoral behaviour and political development in Salvador', *Journal of Politics*, 31/2 (1969).

Material on the 1970s and 1980s is much more extensive and frequently contains useful and original treatment of the previous period even though many contemporary books adopt a generally polemical tone. Latin America Bureau, *El Salvador Under General Romero* (London, 1979), contains a detailed analysis of the military regime of 1977 to 1979, and James Brockman, *The Word Remains: A Life of Oscar Romero* (New York, 1982), provides an interesting survey of local ecclesiastical life as well as a biography of the archbishop who opposed his namesake in the presidential palace. Jenny Pearce, *Promised Land: Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango, El Salvador* (London, 1985) develops some of the themes of Cabarrús's text and is one of a growing caucus of books containing oral testimonies. Michael McClintock, *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador* (London, 1985) is no less unsympathetic to U.S. policies but provides considerable detailed information on the military and paramilitary forces, while Morton Halperin (ed.), *Report on Human Rights in El Salvador* (Washington, D.C., 1982) is one of the most lucid examples of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the burgeoning oeuvre that itemizes the results of their activity. General studies of political developments since the early 1970s include: Enrique Baloyra, *El Salvador in Transition* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution* (London, 1982); James Dunkerley, *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador,* 2nd ed. (London, 1985); and Tommie Sue Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador: Origins and Evolution* (Boulder, Colo., 1982). Tomás Guerra (ed.), *Octubre Sangriento* (San José, C.R., 1980), and Dermot Keogh, 'The Myth of the Liberal Coup: The U. S. and the 15th October 1979 Coup in El Salvador', *Millennium,* 13/2 (1984) concentrate on the important final months of 1979. Mario Menéndez, *El Salvador: Una auténtica guerra civil* (San José, C.R., 1980) is a highly partisan but vivid account of the guerrilla war. Adolfo Gilly, *Guerra y política en El Salvador* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), contains suggestive political essays from the Left on the first phase on the conflict. And Raymond Bonner, *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador* (New York, 1985), is a detailed account of the following years from a journalist's perspective as well as a strong attack on U.S. policy.

The conditions of civil war throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s naturally impeded significant academic research in and on El Salvador. The war also determined that much of the literature concerned with contemporary issues took the form of journalism. Two texts that condense some of the best of this material and analysis are: Edgar Jiménez et al. (eds.), *El Salvador: Guerra, política y paz (1979–1988)* (San Salvador, 1988); and Mario Lungo Uclés, *El Salvador en los 80: Contrainsurgencia y revolución* (San José, C.R., 1990). Some useful discussion is also provided in José Z. García, 'Recent elections in El Salvador', in John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), but the latter years of the 1980s are still better understood through reference to newsletters, such as *Inforpress* or *Central American Report,* than on the basis of articles or chapters in books that were very frequently rendered wholly or partially irrelevant by the rapid passage of military engagements, elections, and diplomatic encounters between different governments in San Salvador and the rebels.

21. HONDURAS

The social and economic backwardness of Honduras in the period since 1930 is reflected in the shortage of good general works and specialized

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

monographs. Only in the 1980s, as Honduras became a focus of international attention, did the situation begin to change, although few works on Honduras in this recent period can be regarded as scholarly.

One of the more satisfactory general studies of Honduras is Mario Posas and Rafael Del Cid, *La construcción del sector público y del estado nacional en Honduras 1870–1979* (Tegucigalpa, 1981), which is broader in coverage than its title implies and particularly strong in its interpretation of the period up to 1972. The standard text on Honduras in English is William S. Stokes, *Honduras: An Area Study of Government* (Madison, Wis., 1950), a remarkably detailed picture of Honduras up to the close of the Cariato, but weak on economics. James Morris, *Honduras: Caudillo Politics and Military Rulers* (Boulder, Colo., 1984), tries to pick up the story where Stokes left it, but lacks Stokes's insights and is rather descriptive. As a solid introduction to Honduras, although very heavy on factual information, Howard Blutstein et al., *Area Handbook for Honduras* (Washington, D.C., 1970) still has value. A good general study, with a useful collection of appendices containing key documents in Honduran history, is Antonio Murga Frassinetti, *Enclave y sociedad en Honduras,* 2nd ed. (Tegucigalpa, 1985). There is also an excellent study of northern Honduras by Darío Euraque, 'Merchants and industrialists in Northern Honduras: The making of national bourgeoisie in peripheral capitalism, 1870s–1972' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1990).

No history of Honduras in the twentieth century can ignore the fruit companies. On the earlier period, there is a wealth of information in Charles Kepner and Jay Soothill, *The Banana Empire: A Case Study in Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1935). The Standard Fruit and Steamship Company has found a competent biographer in Thomas Karnes, *Tropical Enterprise* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978), but the United Fruit Company has still not spawned a satisfactory monograph; Stacy May and Galo Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America* (New York, 1958) is a eulogistic account. There is, however, a good study of the Honduran banana industry from its origins in V. Lainez and V. Meza, 'El enclave bananero en la historia de Honduras', *ESC,* 2/5 (1973), 115–56. A similar, slightly more detailed study is Daniel Slutzky and Esther Alonso, *Empresas transnacionales y agricultura: El caso del enclave bananero en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1982). A more recent study, covering the whole of Central America, is FLACSO/CEDAL, *Cambio y continuidad en la economía bananera* (Heredia, 1988). The dispute between rival banana companies, which nearly provoked a war between Honduras and Guatemala, is described in Virgilio

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rodríguez Beteta, *No es guerra de hermanos sino de bananos* (Guatemala City, 1980).

The Cariato (1933–48) remains one of the most barren periods in Honduran historiography. There is a most unflattering portrait of the dictator in Filánder Díaz Chávez, *Carías – el último caudillo frutero* (Tegucigalpa, 1982), and an interesting study of the problems facing the Liberal Party at this time in Carlos A. Contreras, *Entre el marasmo: Análisis de la crisis del Partido Liberal de Honduras 1933–1970* (Tegucigalpa, 1970). A more recent work, descriptive but informative, is M. R. Argueta, *Tiburcio Carías: Anatomía de una época, 1923–48* (Tegucigalpa, 1989). There is also an account of Honduras in this and later periods in Guillermo Molina Chocano, 'Honduras: De la Guerra Civil al Reformismo Militar', in Pablo Gonzalez Casanova (ed.), *América Latina: Historia de medio siglo,* vol. 2 (Mexico, D.F., 1978). The last years of the Cariato and the relationship between Honduras and the United States during that period are covered in Thomas Leonard, *The United States and Central America, 1944–49* (Birmingham, Ala., 1984). For the economic history of Honduras in these years there is much of interest in the Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), *El desarrollo económico de Honduras* (Santiago, Chile, 1960).

The banana strike of 1954 deserves a monograph in its own right, but has not yet received one. One of the best discussions of the strike is to be found in Mario Posas, *El movimiento campesino hondureño* (Tegucigalpa, 1981). There is also Robert MacCameron, *Bananas, Labor, and Politics in Honduras, 1954–1963* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1983). A study that compares the strike with the peasant uprising in El Salvador in 1932 is Vinicio González, 'La insurrección salvadoreña de 1932 y la gran huelga hondureña de 1954', *RMS,* 40/2 (1978), 563–606. Other competent works on the Honduran labour movement are Victor Meza, *Historia del movimiento obrero hondureño* (Tegucigalpa, 1980), and Mario Posas, *Lucha ideológica y organización sindical en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1980). There is also an interesting anthology for the 1970s by Victor Meza, *Antología del movimiento obrero hondureño* (Tegucigalpa, 1980).

The social reforms begun under President Ramón Villeda Morales are studied in several works. There is a good biography of Villeda Morales, which discusses his social programme in detail, by Stefania Natalini de Castro, María de los Angeles Mendoza Saborio and Joaquín Pagan Solorzano, *Significado histórico del gobierno del Dr. Ramón Villeda Morales* (Tegucigalpa, 1985). The agrarian reform is usefully discussed in R.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Robleda, 'Latifundio, reforma agraria y modernización', *Economía Política* (January 1982). This journal, published by the Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, has done much to stimulate research and writing on twentieth-century Honduran social science. A good study of agrarian reform, bringing the story up to the mid-1980s, is Charles Brockett, 'Public policy, peasants and rural development in Honduras', *JLAS*, 19/1 (1987). The peasantry and its survival strategies are competently researched in Jefferson Boyer, 'Agrarian capitalism and peasant praxis in Southern Honduras' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1982), and in Susan Stonich, 'Rural families and income from migration: Honduran households in the world economy', *JLAS*, 23/1 (1991).

The war with El Salvador in 1969 is discussed thoroughly in Thomas Anderson, *The War of the Dispossessed* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981). Another study, which concentrates much more on the international law aspects of the dispute, is James Rowles, *El conflicto Honduras–El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1980). However, William Durham's study of the ecological origins of the war remains by far the most satisfactory: *Scarcity and Survival in Central America* (Stanford, Calif., 1979). This was the first work to draw proper attention to the land shortage created by Honduran geography on the one hand and demographic pressure on the other. It finally dispelled the notion that Honduras was a land-surplus country. There is also an interesting series of essays in Marco Carías and Daniel Slutzky (eds.), *La guerra inútil: Análisis socioeconómico del conflicto entre Honduras y El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1971).

Several works cover Honduran economic development in recent decades. In INFORPRESS, *El futuro del mercado común centroamericano* (Guatemala City, 1983), there is an illuminating discussion of the reasons for Honduras's departure from the Central American Common Market. A fine, detailed study of the emergence of the beef industry is Daniel Slutzky, 'La agroindustria de la carne en Honduras', *Economía Política*, 14 (1977), 30–45. On Honduran industrialization, see Rafael Del Cid, 'Honduras: Industrialización, empleo y explotación de la fuerza de trabajo', *Economía Política*, 13 (1977), 51–129. An overview of Honduran economic development can be found in Benjamín Villanueva, 'Institutional innovation and economic development, Honduras: A case study' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968). Surprisingly, there is still no major work on the Honduran coffee sector. The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s is well described in Centro de Documentación de Honduras

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(CEDOH), *La crisis económica en Honduras: 1981–1984* (Tegucigalpa, 1985) and the shift in government policy in favour of less intervention is analysed in Alcides Hernández, *El Neoliberalismo en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1987). CEDOH, attached to the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, began to produce a series of high quality working papers at the end of the 1980s analysing the state of the Honduran economy.

There have been remarkably few studies on the military as an institution in Honduras. An early effort is Steve Ropp, 'The Honduran army in the sociopolitical evolution of the Honduran state', *TA*, 30 (April 1974). Ropp, with James Morris, has attempted to build a corporate model to explain Honduran development, but the result is not wholly convincing: 'Corporatism and dependent development: A Honduran case study', *LARR*, 12/2 (1977), 27–68. There are also few works on the Catholic church as an institution in Honduras, although several books describe the growing political involvement of individuals within the church. See, for example, Father James Guadalupe Carney, *To Be a Revolutionary* (San Francisco, 1987), the posthumously published autobiography of a Catholic priest killed in eastern Honduras.

The growing U.S. involvement in Honduras to the 1980s and the repercussions of the regional crisis on Honduras have produced a huge literature of uneven quality. One of the better efforts is Mark Rosenberg and Philip Shepherd (eds.), *Honduras Confronts Its Future* (Boulder, Colo., 1986), which presents a series of essays by leading Hondurans on the political economy of the 1980s. A perceptive account of the recent period can be found in Guillermo Molina Chocano, 'Honduras: La situación política y económica reciente', in Donaldo Castillo Rivas (ed.), *Centroamérica – más allá de la crisis* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Two studies, highly critical of U.S. policy in Honduras, are Richard Lapper and James Painter, *Honduras: State for Sale* (London, 1985) and A. Acker, *Honduras: The Making of a Banana Republic* (Boston, 1988). Finally, mention should be made of a book by Gautamo Fonseca, a Honduran journalist who has written a number of reflective essays on the Honduran political system: *Cuatro ensayos sobre la realidad política de Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1982).

22. NICARAGUA

Nicaraguan historiography is extremely uneven in both quality and quantity. While much of the country's history remains poorly researched,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

certain events have attracted enormous attention, notably the proposed inter-oceanic canal in the nineteenth century; the U.S. occupation in the first third of the twentieth century; the Sandino episode; and, more recently, the Sandinista revolution.

The international attention devoted to Nicaragua since the collapse of the Somoza dynasty in 1979 has created a demand for comprehensive bibliographies, previously a neglected area. The most impressive is the three-volume *Nicaraguan National Bibliography, 1800–1978,* produced by the Latin American Bibliographic Foundation (Redlands, Calif., 1986–7), with more than 20,000 entries. A more modest, but useful, bibliography is Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Nicaragua* (Oxford 1983), in the World Bibliographical Series. For the post-1979 period, there is such a rapid increase in publications every year that any bibliography runs the risk of being out-of-date as soon as it is published. Hans Aalborg, however, has compiled a helpful work for the first five years of the revolution: *The Nicaraguan Development Process* (Copenhagen, 1984), while a comprehensive bibliography on political economy covering most of the period of Sandinista rule (1979–90) is contained in CRIES, *La política económica en Nicaragua 1979–88* (Managua, 1989).

The Nicaraguan revolution inspired a number of authors to attempt general works on the country's history. Among the best are Alberto Lanuza, Juan Luis Vázquez, Amaru Barahona and Amalia Chamorro, *Economía y sociedad en la construcción del estado en Nicaragua* (San José, C.R., 1983); David Close, *Nicaragua: Politics, Economics and Society* (London, 1988) and F. Lainez, *Nicaragua: Colonialismo español, yanki y ruso* (Guatemala City, 1987).

Of several good works on the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua, which ended in 1933, the best is William Kamman, *A Search for Stability: United States Diplomacy Towards Nicaragua, 1925–1933* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968), although this focusses almost exclusively on the period after the Marines returned to Nicaragua in 1926. Roscoe Hill, *Fiscal Intervention in Nicaragua* (New York, 1933), is an excellent study dealing with the non-military side of U.S. intervention. For a dry, but very thorough, account of the intervention years, see Department of State, *The United States and Nicaragua: A Survey of the Relations from 1909 to 1932* (Washington, D.C., 1932). A more interesting account, written by a U.S. journalist, is Harold Denny, *Dollars for Bullets: The Story of American Rule in Nicaragua* (New York, 1929; repr., Westport Conn., 1980). A book providing much source material on U.S. intervention throughout the twentieth century is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Máximo Navas-Zepeda, *El rapto de Nicaragua: Historia documentada de la intervención americana* (Managua, 1986).

The Sandino episode has generated two waves of publications. The first, written by contemporaries, ended with the publication of Anastasio Somoza, *El verdadero Sandino, o el Calvario de las Segovias* (Managua, 1936). The second wave began with the Nicaraguan revolution and has been spearheaded by the Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo in Managua. During both these periods, writings on Sandino and Sandinismo have suffered from a lack of scholarly detachment. Fortunately, a small number of works were produced on Sandino between the two waves, which are exemplary in their attention to detail; these include Neill Macaulay, *The Sandino Affair* (Chicago, 1967), and Gregorio Selser, *Sandino: General de hombres libres,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1959), although the latter is at times somewhat uncritical. Mention should also be made of Donald Hodges, *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1986); although Hodges does not succeed in his ambition to establish Sandino as a consistent and original political thinker, he does provide a wealth of new material and gives due attention to the intellectual climate in which the Sandino episode evolved.

Another excellent book, drawing attention to the international and regional situation at the start of the 1930s, is Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, *La hoz y el machete* (San José, C.R., 1986; Eng. trans., 1993), which, while focussing on the role of the Communist International throughout Central America, devotes a great deal of research to Nicaragua during the Sandino episode. Also of good quality is Richard Salisbury, *Anti-Imperialism and International Competition in Central America, 1920–29* (Wilmington, Del., 1989). Finally, a small number of studies have begun to explore Sandino's incursions into the Atlantic coast communities. These include David Brooks, 'U.S. Marines, Miskitos and the hunt for Sandino: The Río Coco Patrol in 1928', *JLAS,* 21/2 (1989) and Volker Wünderlich, *Sandino en la costa* (Managua, 1989).

A number of general works on the history of Nicaragua during the years of the Somoza dynasty include Richard Millett, *Guardians of the Dynasty* (New York, 1977), concerned mainly with the National Guard from its formation at the end of the 1920s, but with much of interest on other aspects of Nicaraguan society. Both Bernard Diederich, *Somoza* (London, 1982), and Eduardo Crawley, *Dictators Never Die* (London, 1979), are primarily concerned with the Somoza family, but also furnish useful accounts of the general political background. Claribel Alegría and D. J.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Flakoll, *Nicaragua: La revolución sandinista: Una crónica política 1855–1979* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), is a good account of the rebirth of the Sandinista movement after the assassination of Sandino in 1934; despite the title, however, it has little to say on the period before Sandino's death. Another useful book focussing on the revival of Sandinismo is Hugo Cancino Troncoso, *Las raíces históricas e ideológicas del movimiento sandinista: Antecedentes de la revolución nacional y popular nicaragüense, 1927–1979* (Odense, Denmark, 1984). A careful study on the continuity of Sandinismo can be found in Lucrecia Lozano, *De Sandino al triunfo de la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), while Emiliano Chamorro, *El último caudillo* (Managua, 1983) is an autobiographical account by one of the key figures in the history of Nicaragua in the fifty years after the U.S. occupation. Finally, mention should be made of Humberto Ortega's *50 años de lucha sandinista*, which, published in 1976 in 'algún lugar de Nicaragua', provides the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional account of how the Sandinista struggles of the 1960s and 1970s were linked to the much earlier Sandino episode.

The economic history of Nicaragua has attracted growing interest since the publication of Jaime Wheelock's influential *Imperialismo y dictadura: Crisis de una formación social* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Jaime Biderman, 'Class structure, the state and capitalist development in Nicaraguan agriculture' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982), is an excellent study highlighting the rise of the cotton industry after the 1940s. Earlier works that still have much to offer include International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Nicaragua* (Washington, D.C., 1953); CEPAL, *El desarrollo económico de Nicaragua* (New York, 1966), and Luis Cantarero, "The economic development of Nicaragua, 1920–47' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1948).

The labour movement under the Somoza dynasty, neglected for years, has recently received some attention. A good study of the 1940s is Jeffrey Gould, ' "For an organised Nicaragua": Somoza and the labour movement, 1944–1948', *JLAS*, 19/2 (1987). A more general work is Carlos Pérez Bermúdez and Onofre Guevara, *El movimiento obrero en Nicaragua* (Managua, 1985). This controversial work seeks to justify the role played by the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense under Somoza, but nevertheless is an unrivalled source of information on many aspects of the labour movement's history. A regional study of the labour movement over a long period is Jeffrey Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990).

The Nicaraguan revolution leading to the overthrow of Somoza has produced many books and articles, of which the best are John Booth, *The End and the Beginning: The Nicaraguan Revolution* (Boulder, Colo., 1982), and George Black, *Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* (London, 1981). Anastasio Somoza's own version of the events leading to his overthrow, *Nicaragua Betrayed* (Boston, 1980), gives a very partial, but fascinating, description of his relationship with the Carter administration. This same question is taken up by Robert Pastor in *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), where the author makes a courageous effort to explore what went wrong in a relationship in which he himself played a minor part as President Carter's Latin American specialist on the National Security Council. Another book of interest, although it covers events after the revolution as well, is Shirley Christian, *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* (New York, 1985).

The period since the revolution has seen an explosion in writings on Nicaragua. The best of these tend to be sympathetic to the revolution, but fall short of the highest standards of scholarship; examples are Thomas Walker (ed.), *Nicaragua: The First Five Years* (New York, 1985); Carlos Vilas, *The Sandinista Revolution* (New York, 1986); and Richard Harris and Carlos Vilas (eds.), *Nicaragua: A Revolution Under Siege* (London, 1985). Works critical of the revolutionary period tend to be written by exiles or foreigners without access to primary sources; among the better examples is Xavier Zavala et al., *1984 Nicaragua* (San José, C.R., 1985). A balanced view of the Sandinistas, tracing their relationship with the other social forces in Nicaragua, is Dennis Gilbert, *Sandinistas* (Oxford, 1988), while an inside view by a leading figure in the agrarian debates is Orlando Nuñez Soto, *Transición y lucha de clases en Nicaragua, 1979–86* (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

U.S. policy towards the Sandinista revolution has been the subject of numerous articles and books. These include Roy Gutman, *Banana Diplomacy: The Making of American Policy in Nicaragua, 1981–1987* (New York, 1988) and William Robinson and Kent Norsworthy, *David and Goliath: Washington's War against Nicaragua* (London, 1987). A sober assessment of U.S. policy in the region, taking into account U.S. reaction to the Sandinista defeat in the elections in February 1990, is William LeoGrande, 'From Reagan to Bush: The transition in U.S. policy towards Central America', *JLAS*, 22/3 (1990).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Economic development, including agrarian reform, under the Sandinista regime has received considerable attention. A good example, bringing together many of the best scholars in the field, is Rose Spalding (ed.), *The Political Economy of Revolutionary Nicaragua* (Boston, 1987). Specialist works on agriculture include Forrest Colburn, *Post-Revolutionary Nicaragua: State, Class, and the Dilemmas of Agrarian Policy* (Berkeley, 1986), although this study was subsequently overtaken by changes in Nicaraguan agrarian reform. The latter is studied in a large number of articles, including I. Luciak, 'National unity and popular hegemony: The dialectics of Sandinista agrarian reform policies, 1979–86', *JLAS*, 19/1 (1987), and Carmen Diana Deere, Peter Marchetti and Nola Reinhardt, 'The peasantry and the development of Sandinista agrarian policy, 1979–84', *LARR*, 20/3 (1985). State enterprises in agriculture are the main focus also of Forrest Colburn, *Managing the Commanding Heights: Nicaragua's State Enterprises* (Berkeley, 1990).

The deterioration in economic conditions under the Sandinistas is analysed by a number of authors. The best works are Richard Stahler-Sholk, 'Stabilization, destabilization, and the popular classes in Nicaragua, 1979–88', *LARR*, 25/3 (1990); David Ruccio, 'The costs of austerity in Nicaragua: The worker–peasant alliance (1979–87),' in Howard Handelman and Werner Baer (eds.), *Paying the Costs of Austerity in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); José Luis Medal, *Nicaragua: Crisis, cambio social y política económica* (Managua, 1988) and Valpy Fitzgerald, 'Stabilization and economic justice: The case of Nicaragua', in Kwan Kim and David Ruccio (eds.), *Debt and Development in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1985). The problem of hyperinflation at the end of 1980s is thoroughly examined in Lance Taylor et al., *Nicaragua: The Transition from Economic Chaos toward Sustainable Growth* (Stockholm, 1989) and Bill Gibson, 'The inflation-devaluation-inflation hypothesis in Nicaragua', *Journal of Development Studies*, 27/2 (1991).

Sandinista foreign policy, a major source of friction in U.S.–Nicaraguan relations, is discussed in Mary Vanderlaan, *Revolution and Foreign Policy in Nicaragua* (Boulder, Colo., 1986). The Catholic church in Nicaragua has received a great deal of attention, both because of the friction between the hierarchy and the Sandinista government and because of the growth of a 'popular' church. A thoughtful study which reflects both sides of the question is Laura O'Shaugnessy and Luis Serra, *The Church and Revolution in Nicaragua* (Athens, Ohio, 1986). Another work along similar lines is Rosa Maria Pochet and Abelino Martínez, *Iglesia: Manipulación o profecía?*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(San José, C.R., 1987). A good comparative study is Philip Williams, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Nicaragua and Costa Rica* (London, 1989), while the changing character of the church before the revolution is competently treated in Manzar Foroohar, *The Catholic Church and Social Change in Nicaragua* (Albany, N.Y., 1989).

The Atlantic coast region and its ethnic minorities has begun to receive proper attention. Craig Dozier, *Nicaragua's Mosquito Shore: The Years of British and American Experience* (Birmingham, Ala., 1986), gives an excellent account of the coast in the nineteenth century, but offers only a sketchy treatment of the more recent period. A good overview, embracing more recent events, is Peter Sollis, 'The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua: Development and autonomy', *JLAS*, 21/3 (1989), while Centro de Investigación y Documentación de la Costa Atlántica (CIDCA), *Ethnic Groups and the Nation State* (Stockholm, 1987) is an excellent survey of the ethnic complexities in the region. Finally, there is a fine sociological study of the Atlantic coast in Carlos Vilas, *State, Class and Ethnicity in Nicaragua: Capitalist Modernization and Revolutionary Change on the Atlantic Coast* (Boulder, Colo., 1989).

23. COSTA RICA

A pioneering general interpretation of Costa Rica that considers the country's development from a variety of perspectives is Samuel Stone, *La dinastía de los conquistadores* (San José, C.R., 1975); Eng. trans., *The Heritage of the Conquistadores: Ruling Classes in Central America from the Conquest to the Sandinistas* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1990). The same broad approach is also adopted in the excellent studies written by Carolyn Hall: *El café y el desarrollo histórico-geográfico de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1976) and *Costa Rica: Una interpretación geográfica con perspectiva histórica* (San José, C.R., 1984). Other general interpretative surveys include José L. Vega, *Orden y progreso: La formación del estado nacional en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1975), *Poder político y democracia en Costa Rica* (San José, 1982), and *Hacia una interpretación del desarrollo costarricense: Ensayo sociológico* (San José, C.R., 1983); Carlos Meléndez's more dated *Costa Rica: Evolución de sus problemas más destacados* (San José, C.R., 1953); Wilburg Jiménez, *Génesis del gobierno de Costa Rica, 1821–1981* (San José, C.R., 1986), which concentrates upon administrative issues; and Chester Zelaya (ed.), *Costa Rica contemporánea* (San José, C.R., 1979), a collection of provocative

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

essays by, among others, Carlos Meléndez, Oscar Arias, Gonzalo Facio and Eduardo Lizano. The perspective of the Partido Liberación Nacional (PLN) is reflected in Carlos Monge, *Historia de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1962); Eugenio Rodríguez, *Apuntes para una sociología costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1953); and Hugo Navarro, *La generación del 48: Juicio histórico sobre la democracia costarricense* (Mexico, D.F., 1957). For a rigorously Marxist interpretation, see Reinaldo Carcanholo, *Desarrollo del capitalismo en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1981). Two quite different interpretations of developments in the modern era may be found in Rodolfo Cerdas, *Crisis de la democracia liberal en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1972), and Sergio Reuben, *Capitalismo y crisis económica en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1982). Also of Marxist inspiration is Victor Hugo Acuña Ortega and Iván Molina Jiménez, *Historia económica y social de Costa Rica (1750–1950)* (San José, C.R., 1991). Uneven but valuable is Vladimir de la Cruz (ed.), *Historia general de Costa Rica* (San José, 1987–). Vols. 4 and 5, published in 1990, cover the period of the Liberal Republic and its crisis and the period after 1940. On relations between the coffee economy and the political struggles of the twentieth century, see Anthony Winson, *Coffee and Democracy in Modern Costa Rica* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1989). A number of efforts have been made in recent years to revise the dominant interpretation of Costa Rican democracy. See, in particular, Morris J. Blackman and Ronald G. Hellman, 'Costa Rica', in Morris J. Blackman, William M. LeoGrande and Kenneth E. Sharpe (eds.), *Confronting Revolution* (New York, 1986); John A. Booth, 'Costa Rican democracy', in Larry Diamond, Juan Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries*, vol. 4, *Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989); John A Peeler, *Latin American Democracy: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Mitchell A. Seligson, 'Costa Rica and Jamaica', in Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun (eds.), *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries* (Durham, N.C., 1987); Andrew Reding, 'Costa Rica: Democratic model in jeopardy', *World Policy Journal*, 2/8 (1986); Olivier Dabene, 'La formule politique du Costa Rica' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Grenoble, 1987); Fabrice Edouard Lehoucq, 'Explaining the origins of democratic regimes: Costa Rica in comparative perspective' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1987); and Chester Zelaya (ed.), *Democracia costarricense: Pasado, presente y futuro* (San José, C.R., 1989).

Studies of social groups and the development of the labour force include: Lowell Gudmundson, *Hacendados políticos y precaristas: La ganadería y el latifundismo guanacasteco, 1800–1950* (San José, C.R., 1983); Mitchell

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Seligson, *Peasants of Costa Rica and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism* (Madison, Wis., 1980; Sp. trans. 1984); Roger Churnside, *Formación de la fuerza laboral costarricense* (San Jose, C.R., 1985). Raimundo Santos and Liliana Herrera, *Del artesano al obrero fabril* (San José, C.R., 1979) is strongly syndicalist in its approach but contains useful information. Important studies of other sectors include three articles by Victor Hugo Acuña: 'Clases sociales y conflicto social en la economía cafetalera costarricense: Productores contra beneficiadores (1932–1936)', *Revista de Historia,* Universidad Nacional, Heredia, special issue, 1985; 'Patrones de conflicto social en la economía cafetalera costarricense (1900–1984)', *Revista de Ciencia Social,* 31 (1986); and 'La ideología de los pequeños y medianos productores cafetaleros costarricenses', *Revista de Historia,* 16 (1987); Alfonso González, 'El discurso oficial de los pequeños y medianos cafetaleros (1920–1940; 1950–1960)', *Revista de Historia,* 16 (1987); and Manuel Rojas, 'El movimiento obrero en Costa Rica', in P. González Casanova (ed.), *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). On the labour movement, see also Elisa Donato and Manuel Rojas, *Sindicatos, política y economía, 1972–1986* (San José, C.R., 1987) and Marielos Aguilar H., *Clase trabajadora y organización sindical en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1990). The debate over the nature of social and political power in the country is engaged from an entirely different perspective in the two volumes written by Oscar Arias: *Grupos de presión en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1971), and *Quién gobierna en Costa Rica?* (San José, C.R., 1977). A number of studies analyse the role of elites from different sectors of the economy. For the cattle ranchers, see Irene Aguilar and Manuel Solís, *La elite ganadera en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1988). For sugar, see Mayra Achio and Ana C. Escalante, *Azúcar y política en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1985). For the banana industry, Charles D. Kepner and Jay Henry Soothill, *The Banana Empire: A Case Study in Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1935) and Stacy May and Galo Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America* (New York, 1958) are classics; Chester Lloyd Jones, *Costa Rica and Civilization in the Caribbean* (Madison, Wis., 1935) remains useful for the background; Frank Ellis, *Las transnacionales del banano en Centroamérica* (San José, C.R., 1983), covers the more modern period from an economist's perspective; and Jeffrey Casey Gaspar, *Limón: 1880–1940: Un estudio de la industria bananera en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1979), provides an excellent case study.

The question of land tenure, which acquired particular importance in the postwar era, is treated in CEPAL and other international organiza-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tions, *Costa Rica: Características de uso y distribución de la tierra* (San José, C.R., 1972), and critically analysed in two suggestive essays: Mario Fernández, 'Dinámica de capital, evolución de la estructura de la tenencia de la tierra y paisaje rural en Costa Rica', *Revista de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 36 (1983), and Edelberto Torres Rivas, 'Elementos para la caracterización de la estructura agraria de Costa Rica', *Avances de Investigación,* Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica (San José, C.R., 1978).

The role of the state in economic development became the subject of increasing debate with the onset of economic crisis at the end of the 1970s. Rodolfo Cerdas provided an early contribution in 'Del estado intervencionista al estado empresario: Notas para el estudio del estado en Costa Rica', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos,* 5 (1979), and 'La crisis política nacional: Origen y perspectivas', in Armando Vargas (ed.), *La crisis de democracia en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1981). Other works that consider this subject in the light of modern developments in the country's political economy include: Ana Sojo, *Estado empresario y lucha política en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1984); Mylena Vega, *El estado costarricense de 1974 a 1978: CODESA y la fracción industrial* (San José, C.R., 1982) and 'La recomposición del bloque de poder en Costa Rica, la política norteamericana y el Fondo Monetario Internacional (1982–1984): Coyuntura y perspectivas', *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* (1984); Carmen R. Romero, 'Las transformaciones recientes del estado costarricense y las políticas reformistas', Jorge Mora y Angela Arias, 'Estado, planificación y acumulación de capital en Costa Rica, 1974–1982' and Ana Sojo, 'Morfología de la política estatal en Costa Rica y crisis económica', all in *ESC,* 38 (1984); Helio Fallas, *Crisis económica en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1980); and Juan M. Villasuso (ed.), *El sector productivo: Crisis y perspectivas* (San José, C.R., 1984). The Liberal approach to this issue is represented in Víctor H. Cespedes, Alberto Dimare and Ronulfo Jiménez, *Costa Rica: Recuperación sin reactivación* (San José, C.R., 1985), and in the publications of the Academia de Centroamérica, such as *Problemas económicos de la década de los 80* (San José, C.R., 1982) and *Costa Rica: Estabilidad sin crecimiento* (San José, C.R., 1984).

The general survey of the postwar economy provided in Carlos Araya's *Historia económica de Costa Rica, 1950–1970* (San Jose, C.R., 1975) is complemented for the more recent period by Jorge Rovira, *Costa Rica en los años 80* (San José, C.R., 1987). The nature of industrialization in the postwar epoch is considered in Leonardo Garnier and Fernando Herrero, *El*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

desarrollo de la industria en Costa Rica (Heredia, C.R., 1982), and Garnier's 'Industria, estado y desarrollo en Costa Rica: Perspectivas y propuestas', *ESC*, 37 (1984). The Escuela de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales of the Universidad de Costa Rica produced a number of publications concerning important economic developments from the late 1950s under the general title of *El desarrollo económico de Costa Rica: Estudio del sector externo de la economía costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1958); *Estudio del sector industrial* (San José, C.R., 1959); and *Estudio del sector público* (San José, C.R., 1962). For an analysis of the country's economy in the immediate postwar period from a North American perspective, see Stacy May (ed.), *Costa Rica: A Study in Economic Development* (New York, 1952).

Among general surveys of the evolution of political thought, the following deserve mention: Constantino Láscaris, *Desarrollo de las ideas filosóficas en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1983), Enrique Benavides, *Nuestro pensamiento político en sus fuentes* (San José, C.R., 1975) and Luis Barahona, *Las ideas políticas en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1977). Readers interested in the philosophical influences on the 'Generation of '48' who dominated the country's politics after the Civil War should also consult Roberto Brenes, *El político* (San José, C.R., 1942).

The literature on modern Costa Rican history is notably uneven in terms of its concentration on certain periods, particular attention being paid to the late 1940s. However, a number of valuable studies consider the social and political background to the crisis of the 1930s that decisively influenced subsequent developments. For an excellent appraisal of a leading liberal political figure of the 'Olympian' epoch, see Eugenio Rodríguez, *Ricardo Jiménez Oreamuno: Su pensamiento* (San José, C.R., 1980) and *Los días de don Ricardo* (San José, C.R., 1971), which are usefully complemented by Joaquín Vargas Coto, *Crónicas de la época y vida de Don Ricardo* (San José, C.R., 1986). Marina Volio, *Jorge Volio y el Partido Reformista* (San José, C.R., 1972), and Miguel Acuña, *Jorge Volio, el tribuno de la plebe* (San José, C.R., 1972) give good accounts of the career and ideas of the leading oppositionist of the 1920s, whose influence is discernable in later decades. On the period before the 1929 Depression, see also Armando Rodríguez, *La administración González Flores* (San José, C.R., 1968); Eduardo Oconitrillo, *Los Tinoco (1917–1919)* (San José, C.R., 1980); and Hugo Murillo, *Tinoco y los Estados Unidos: Génesis y caída de un régimen* (San José, C.R., 1981). More general surveys of this period include Cleto González, *El sufragio en Costa Rica ante la historia y la legislación* (San José, C.R., 1978), and Tomás Soley, *Historia económica y hacendaria de Costa Rica* (San

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

José, C.R., 1949). International relations are treated in Richard Salisbury, *Costa Rica y el Istmo, 1900–1934* (San José, C.R., 1984). The early development of the labour movement, which exercised growing influence from the early 1930s, is presented in Vladimir de la Cruz, *Las luchas sociales en Costa Rica (1870–1930)* (San José, C.R., 1983).

The birth of the Communist Party is set in its socio-economic context in Ana María Botey and Rodolfo Cisneros, *La crisis de 1929 y la fundación del Partido Comunista de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1984), and analysed in terms of external influences in Rodolfo Cerdas, *La hoz y el machete: La Internacional Comunista en América Latina y la revolución en Centro América* (San José, C.R., 1986; Eng. trans., 1993). The speeches and activities of its principal leaders provide a vital source for understanding the party's subsequent development: Gilberto Calvo and Francisco Zúñiga (eds.), *Manuel Mora: Discursos (1934–1979)* (San José, C.R., 1980); Arnoldo Ferreto, *Vida militante* (San José, C.R., 1984); and Marielos Aguilar, *Carlos Luis Fallas: Su época y sus luchas* (San José, C.R., 1983). See also Alejandro Gómez, *Rómulo Betancourt y el Partido Comunista de Costa Rica: 1931–1935* (Caracas, 1985) and Vladimir de la Cruz, 'El Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Costa Rica', *ESC*, 27 (1980).

One of the very few studies of the administration of León Cortés (1936–40) is Theodore A. Creedman, 'León Cortés y su tiempo', *Anales de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Costa Rica* (1967–9). Carlos Calvo, *Costa Rica en la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1939–45)* (San José, C.R., 1985), provides an extensive analysis of the war years, and relations with the United States up to the Cold War are treated in some detail in Jacobo Schifter, *Las alianzas conflictivas: Las relaciones de Estados Unidos y Costa Rica desde la segunda guerra mundial a la guerra fría* (San José, C.R., 1986). Another work by this author, *La fase oculta de la guerra civil en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1981), provides a complementary analysis of developments within the country during the civil conflict of 1948.

The civil war and its origins are the subjects of an extensive literature. Oscar Aguilar, *Costa Rica y sus hechos políticos de 1948: Problemática de una década* (San José, C.R., 1969), contains a very useful selection of documents and interviews, as does Guillermo Villegas, *Testimonios del 48* (San José, C.R., 1977). The same author's *El otro Calderón Guardia* (San José, C.R., 1985) provides important insights on the leader of the defeated forces, and another text, *El Cardonazo* (San José, C.R., 1986), considers an important event in the immediate aftermath of the fighting. From the point of view of the victorious rebels, Alberto Cañas, *Los ocho años* (San

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

José, C.R., 1955), continues to be a classic text, as is *El espíritu del 48* (San José, C.R., 1987), by their leader, José Figueres. Roberto Fernández, *La huelga de Brazos Caídos* (San José, C.R., 1953), gives a good depiction of the political atmosphere on the eve of the conflict. The perspective of the Communist Party is presented in Partido Vanguardia Popular, *Como y por qué cayó la democracia en Costa Rica* (Guatemala City, 1948), and Manuel Mora, *Dos discursos en defensa de Vanguardia Popular* (San José, C.R., 1959). More recently, the memoirs of Fernando Soto Harrison, *Qué pasó en los años 40* (San José, C.R., 1991), are an interesting contribution above all to our understanding of Teodoro Picado. Shortly to appear are the memoirs of Jaime Cerdas Mora, *La Otra Vanguardia,* which constitute an interesting account of the development of the Communist Party up to the 1970s. Later, and more sophisticated, interpretations made from the same political perspective include Manuel Rojas, *Lucha social y guerra civil en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1980), and Gerardo Contreras and José Manuel Cerdas, *Los años 40: Historia de una política de alianzas* (San José, C.R., 1988). The record of the defeated Picado regime is defended in Enrique Guier, *Defensa de los Señores Licenciados Teodoro Picado y Vicente Urcuyo* (San José, C.R., 1950), and by Picado himself in *El pacto de la embajada de Mexico; Su incumplimiento* (Managua, n.d.). Another attack on Figueres, this time for his failure to honour pledges to the Caribbean Legion, is made in Rosendo Argüello, *Quienes y como nos traicionaron* (Mexico, D.F., 1954). John Patrick Bell, *Crisis in Costa Rica: The 1948 Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1971) remains one of the best sources on the civil war and its immediate background. More recently Fabrice Edouard Lehoucq has attempted a general, revisionist reinterpretation of the origins of the Civil War of 1948: 'Class conflict, political crisis and the breakdown of democratic practices in Costa Rica: Reassessing the origins of the 1948 Civil War', *JLAS,* 23/1 (1991). See also Rodolfo Cerdas, 'Costa Rica', in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992).

For studies of Archbishop Víctor Sanabria, who played a major role in the political events of the 1940s, see Ricardo Blanco, *Monseñor Sanabria* (San José, C.R., 1962) and *Obispos y arzobispos de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1966); Santiago Arrieta, *El pensamiento político-social de Monseñor Sanabria* (San José, C.R., 1977); James Baker, *La iglesia y el sindicalismo en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1978); Javier Solís, *La herencia de Sanabria: Análisis político de la iglesia costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1983). And on the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Catholic church more generally, see Philip J. Williams, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Nicaragua and Costa Rica* (Basingstoke, Eng., 1989). Rafael Calderón Guardia is the subject of a number of studies in addition to that by Villegas just noted. Among the most useful are: Carlos Fernández, *Calderón Guardia: Líder y caudillo* (San José, C.R., 1939); the compilation edited by Mario Hidalgo, *Dr. Calderón Guardia: Reformador social de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1983); and Jorge M. Salazar, *Calderón Guardia* (San José, C.R., 1980). The literature on Figueres is more extensive and includes a number of eulogistic or uncritical works, such as Hugo Navarro, *José Figueres en la evolución de Costa Rica* (Mexico, D.F., 1953); Arturo Castro, *José Figueres: El hombre y su obra: Ensayo de una biografía* (San José, C.R., 1955); and Charles Ameringer, *Don Pepe: A Political Biography of José Figueres of Costa Rica* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1978). A useful bibliography is Harry Kantor, *Bibliography of José Figueres* (Tempe, Ariz., 1972); the same author's *The Costa Rican Election of 1953: A Case Study* (Gainesville, Fla., 1958) is also valuable to students of Figueres's role in national politics. See also Alberto L. Salom, *Los orígenes del Partido Liberación Nacional* (San José, C.R., 1990). The Constitutent Assembly of 1949 is described from a journalistic perspective in Rubén Hernández, *Desde la barra: Como se discutió la Constitución de 1949* (San José, C.R., 1953), while the charter itself is analysed in the excellent work by Oscar Aguilar, *La constitución política de 1949: Antecedentes y proyecciones* (San José, C.R., 1975). For broader consideration of constitutional issues, see Hernán G. Peralta, *Las constituciones de Costa Rica* (Madrid, 1962), and Jorge Sáenz, *El despertar constitucional de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1985). The fullest survey of the nationalization of the banks undertaken during this period is Rufino Gil, *La nacionalización bancaria* (San José, C.R., 1962), which complements the same author's *Ciento cinco años de vida bancaria en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1974). For the post–civil war administration of Otilio Ulate, José Luis Torres, *Otilio Ulate: Su partido y sus luchas* (San José, C.R., 1986), stands alone in its field. It is usefully supplemented by Ulate's own writings, collected in *A la luz de la moral política* (San José, C.R., 1976). Further information on this period may be gleaned from the relevant chapters of two general studies: Joaquín Garro, *Veinte años de historia chica: Notas para una historia costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1967), and Jorge Rovira, *Estado y política económica en Costa Rica, 1948–1970* (San José, C.R., 1983).

The presidency of Mario Echandi (1958–62) still awaits a detailed historical assessment. However, some interesting material is available in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

María Gamboa (ed.), *Los vetos del Presidente Echandi: Sus razones y justificación: 1958–1962* (San José, C.R., 1962), and Mark Rosenberg, *Las luchas por el seguro social en Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1980). The literature on the Trejos Fernández administration (1966–70) is similarly thin, but important documentation is given in José J. Trejos Fernández, *Ocho años en la política costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1973), and a number of useful insights may be derived from Oscar Aguilar, *Democracia y partidos políticos en Costa Rica (1950–60)* (San José, C.R., 1977), and Jorge E. Romero, *Partidos, poder y derecho* (San José, C.R., 1979).

By contrast, the history of PLN administrations is covered by numerous works. For the party's background, see Carlos Araya, *Historia de los partidos políticos de Costa Rica: Liberación Nacional* (San José, C.R., 1968), which provides a most useful analysis despite the partisan position of the author. A key programmatic statement from the early years is *Ideario costarricense: Resultado de una encuesta nacional* (San José, C.R., 1943). Important documentation of subsequent developments is contained in two anthologies: Alfonso Carro (ed.), *El pensamiento socialdemócrata: Antología* (San José, C.R., 1986), and Carlos José Gutiérrez (ed.), *El pensamiento político costarricense: La socialdemocracia* (San José, C.R., 1986), which is more extensive and systematic in its coverage. The leaders of the PLN have themselves produced a number of important works. Daniel Oduber, *Raíces del Partido Liberación Nacional: Notas para una evaluación histórica* (San José, C.R., 1985), is extremely useful on the origins of the party, and Figueres's writings provide abundant material on the development of the PLN's ideology and outlook. *Cartas a un ciudadano* (San José, C.R., 1956), *Los deberes de mi destino* (San José, C.R., 1957), *Estos diez años* (San José, C.R., 1958) and *La pobreza de las naciones* (San José, C.R., 1973), are broadly representative of the ex-president's output, although it should be noted that his views did not always enjoy a consensus within the party. Moreover, an understanding of the early approach adopted by currents which were later to form the PLN cannot be gained without reference to the work of Rodrigo Facio, particularly *Estudio sobre economía costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1942); *El centro ante las garantías sociales* (San José, C.R., 1943); and *La moneda y la Banca Central en Costa Rica* (Mexico, D.F., 1947). For independent treatments of the party by outsiders, see Burt H. English, *Liberación Nacional in Costa Rica: The Development of a Political Party in a Transitional Society* (Gainesville, Fla., 1971), and James L. Busey, *Notes on Costa Rican Democracy* (Boulder, Colo., 1962). A critical analysis is given in Susanne Jonas Bodenheimer, *La ideología socialdemócrata en Costa Rica*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(San José, C.R., 1984). Analysis of elections constitutes an important feature of the literature on Costa Rican politics. Among the best work containing both data and interpretation, see Eduardo Oconitrillo, *Un siglo de política costarricense* (San José, C.R., 1981), and Wilburg Jiménez, *Análisis electoral de una democracia* (San José, C.R., 1977). Other studies in this area include Olda M. Acuña and Carlos F. Denton, *La elección de un presidente: Costa Rica 1982* (San José, C.R., 1984); Mario Sánchez, *Las bases sociales del voto en Costa Rica (1974–78)* (San José, C.R., 1985); C. Granados and A. Ohlsson, 'Organización del territorio y resultados electorales en Costa Rica, 1953–1982', *ESC*, 36 (1983); Jorge Rovira, 'Costa Rica: Elecciones, partidos políticos y régimen democrático,' FLACSO, *Revista Polémica*, 11 (1990); Mitchell A. Seligson and Miguel Gómez, 'Ordinary elections in extraordinary times: The political economy of voting in Costa Rica', in John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Central America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); and Mario Samper, 'Fuerzas socio-políticos y procesos electorales en Costa Rica', *Revista de Historia*, special issue, 1988.

On international relations, two works published outside Costa Rica are important: Adolfo Aguilar and H. Rodrigo Jauberth (eds.), *Costa Rica–México, 1978–1986: De la concertación a la confrontación* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) and Francisco Rojas Aravena (ed.), *Costa Rica y el sistema internacional* (Caracas, 1990).

24. PANAMA

The most complete annotated bibliography of Panama appears in Carlos Manuel Gasteazoro, Celestino Andrés Araúz, and Armando Muñoz Pinzón (eds.), *La historia de Panamá en sus textos* (Panama City, 1980), vol. 2, 331–448, the last third of which deals with the twentieth century. Briefer but useful are Eleanor Langstaff, *Panama* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1982) and Basil C. and Anne K. Hedrick (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Panama* (Metuchen, N.J., 1970). A recent reliable survey is Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty (eds.), *Panama: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C., 1989), especially Jan Knippers Black's historical chapter.

Several journals carry articles and documents dealing with Panama's history since independence. The *Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia* (1933–) concentrates on the colonial period and the nineteenth century but sometimes dedicates an issue to a national period figure or

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

event. *Revista Lotería* (1941–), published by the government, devotes much attention to recent history, culture and documentation. *Tareas* (1960–), founded by Panama's leading socialist writer, Ricaurte Soler, carries articles by leftist writers and publishes occasional papers as well. Cultural and social themes, often treated historically, predominate in the *Revista Nacional de Cultura*.

The birth of the republic in 1903 is covered in most of the histories of the Panama Canal (see essay VII:25). Among the most authoritative are Eduardo Lemaitre, *Panamá y su separación de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1972), David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas* (New York, 1977), and James M. Skinner, *France and Panama: The Unknown Years, 1894–1908* (New York, 1988). Lawrence Ealy, *The Republic of Panama in World Affairs, 1903–1950* (Philadelphia, 1951) concentrates on Panama's participation in the League of Nations, the inter-American system, and the UN.

A number of good studies of U.S. relations with Panama cover domestic affairs well. John Major, *Prize Possession: The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903–1979* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994) is indispensable. Gustavo A. Mellander, *The United States in Panamanian Politics* (Danville, Ill., 1971) deals with the years immediately after independence (1903–10). William McCain, *The United States and the Republic of Panama* (Durham, N.C., 1937) depicts Panamanian affairs from independence to the 1930s from a State Department perspective. Larry LaRae Pippin, *The Remón Era: An Analysis of a Decade of Events in Panama, 1947–1957* (Stanford, Calif., 1964) covers the period after the Second World War. William Jorden, *Panama Odyssey* (Austin, Tex., 1984), chronicles his tour as U.S. ambassador to Panama in the 1970s.

Biographies provide essential material for the political chronology. J. Conte Porras's *Diccionario biográfico de Panamá* (Panama City, 1975) may be supplemented with his excellent *Arnulfo Arias Madrid* (Panama City, 1980) and its valuable appendices. In addition, see Manuel Octavio Sisnet, *Belisario Porras ó la vocación de la nacionalidad* (Panama City, 1959); Carlos Manuel Gasteazoro, *El pensamiento de Ricardo J. Alfaro* (Panama City, 1981); Baltasar Isaza Calderón, *Carlos A. Mendoza y su generación* (Panama City, 1981); Gil Blas Tejeira, *Biografía de Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia* (Panama City, 1971); and Mélida Ruth Sepúlveda, *Harmodio Arias Madrid; El hombre, el estadista y el periodista* (Panama City, 1983).

Studies that cast light on Panama's social history are John and Mavis Biesanz's excellent *The People of Panama* (New York, 1955); Daniel Goldrich, *Sons of the Establishment* (Chicago, 1966); Omar Jaén Suárez, *La población del istmo de Panamá del siglo xvi al siglo xx* (Panama City, 1978);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Michael L. Conniff, *Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1904–1981* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985), which details the experience of the West Indian immigrant community and its descendents. A thoughtful assessment of social integration appears in Alfredo Castillero Calvo, *La sociedad panameña: Historia de su formación y integración* (Panama City, 1970). Donald Lee DeWitt, 'Social and educational thought in the development of the Republic of Panama, 1903–46' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1972) provides a good intellectual history of Panama from independence to the Second World War.

Economic relations until the mid-1970s are covered in Robert E. Looney, *The Economic Development of Panama* (New York, 1976), while John Weeks and Andrew Zimbalist, *Panama at the Crossroads: Economic Development and Political Change in the 20th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), bring the story up to 1990, including an analysis of the U.S. invasion. The World Bank's *Panama: Structural Change and Growth Prospects* (Washington, D.C., 1985) concentrates on domestic issues. A good deal of economic information is also contained in Omar Jaén Suárez, *Geografía de Panamá* (Panama City, 1985). A candid look at the banana industry appears in Philippe I. Bourgeois's *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation* (Baltimore, 1989). James Howe's, 'Native rebellion and U.S. intervention in Central America', *Cultural Survival Quarterly,* 10/1 (1986), recounts the 1925 revolt of the Kuna Indians, and his *The Kuna Gathering* (Austin, Tex., 1986) describes village politics in the San Blas Islands.

An excellent account of the Torrijos era is Steve C. Ropp, *Panamanian Politics: From Guarded Nation to National Guard* (New York, 1982). See also Germán Muñoz, 'Panamanian political reality: The Torrijos years' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Miami, 1981) and Rómulo Escobar Bethancourt, *Torrijos: Colonia americana no!* (Bogotá, 1981). The armed forces of Panama receive close attention from Renato Pereira, *Panamá: Fuerzas armadas y política* (Panama City, 1970), while Carlos Bolívar Pedreschi's *De la protección del canal a la militarización del país* (Panama City, 1987) argues that U.S. insistence on protecting the canal encouraged the military to become involved in politics. George Priestly, *Military Government and Popular Participation in Panama: The Torrijos Regime, 1968–1975* (Boulder, Colo., 1986) attempts to build a theory of military populism. Brittmarie Janson Pérez, *Panamá protesta: 1968–1989* (Panama City, 1993), contains authoritative accounts of military–civil conflict during the dictatorship.

The turmoil of the late 1980s culminating in the U.S. invasion pro-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

duced several books and documents, including Weeks and Zimbalist, *Panama at the Crossroads;* Richard M. Koster and Guillermo Sánchez Borbón, *In the Time of the Tyrants: Panama, 1968–1990* (New York, 1990); John Dinges, *Our Man in Panama* (New York, 1990); Bruce W. Watson and Peter G. Tsouras (eds.), *Operation Just Cause: The U.S. Intervention in Panama* (Boulder, Colo., 1991); and Frederick Kempe, *Divorcing the Dictator: America's Bungled Affair with Noriega* (New York, 1990). Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (New York, 1990), devotes attention to the Bush administration's decision to overthrow Noriega. The report of an Independent Commission of Inquiry, *The U.S. Invasion of Panama: The Truth Behind Operation 'Just Cause'* (Boston, 1991), an apologia for Noriega, is highly critical of the United States. Margaret Scranton, *The Noriega Years: U.S.–Panamanian Relations, 1981–1990* (Boulder, Colo., 1991), and Michael L. Conniff, *Panama and the United States: The Forced Alliance* (Athens, Ga., 1991), attempt to provide historical perspective.

25. THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE, 1904–1979

Among the available works of reference, one of the most useful is Wayne Bray, *The Controversy Over a New Canal Treaty between the United States and Panama: A Selective Annotated Bibliography of United States, Panamanian, Colombian, French, and International Organization Sources* (Washington, D.C., 1976). From the Panamanian side, see Nydia Cardozo and Consuelo Tempone, *Guía para investigadores de Panamá* (Panama City, 1978); and from the Canal Zone, see *Subject Catalog of the Special Panama Collection of the Canal Zone Library-Museum* (Boston, 1964). The most comprehensive collection of documentary material is Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Background Documents Relating to the Panama Canal* (Washington, D.C., 1977). An indispensable primary source is the printed State Department material, successively entitled *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers* and *Foreign Relations of the United States.* For a Zone perspective, see the annual reports of the chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission for the years 1904 to 1914, of the governor of the Panama Canal for the years 1914 to 1951, and of the president of the Panama Canal Company for the years 1951 to 1979 (Washington, D.C., 1904–79). Bringing the Zone graphically to life in the period 1904–39 is the Panama Canal Photograph Collection, held in Record Group 185 in the U.S. National Archives,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Washington, D.C., while note should also be taken of two excellent documentary films: Frederick Wiseman's 'Canal Zone' (1977) and Carl Charlson's 'A man, a plan, a canal: Panama' (1987).

On the general subject of relations between Washington and Panama, William McCain, *The United States and the Republic of Panama* (Durham, N.C., 1937) is valuable but dated. Ronald Landa, 'U.S. policy toward Panama, 1903 – present: Questions of recognition and diplomatic relations and instances of U.S. intervention: A tabular summary', *Department of State Bulletin,* 70 (22 April 1974), 1433–44, offers a succinct résumé. More recently we have had Walter LaFeber, *The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1978; rev. ed., 1990), David Farnsworth and James McKenny, *U.S.–Panama Relations, 1903–1978: A Study in Linkage Politics* (Boulder, Colo., 1983) and John Major, *Prize Possession: The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903–1979* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994). See also the work by the veteran writer on U.S. isthmian diplomacy, Almon Wright, *Panama: Tension's Child, 1502–1989* (New York, 1990).

For Panamanian views of the relationship, see Ernesto Castillero Pimentel, *Panamá y los Estados Unidos* (Panama City, 1953) and Ricardo Alfaro, *Medio siglo de relaciones entre Panamá y los Estados Unidos* (Panama City, 1959). Also useful are Boris Blanco (ed.), *Relaciones entre Panamá y los Estados Unidos* (Panama City, 1974) and Thelma King, *El problema de la soberanía en las relaciones entre Panamá y los Estados Unidos* (Panama City, 1961), while the Panamanian *Revista Lotería* from time to time publishes special issues on salient features of the U.S.–Panama nexus.

On the canal itself, see the standard work by Norman Padelford, *The Panama Canal in Peace and War* (New York, 1942), and Richard Baxter, *The Law of International Waterways, with Particular Regard to Interoceanic Canals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964). The engineering problems of the canal are dealt with in Miles DuVal, 'Isthmian canal policy – an evaluation', *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings,* 81 (1955), 263–75.

For the legal and administrative status of the Zone, see Marshall Dimock, *Government-operated Enterprises in the Panama Canal Zone* (Chicago, 1934); Bernard Burdick, 'The Panama Canal and the Canal Zone: Their character, functions, government and laws', *Federal Bar Association Journal,* 3 (1937), 89–92; and David Hanrahan, 'Legal aspects of the Panama Canal Zone – in perspective', *Boston University Law Review,* 45 (1965), 64–87. Also useful are Edwin Hoyt, *National Policy and International Law: Case Studies from American Canal Policy* (Denver, 1967), and Martha Shay, 'The Panama Canal Zone: In search of a juridical identity',

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

New York University Journal of International Law and Politics, 9 (1976), 15–60.

The sociology of the Zone is treated in John and Mavis Biesanz, *The People of Panama* (New York, 1955) and in John Biesanz, 'Race relations in the Canal Zone', *Phylon*, 11 (1950), 23–30. Social relations between Zone and Republic are also dealt with by Ramón Carillo and Richard Boyd, 'Some aspects of social relations between Latin and Anglo Americans on the isthmus of Panama', *Boletín de la Universidad Interamericana de Panamá*, 2 (1945), 703–84, and by two Zonians, Herbert and Mary Knapp, in their *Red, White and Blue Paradise: The American Canal Zone in Panama* (San Diego, Calif., 1985). Two recent studies of the Zone school system are Alda Harper, *Tracing the Course of Growth and Development in Educational Policy for the Canal Zone Colored Schools, 1905–1955* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979) and Lowell Wilson et al., *Schooling in the Panama Canal Zone, 1904–1979* (Panama Canal Area, 1980). The West Indian community in the Zone and Panama is the theme of three valuable surveys: Velma Newton, *The Silver Men* (Kingston, Jam., 1984); George Westerman, *Los inmigrantes antillanos en Panamá* (Panama City, 1980); and Michael Conniff, *Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1904–1981* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985). See also Roman Foster's television documentary, 'Canal Diggers' (1984). Zonian preoccupations are reflected in three house journals promoted by the Zone authorities: *The Panama Canal Record* (1907–41), *The Panama Canal Review* (1950–81) and *Spillway* (1962–).

The nineteenth-century background to the Zone is covered in a number of works. John Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848–1869* (Berkeley, 1943, reprinted Columbia, S.C., 1990) deals with the early years, and where Kemble leaves off, another important account begins: David McCullough, *The Path between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870–1914* (New York, 1977). The prelude to the canal is also the subject of two classics: Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York, 1944), and Miles DuVal, *Cadiz to Cathay: The Story of the Long Diplomatic Struggle for the Panama Canal* (Stanford, Calif., 1947). On U.S. interventions in the isthmus during the second half of the century, see Colby Chester, 'Diplomacy of the quarterdeck', *American Journal of International Law*, 8 (1914), 443–76, and Daniel Wicks, 'Dress rehearsal: United States intervention on the isthmus of Panama, 1885', *Pacific Historical Review*, 49 (1980), 581–605.

The run-up to the U.S. acquisition of canal rights in 1903 is dealt with in James Skinner, *France and Panama: The Unknown Years, 1894–1908*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(New York, 1989) and in Dwight Miner, *The Fight for the Panama Route: The Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay–Herrán Treaty* (1940; reprinted New York, 1966). See also Charles Ameringer, 'The Panama Canal lobby of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell', *AHR*, 68 (1962–3), 346–63, but beware of the hagiographical Gustave Anguizola, *Philippe Bunau-Varilla: The Man behind the Panama Canal* (Chicago, 1980).

The Panamanian secession from Colombia in 1903 and the consequent canal treaty with Washington have produced an extensive literature. The Colombian view is given in Eduardo Lemaitre, *Panamá y su separación de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1971), while the U.S. despoliation of the Colombians is treated in Richard Lael, *Arrogant Diplomacy: U.S. Policy toward Colombia, 1903–1922* (Wilmington, Del., 1987). The U.S. role in the 1903 revolution is considered in Bernard Weisberger, 'The strange affair of the taking of the Panama Canal Zone', *American Heritage*, 27 (October 1976), 6–11, 68–77, a good popular account, and in Richard Turk, 'The United States Navy and the "taking" of Panama, 1901–1903', *Military Affairs*, 38 (1974), 92–8, and John Nikol and Francis Xavier Holbrook, 'Naval operations in the Panamanian revolution of 1903', *American Neptune*, 37 (1977), 253–61. On the making of the treaty, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: The Creation, the Destruction, and Resurrection* (London, 1913) is to be taken with maximum scepticism, and the contemporary quest for explanations may be traced in U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Story of Panama: Hearings on the Rainey Resolution* (Washington, D.C., 1913). On the treaty itself, two studies dig below the surface: Charles Ameringer, 'Philippe Bunau-Varilla: New light on the Panama canal treaty', *HAHR*, 46 (1966), 28–52, and John Major, 'Who wrote the Hay–Bunau-Varilla convention?', *Diplomatic History*, 8 (1984), 115–23. The response of U.S. public opinion to the events of 1903 is the subject of Terence Graham, *The 'interests of civilization'? Reaction in the United States against the 'Seizure' of the Panama Canal Zone, 1903–1904* (Lund, Sweden, 1983), and a vigorous justification of the U.S. government's policy may be found in Elihu Root, 'The ethics of the Panama question' in his *Addresses on International Subjects* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916).

Central to an understanding of U.S. policy is the figure of President Theodore Roosevelt. One of the best insights into his thinking is given in the first seven volumes of Elting Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951–4), and see also the article of Frederick Marks, 'Morality as a drive wheel in the diplomacy of Theodore Roose-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

velt', *Diplomatic History,* 2 (1978), 43–62. Roosevelt's role in the Panama affair is exhaustively covered in Richard Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990), while Robert Friedlander, 'A reassessment of Roosevelt's role in the Panamanian revolution of 1903', *Western Political Quarterly,* 14 (1961), 535–43, takes a sympathetic view. TR's own self-justification is 'How the United States acquired the right to dig the Panama Canal', *Outlook,* 99 (September–December 1911), 314–18, and opposing sides in the subsequent debate can be sampled in Leander Chamberlain, 'A chapter of national dishonor', *North American Review,* 195 (January–June 1912), 145–74, and Alfred Thayer Mahan, 'Was Panama "a chapter of national dishonor"?', in the same journal, 196 (July–December 1912), 549–68.

The first generation of U.S. tenure is unevenly covered. The most intensive treatment has been given to the construction decade between 1904 and 1914, for which see the works previously cited by Mack, *The Land Divided* and McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas.* Also important as a history of the canal construction is Miles DuVal, *And the Mountains Will Move: The Story of the Building of the Panama Canal* (Stanford, Calif., 1947; reprinted, Westport, Conn., 1969). And see Jerome Laval, *Panama and the Building of the Canal: Photographs from the Keystone–Mast Stereograph Collection* (Fresno, Calif., 1978) and Ulrich Keller, *The Building of the Panama Canal in Historic Photographs* (New York, 1983).

Roosevelt's role in streamlining the administration of the Zone is dealt with by Alfred Chandler, 'Theodore Roosevelt and the Panama Canal: A Study in administration' in Elting Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* vol. 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 1547–57, and see also J. Michael Hogan, 'Theodore Roosevelt and the heroes of Panama', *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* 19 (1989), 79–94. The director of canal construction, General George Washington Goethals, has left us a useful guide to Zone management up to 1914 in his *Government of the Canal Zone* (Princeton, N.J., 1915), as well as the collection of studies he edited, *The Panama Canal: An Engineering Treatise* (New York, 1916), a multi-faceted view of all the major problems presented in the construction era. An equally valuable compendium is Ira Bennett's *History of the Panama Canal: Its Construction and Builders* (Washington, D.C., 1915).

The involvement of the United States in Panamanian politics in the construction era is treated in Robert Barrow, 'The first Panama Canal crisis, 1904', *Caribbean Studies,* 5 (1965–6), 12–27, Ralph Minger, *Wil-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

liam Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy: The Apprenticeship Years, 1900–1908 (Urbana, Ill., 1975) and Gustavo Mellander, *The United States in Panamanian Politics: The Intriguing Formative Years* (Danville, Ill., 1971).

On the potential role of the canal in U.S. strategy, see William Adams, 'Strategy, diplomacy and isthmian canal security, 1890–1917' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1974); Richard Challener, *Admirals, Generals and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (Princeton, N.J., 1973); John Grenville and George Young, *Politics, Strategy and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873–1917* (New Haven, Conn., 1966); Robert Seager, *Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Man and His Letters* (Annapolis, Md., 1977); and David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898–1917* (Madison, Wis., 1988).

There is so far little of substance on the years 1914 to 1929, but the following are useful: George Baker, 'The Wilson administration and Panama, 1913–1921', *JIAS*, 8 (1966), 279–93; Carlos Iván Zuñiga, *El desarme de la Policia Nacional en 1916* (Panama City, 1973); Ricardo Alfaro, 'Historia documentada de las negociaciones para la celebración del tratado de 1926', *Revista Lotería*, 248–9 (October–November 1976), 51–64; Thomas Leonard, 'The United States and Panama: Negotiating the aborted 1926 treaty', *Mid-America*, 61 (1979), 189–203; and Hugh Gordon Miller, *The Isthmian Highway: A Review of the Problems of the Caribbean* (1929; reprinted, New York, 1970), an uncompromising defence of the Big Stick on the eve of its formal renunciation.

On the period 1930 to 1955, one of the best studies is unpublished: Almon Wright, 'The United States and Panama, 1933–1949', Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Research Project No. 499 (August 1952). An important matter coming to a head in the 1930s is covered in Thomas Leonard, 'The Commissary issue in United States–Panamaian relations, 1900–1936', *TA*, 30 (1973), 83–109, while the 1936 treaty and its aftermath is treated in Lester Langley, 'Negotiating new treaties with Panama: 1936', *HAHR*, 48 (1968), 220–33, and 'The world crisis and the Good Neighbor policy in Panama, 1936–1941', *TA*, 24 (1967), 137–52. See also John Major, 'F.D.R. and Panama', *Historical Journal*, 28 (1985), 357–77.

For the Second World War, see Stetson Conn and Byron Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and its Outposts* [*The U.S. Army in World War II: The Western Hemisphere*] (Washington, D.C., 1964). Two unpublished works are also useful: U.S. Army, Caribbean Defense Command, Historical Section, *History of the Panama Canal Department*, 4 vols. (Quarry

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Heights, C.Z., 1947) and Kathleen Williams, *Air Defense of the Panama Canal, 1 January 1939–7 December 1941* [Army Air Forces Historical Studies No. 42] (Washington, D.C., 1946). On the acquisition of new bases for air defence, see Almon Wright, 'Defense site negotiations between the United States and Panama, 1936–1948', *Department of State Bulletin,* 27 (11 August 1952), 212–19.

For the postwar decade, the following are valuable: John Major, 'Wasting asset: The U.S. re-assessment of the Panama Canal, 1945–1949', *Journal of Strategic Studies,* 3 (1980), 123–46 and ' "Pro mundi beneficio"? The Panama Canal as an international issue, 1943–8', *Review of International Studies,* 9 (1983), 17–34. See also David Acosta, *La influencia decisiva de la opinión pública en el rechazo del Convenio Filós–Hines de 1947* (Panama City, 1981). On postwar politics, see Thomas Leonard, 'The United States perception of Panamanian politics, 1944–1949', *Journal of Third World Studies,* 5 (1988), 112–38. And for the Panamanian version of negotiations for the treaty of 1955, see Octavio Fábrega, Carlos Sucre and Roberto Huertematte, 'Informe completo de la misión especial negociadora de Panamá', *Anuario de Derecho,* 1 (1956).

For the period 1956–1979, interesting glimpses into otherwise inaccessible primary source material can be obtained through the *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va., 1976–81 and Woodbridge, Conn., 1982 to date). There is so far nothing substantial on the impact of the 1956 Suez crisis on Panama, but the following item gives a Panamanian view: Domingo Turner, 'Foster Dulles y el Canal de Panamá', *Humanismo,* 5 (1957), 21–35. See also Norman Padelford, 'The Panama Canal and the Suez crisis', *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law,* 51st annual meeting, 25–27 April 1957, 10–19, and the prophetic Martin Travis and James Watkins, 'Control of the Panama Canal: An obsolete shibboleth?', *Foreign Affairs,* 37 (1958–9), 407–18.

The 1964 crisis produced a special issue of *Revista Lotería,* No. 191 (October 1971), and the report of the International Commission of Jurists may be found in the previously cited *Background Documents Relating to the Panama Canal,* 1099–142. In the wake of the crisis two valuable symposia were published: Lyman Tondel (ed.), *The Panama Canal: Background Papers and Proceedings of the Sixth Hammarskjöld Forum* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1965), and Georgetown University, Center for Strategic Studies, *Panama Canal: Issues and Treaty Talks* (Washington, D.C., 1967). Thereafter, the treaty-making process is well covered by Margaret Scranton, 'Changing United States foreign policy: Negotiating new Panama Canal treaties, 1958–

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1978' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1980). A first-hand account of negotiations in the 1970s is provided by the then U.S. ambassador to Panama, William Jorden, in his *Panama Odyssey* (Austin, Tex., 1984), and his full manuscript, complete with the references missing from the book, is available in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library in Austin. See also the view of the principal U.S. negotiator in 1977 in Sol Linowitz, *The Making of a Public Man: A Memoir* (Boston, 1985), and the revelations from several members of the U.S. negotiating team in Diana Bendahmane and John McDonald (eds.), *Perspectives on Negotiation: Four Case Studies and Interpretations* (Washington, D.C., 1986). For a Panamanian angle there is Arístides Royo, *Las negociaciones con los Estados Unidos sobre el canal de Panamá* (Panama City, 1979).

The complete text of the 1977 treaties and agreements is to be found in U.S. Department of State, *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements*, vol. 33, part 1, T.I.A.S. 10029–32 (Washington, D.C., 1981). In the public debate, perhaps the most reasoned case against the treaties was put by Paul Ryan, *The Panama Canal Controversy: United States Diplomatic and Defense Interests* (Stanford, Calif., 1977) and for the Carter administration a persuasive vindication came from his secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, in *Hard Choices: Four Critical Years in Managing America's Foreign Policy* (New York, 1983).

The transcript of the treaty debate in the U.S. Senate and the text of the various amendments to the treaties are available in the three volumes of U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers, *Panama Canal Treaties [United States Senate Debate]* 1977–8 (Washington, D.C., 1978). See also the same subcommittee's *Hearing on the Panama Canal Treaty – Constitutional and Legal Aspects of the Ratification Process* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

Historical analyses of the ratification process include William Furlong and Margaret Scranton, *The Dynamics of Foreign Policymaking: The President, the Congress and the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); George Moffett, *The Limits of Victory: The Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties, 1977–1978* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985); J. Michael Hogan, *The Panama Canal in American Politics: Domestic Advocacy and the Evolution of Policy* (Carbondale, Ill., 1986); G. Harvey Summ and Tom Kelly (eds.), *The Good Neighbors: America, Panama and the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties* (Athens, Ohio, 1988); T. J. Smith III and J. Michael Hogan, 'Public opinion and the Panama Canal treaties of 1977', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51 (1987), 5–30; Steve Ropp, 'Negotiating the 1978 Panama Canal treaties:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Contending theoretical perspectives' in John Martz (ed.), *United States Policy in Latin America: A Quarter Century of Crisis and Challenge, 1961–1986* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1988), 175–201; and Thomas Leonard, 'The 1977 Panama Canal treaties in historical perspective', *Journal of Caribbean Studies*, 2 (1981), 190–209.

The full text of the enabling legislation for the treaties can be found in U.S. Statutes at Large, *Public Law 96–70 of 27 September 1979: The Panama Canal Act of 1979* [93 Stat. 452] (Washington, D.C., 1979). The legislative history of the act is in vol. 2 of U.S. Code, *Congressional and Administrative News: 96th Cong., 1st Sess., 1979* (Washington, D.C., 1980). For a lawyer's commentaries on questions raised by the act, see Wilbur Hamlin, 'Panama Canal: Issues involved in the transfer of the Canal to Panama', *Harvard International Law Journal*, 19 (1978–9), 279–328. Three further articles touching on aspects of treaty implementation are: H. M. Foy, 'The President, the Congress, and the Panama Canal: An essay on the powers of the executive and legislative branches in the field of foreign affairs', *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 16 (1986), 607–54; H. G. Maier, 'United States' defense rights in the Panama Canal treaties: The need for clarification of a studied ambiguity', *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 24 (1984), 287–322, and ' "United States" defense rights in the Panama Canal', *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, 16 (1990), 647–74.

Finally, on the Canal Zone's adaptation to its new status, see the following studies by John Augelli: *The Panama Canal Area in Transition: Part I: The Treaties and the Zonians*, American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 3, North America, 1981; *The Panama Canal Area in Transition: Part II: The Challenge of Integration and Development*, American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 4, North America, 1981; and 'The Panama Canal Area: The "made-in-America" era comes to a close', *Focus* (Spring 1986), 20–9.

26. CUBA, *c.* 1930–1959

Valuable chapters on Cuba treating the period from the *machadato* to the Revolution can be found in the following general studies: Hugh Thomas, *Cuba or The Pursuit of Freedom* (London, 1971); Jaime Suchlicki, *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1990); Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York, 1988); and Ramón E. Ruiz,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cuba: The Making of a Revolution (Amherst, Mass., 1968). Among the better general historical surveys published in Cuba are Oscar Pino Santos, *Historia de Cuba: Aspectos fundamentales* (Havana, 1964); Julio E. Le Riverend, *Historia de Cuba* (Havana, 1973), and Ministerio de Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, *Historia militar de Cuba* (Havana, n.d.). A complete history of Cuba is contained in the ten-volume collaborative work supervised by Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Historia de la nación cubana* (Havana, 1952). Also of some use is the three-volume work by Emeterio S. Santovenia and Raúl M. Shelton, *Cuba y su historia,* 3rd ed. (Miami, 1966) and the five-volume study by José Duarte Oropesa, *Historiología cubana* (n.p., 1969–70), as well as Calixto C. Masó, *Historia de Cuba* (Miami, 1976) and Carlos Márquez Sterling, *Historia de Cuba, desde Colón hasta Castro* (New York, 1963). The two-volume anthology published under the auspices of the Grupo de Estudios Cubanos of the University of Havana, *La república neocolonial* (Havana, 1975–79), deals expertly with a variety of topics including labour, economic history, the armed forces, and the ABC revolutionary society. Another useful anthology dealing with the pre-revolutionary period is the reprinted edition of Robert Freeman Smith (ed.), *Background to Revolution* (Huntington, N.Y., 1979). Wyatt MacGaffey and Clifford R. Barnett, *Twentieth Century Cuba* (New York, 1965), an invaluable reference work, contains much data on social, economic, political, and cultural developments on the island. A similar format was used in the volume published by the Foreign Area Studies of American University, *Cuba, A Country Study,* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1985). Of some general value is Jaime Suchlicki, *Historical Dictionary of Cuba* (Metuchen, N.J., 1988). Another useful reference work, particularly for its wealth of statistical data, is José Alvarez Díaz et al., *A Study on Cuba* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1965). The most useful statistical compilation available is Susan Schroeder, *Cuba: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston, 1982).

Luis E. Aguilar, *Cuba 1933: Prologue to Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972) remains one of the most balanced and judicious accounts of the *machadato* and the revolutionary tumult of the 1930s. For these years, see also Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1986). The most complete study of the events of 1933, including an extensive treatment of the 1920s, in the three-volume work of Lionel Soto, *La revolución del 33* (Havana, 1977). An excellent study of the eclipse of the revolutionary movement of the 1930s is found in José A. Tabares del Real, *La revolución del 30: Sus dos últimos años,* 3rd ed. (Havana, 1975).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Also useful is Enrique de la Osa, *Crónica del año 33* (Havana, 1989). Of particular use are the first-person accounts of participants in the events of the 1930s. The second edition of Ricardo Adam y Silva, *La gran mentira: 4 de septiembre de 1933* (Miami, 1986) is a detailed account of the 'sergeants' revolt' by a former army officer. An anti-government officer account is found in Emilio Laurent, *De oficial a revolucionario* (Havana, 1941). Justo Carrillo, *Cuba 1933: estudiantes, yanquis y soldados* (Miami, 1985) is an important memoir of the government of one hundred days as recounted by one of the leading student participants. Used with care, Gerardo Machado, *Memorias: Ocho años de lucha* (Miami, 1982) provides important insight into the late 1920s and early 1930s. Older memoirs are still of value. An advisor to Machado, Alberto Lamar Schweyer recounts the final days of the regime in *Como cayó el presidente Machado* (Madrid, 1941). The secretary of war in the Céspedes government, Horacio Ferrer, treats the events of 1933 in key chapters of his memoir, *Con el rifle al hombro* (Havana, 1950). A useful first-person journalist account of 1933 is found in M. Franco Varona, *La revolución del 4 de septiembre* (Havana, 1934). A particularly useful first-person account of U.S. policy toward the Machado government during the early 1930s is provided in Ambassador Harry Guggenheim's book, *The United States and Cuba* (New York, 1934).

Treatment of the 1930s through the 1950s is uneven. Raymond Leslie Buell et al., *Problems of the New Cuba* (New York, 1935) remains as a landmark study of Cuba during the 1930s, dealing with virtually every aspect of Cuban national, provincial, and municipal life. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Report on Cuba* (Baltimore, 1951) is similar in approach and scope for the 1940s and early 1950s. Similar in character if not in detail is Carlos M. Raggi Ageo, *Condiciones económicas y sociales de la República de Cuba* (Havana, 1944). Together these three studies are indispensable reference works for the period. Samuel Farber, *Revolution and Reaction in Cuba, 1933–1960* (Middletown, Conn., 1976), is an excellent study dealing with the period between the 1930s and the 1950s. A useful journalistic account of the period between the 1930s and 1950s is Ruby Hart Phillips, *Cuba: Island of Paradox* (New York, 1959). National politics for these years are well treated in Ramón de Armas et al., *Los partidos burgueses en Cuba neocolonial, 1899–1952* (Havana, 1985). Enrique Vignier and Guillermo Alonso, *La corrupción política y administrativa en Cuba, 1944–1952* (Havana, 1952) is a documentary history of the Auténtico years. Also of some use for this

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

period is the biography by Luis Conte Agüero, *Eduardo Chibás, el adalid de Cuba* (Mexico, D.F., 1955). By and large, however, the decade of the 1940s has been largely neglected.

This is not the case with the 1950s. The literature dealing with the revolutionary struggle against Batista is voluminous. Most of the monographic literature deals specifically with the politico-military aspects of the anti-Batista struggle. Some of the better English-language accounts include Ramón Bonachea and Marta San Martín, *The Cuban Insurrection* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1974); Herbert L. Matthews, *Revolution in Cuba* (New York, 1975); Robert Taber, *M–26, Biography of a Revolution* (New York, 1961); C. Fred Judson, *The Political Education of the Cuban Rebel Army, 1953–1963* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); and Mario Llerena, *The Unsuspected Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986). One of the most detailed and moving accounts of the revolutionary struggle, concentrating on the last month of the war, is John Dorschner and Roberto Fabricio, *The Winds of December* (New York, 1980). Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés, *Revolutionary Struggle, 1947–1958* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) provides the texts of the major speeches and articles of Fidel Castro. One of the more comprehensive works dealing with the 1950s is José Barbeito, *Realidad y masificación: Reflexiones sobre la revolución cubana* (Caracas, 1964). José Suárez Núñez, *El gran culpable* (Caracas, 1963) and José A. Tabares del Real, *Ensayo de interpretación de la revolución cubana* (La Paz, 1960) are also useful for the 1950s. Among the better accounts of these years published in Cuba are Luis Emiro Valencia, *Realidad y perspectivas de la revolución cubana* (Havana, 1961); Mario Mencía, *La prisión fecunda* (Havana, 1980), and Tomás Toledo Batard, *La toma del poder* (Havana, 1989). For first-person government versions of these years see Fulgencio Batista, *Cuba Betrayed* (New York, 1962); Florentino Rosell Leyva, *La Verdad* (Miami, 1960); and Esteben Ventura Novo, *Memorias* (Mexico, D.F., 1961).

Numerous biographies of Fidel Castro also provide valuable accounts of these years. Among the most useful are Herbert Matthews, *Fidel Castro* (New York, 1969); Lionel Martin, *The Early Fidel: Roots of Castro's Communism* (Secaucus, N.J., 1978); Peter G. Bourne, *Fidel, a Biography of Fidel Castro* (New York, 1986); and Tad Szulc, *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* (New York, 1986). Of limited value is Georgie Anne Geyer, *Guerrilla Prince: The Untold Story of Fidel Castro* (Boston, 1991).

Much scholarship concentrates on specific aspects of Cuban history during these critical decades. Perhaps nowhere is the literature richer than in the area of relations between Cuba and the United States. An older but

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

still useful study is Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *Cuba and the United States, 1900–1935* (1935; repr. New York, 1964). An excellent monograph which concludes with a treatment of the 1920s and 1930s is Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and Cuba: Hegemony and Dependent Development, 1880–1934* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977). Irwin Gellman, *Batista and Roosevelt: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933–1945* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1973) examines the subsequent decade, with emphasis on diplomatic relations between both countries, recounted largely from the North American perspective and based principally on U.S. archival sources. The economic aspects of Cuba–U.S. relations are the principal focus of the balanced and thoughtful study of Robert F. Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1960). A more recent study dealing with the late 1950s is Morris H. Morley, *Imperial State and Revolution: The U.S. and Cuba, 1952–1986* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). General accounts of Cuba–U.S. relations for these years can be found in Lester D. Langley, *The Cuban Policy of the United States* (New York, 1968); Michael J. Mazarr, *Semper Fidel: American and Cuba, 1776–1988* (Baltimore, 1988); Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens, Ga., 1990). Three first-person accounts of U.S. diplomatic officials are also important sources for these years: Earl E. T. Smith, *The Fourth Floor* (New York, 1962); Philip W. Bonsal, *Cuba, Castro, and the United States* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1971); and Wayne E. Smith, *The Closest of Enemies* (New York, 1987).

Other specialized monographs include Lowry Nelson, *Rural Cuba* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1950), an invaluable study that has been the point of departure for all subsequent research on life in the Cuban countryside. A useful study of the peasantry is found in Antero Regalado Falcón, *Las luchas campesinas en Cuba* (Havana, 1973). Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Army Politics in Cuba, 1898–1958* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1975), treats the emergence of the armed forces in Cuban politics, as do the latter chapters of Federico Chang, *El Ejército Nacional en la república neocolonial, 1899–1933* (Havana, 1981) and Rafael Fermoselle, *The Evolution of the Cuban Military, 1492–1986* (Miami, 1987).

Among the most useful works on Cuban economic history are the two studies by Julio E. Le Riverend, *La República: Dependencia y revolución* (Havana, 1966), and *Historia económica de Cuba* (Havana, 1971). Also useful are Francisco López Segrera, *Cuba: Capitalismo dependiente y sub-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

desarrollo (*1510–1959*) (Havana, 1972), and the two works by Oscar Pino Santos, *El asalto a Cuba por la oligarquía financiera yanqui* (Havana, 1973) and *El imperialismo norteamericano en la economía de Cuba* (Havana, 1973). Useful studies of labour include Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History, 1860–1958* (London, 1985); Carlos del Toro González, *Algunos aspectos económicos, sociales y políticos del movimiento obrero cubano* (*1933–1958*) (Havana, 1974); Evelio Jesús Tellería Toca, *Congresos obreros en Cuba* (Havana, 1973); Mario Riera Hernández, *Historial obrero cubano, 1574–1965* (Miami, 1965).

Jaime Suchlicki, *University Students and Revolution in Cuba, 1920–1968* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1969) studies the role of students in national politics, as does Niurka Pérez Rojas, *El movimiento estudiantil universitario de 1934 a 1940* (Havana, 1975). A more specialized work dealing with student radicalism in the 1930s is Ladislao González Carbajal, *El Ala Izquierda Estudiantil y su época* (Havana, 1974). Olga Cabrera and Carmen Almódovar compiled an important collection of documents related to student activism entitled *Las luchas estudiantiles universitarios, 1923–1934* (Havana, 1975).

27. CUBA SINCE 1959

Research on post-1959 Cuba has been handicapped because scholars in the country have concentrated on the years before 1959 and because field research in Cuba by outsiders on the post-1959 period has been rare and difficult. The secondary literature relies heavily on three types of sources: research on publications issued by the Cuban government, impressions of scholarly and other visitors to Cuba based on varying levels of systematic observation and research, and research on Cuban exiles. The last of these, however, focusses mostly on the exiles' integration into the United States rather than on generating systematic information about Cuba itself. The main scholarly journal for the study of contemporary Cuba is *Cuban Studies*, edited from 1970 to 1990 by Carmelo Mesa-Lago at the Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh. Published twice a year until 1985, and once a year thereafter, it features scholarly articles principally, though not exclusively, by social scientists on post-1959 Cuba. Each issue also carries the best and most complete bibliography of research on Cuba, conducted in or outside Cuba, in all fields. See also Ronald H. Chilcote and Cheryl Lutjens (eds.), *Cuba: 1953–1978: A Bibliographic*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Guide to the Literature, 2 vols. (White Plains, N.Y., 1986), and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn., 1988). For bibliography on the years before 1970, see Nelson P. Valdés and Edwin Lieuwen, *The Cuban Revolution: A Research-Study Guide (1959–1969)* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1971). The best cartographic work is the joint publication by the Academia de Ciencias de Cuba and the Academia de Ciencias de la URSS, *Atlas nacional de Cuba* (Havana, 1970).

Many journals have been sponsored by the government, the party, the universities and the research institutes. *Cuba Socialista* covered political topics in depth and was the theoretical organ of the Cuban Communist Party until its discontinuation in the late 1960s, to reappear again in December 1981. *Economía y Desarrollo,* published since the early 1970s by the economics faculty of the University of Havana, has covered economic topics within Cuba and abroad, including theoretical and empirical articles. *Pensamiento Crítico,* published in the 1960s until discontinued in 1970, covered philosophical and political topics. *Etnología y Folklore,* published briefly in the mid-1960s, covered topics in sociology and social anthropology.

The best contemporary social science research has been carried out by the government's Instituto Cubano de Investigaciones y Orientación de la Demanda Interna, under the leadership of Eugenio Rodríguez Balari. Its occasional publications, based on extensive systematic and random sampling, provide fascinating insights into Cuban life.

The research institutions linked to the party's Central Committee staff have been producing increasingly interesting work on international affairs, two of them working on matters pertaining to Cuba. The Centro de Estudios sobre América (CEA) began to issue occasional publications in the early 1980s; one of the best is the two-volume *El imperialismo norteamericano contemporáneo* (Havana, 1981–4). In 1983 it began to publish *Cuadernos de Nuestra América* twice a year, especially helpful for Cuban views of U.S.–Cuban relations and of the U.S. Cuban-American community. In 1981 the Centro de Investigaciones sobre la Economía Mundial (CIEM) began publishing *Temas de Economía Mundial,* a good source on Cuban foreign economic policy, especially on its economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There have been some excellent public health journals, all entitled *Revista Cubana de . . . ,* in various fields, including *Cirugía, Medicina, Medicina Tropical, Pediatría, Higiene y Epidemiología* and *Administración de Salud.*

Cuba's daily national-circulation newspapers have been *Granma* (morn-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ing) and *Juventud Rebelde* (afternoon). *Granma* was founded in late 1965 from the merger of the organs of the 26 of July Movement (*Revolución*) and of the PSP (*Noticias de Hoy*). *Granma* and its predecessors have been basic sources for primary research concerning contemporary Cuba. The speeches of Fidel Castro have often been published in full, as have important speeches by other major figures. Cuba also publishes English and French weekly digest editions of the daily *Granma,* at times drawing articles from other mass publications. The weekly digest helps the study of Cuba's international relations, but it is not sufficient for research on internal Cuban affairs. Translations tend to be good, but there are occasional serious errors. The best other mass-circulation source is the long-standing news magazine *Bohemia,* which covers a wide array of issues in some depth. Other general-circulation publications for specialized research are *Verde olivo* (military), *ANAP* (peasants), *Mujeres* (women), *Los Trabajadores* (workers), *Opina* (mass marketing), and *Con la Guardia en Alto* (Committees for the Defence of the Revolution), among others.

In late 1990 the Cuban government announced a 'special period in time of peace'. Among many other economic austerity measures, there was a severe curtailing in the availability of newsprint. Many of these publications have been suspended, discontinued, or merged. It remains unclear which will continue to be published and which will reappear after having been temporarily suspended.

The most important statistical publication of the Cuban government has been the *Anuario estadístico de Cuba,* usually published with a two-year lag. Its inferior predecessor, the *Boletín,* was issued less regularly in the 1960s. The most common error in the use of the *Anuario* is to forget that its economic statistics are in current pesos and to forget as well that there has been inflation in Cuba, especially since the 1970s. It should be borne in mind that the educational statistics for the early 1960s refer only to public schools and that a substantial portion of the early increases in public school enrollment statistics result simply from the socialization of private schools. It should equally be noted that conceptual definitions in public health statistics have changed over time, and that malperforming sectors tend to be deleted from production statistics in subsequent years so that the *Anuario* gives a somewhat exaggerated impression of growth. The *Anuario* is rarely incorrect, but it is often insufficient. For a thorough discussion of Cuban statistics during the 1960s, see Carmelo Mesa-Lago, 'Availability and reliability of statistics in Socialist Cuba', *LARR,* 4/2 (1969). Mesa-Lago regularly reviews and evaluates the *Anuarios* in *Cuban*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Studies. A valuable reference is Susan Schroeder's *Cuba: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston, 1982).

Three secondary works seek to be comprehensive in coverage. Hugh Thomas, *Cuba or The Pursuit of Freedom* (London, 1971) takes its coverage of historical developments up to the 1962 missile crisis, this being followed by a shorter discussion of events during the rest of that decade. Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *The Economy of Socialist Cuba: A Two-Decade Appraisal* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1981) discusses economic policy and performance, distribution, employment, social welfare and international economic factors. Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), focusses on politics and government. Some update is provided in Domínguez (ed.), *Cuba: Internal and International Affairs* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1982). Good, short, general summaries on many topics can be found in Sandor Halebsky and John M. Kirk (eds.), *Cuba: Twenty-Five Years of Revolution: 1959 to 1984* (New York, 1985); in Halebsky and Kirk (eds.), *Transformation and Struggle: Cuba Faces the 1990s* (New York, 1990); and in Sergio Roca (ed.), *Socialist Cuba: Past Interpretations and Future Challenges* (Boulder, Colo., 1988).

Other useful books on the economy are: Archibald Ritter, *The Economic Development of Revolutionary Cuba: Strategy and Performance* (New York, 1974), which gives a good coverage of the 1960s; Claes Brundenius, *Revolutionary Cuba: The Challenge of Economic Growth with Equity* (Boulder, Colo., 1984), and Alberto Recarte's *Cuba: Economía y poder (1959–1980)* (Madrid, 1980), which cover the 1970s as well. An interesting discussion of the Cuban economy cast in a wider social and political context from a Marxist perspective is to be found in James O'Connor, *The Origins of Socialism in Cuba* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), for the earlier years, and Arthur MacEwan, *Revolution and Economic Development in Cuba* (New York, 1981), for a later period. Cuba's leading academic economist, José Luis Rodríguez, publishes mostly through the CIEM. See José Luis Rodríguez, *Estrategia del desarrollo económico en Cuba* (Havana, 1990). A bibliographical and technical overview of the problems of estimating Cuba's economic growth rates is available from Carmelo Mesa-Lago and Jorge Pérez-López, 'A study of Cuba's material product system, its conversion to the system of national accounts, and estimation of Gross Domestic Product per capita and growth rates', *World Bank Staff Working Papers*, no. 770 (Washington, D.C., 1985). A somewhat bitter but occasionally enlightening debate on this topic, between Mesa-Lago and Pérez-López on the one hand and Claes Brundenius and Andrew Zimbalist on the other, appeared in *Comparative*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Economic Studies in 1985 and 1986. See also Andrew Zimbalist, *Cuban Political Economy: Controversies in Cubanology* (Boulder, Colo., 1988). On economic measurement, see Jorge F. Pérez-López, *Measuring Cuban Economic Performance* (Austin, Tex., 1987) and Andrew Zimbalist and Claes Brundenius, *The Cuban Economy: Measurement and Analysis of Socialist Performance* (Baltimore, 1989).

Four books have been published from the research project led by Oscar Lewis in Cuba in 1969–70, the only major field research conducted by outside scholars in revolutionary Cuba. The project ended when the Cuban government confiscated many of its tapes and notes and forced the Lewis group to leave. Their books provide much information on the lives of ordinary Cubans. Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis and Susan M. Rigdon are responsible for *Four Men* (Urbana, Ill., 1977); *Four Women* (Urbana, Ill., 1977); and *Neighbors* (Urbana, Ill., 1978), while Douglas Butterworth is responsible for *The People of Buena Ventura: Relocation of Slum Dwellers in Postrevolutionary Cuba* (Urbana, Ill., 1980).

Several books have captured important facets of Cuban politics and government policy in the 1960s. A superb discussion of the personal role and style of Fidel Castro is Edward Gonzalez, *Cuba Under Castro: The Limits of Charisma* (Boston, 1974). The best extended interview with Fidel Castro was published (along with excellent photographs) by Lee Lockwood in *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel* (New York, 1969). A thorough discussion of the factional politics of early revolutionary rule is provided by Andrés Suaréz in *Cuba: Castroism and Communism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). A discussion of the radical politics of the 1960s appears in K. S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power* (New York, 1970), and in René Dumont, *Cuba: Est-il socialiste?* (Paris, 1970), both rather critical; more sympathetic approaches to the regime's goals are given in Richard Fagen, *The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba* (Stanford, Calif., 1969) and in Max Azicri, *Cuba: Politics, Economics and Society* (London, 1988). For an accessible overview, see Juan del Aguila, *Cuba: Dilemmas of a Revolution* (Boulder, Colo., 1984). Valuable collections, covering several topics mostly dealing with Cuba in the 1960s, are Rolando Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés (eds.), *Cuba in Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y., 1972); Jaime Suchlicki (ed.), *Castro, Cuba and Revolution* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1972); and Carmelo Mesa-Lago (ed.), *Revolutionary Change in Cuba* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1971).

Other work on internal Cuban politics and political economy since the 1970s is, surprisingly, not very extensive. Special attention should be paid to the studies of Susan Eckstein, William LeoGrande and Nelson P.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Valdés, some of which have appeared in *Cuban Studies*. A good, general collection on the 1980s is the seventh edition of Irving L. Horowitz's *Cuban Communism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989). On human rights and internal security, see the seven reports on Cuba issued by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (Washington, D.C.), various years, most recently 1983, as well as the occasional reports from Amnesty International and Americas Watch. Important testimony is found in *El presidio político en Cuba comunista* (Caracas, 1982) and in Jorge Valls, *Twenty Years and Forty Days: Life in a Cuban Prison* (Washington, D.C., 1986). See also Luis Salas, *Social Control and Deviance in Cuba* (New York, 1979). There is little work on the Cuban armed forces. A useful manual is the U.S. Department of Defense, Directorate for Intelligence Research, Defense Intelligence Agency, *Handbook on the Cuban Armed Forces* (Washington, D.C., 1979), which is not classified. See also Rafael Fermoselle, *The Evolution of the Cuban Military: 1492–1986* (Miami, 1987), as well as his *Cuban Leadership after Castro: Biographies of Cuba's Top Generals* (Miami, 1987); see also Jaime Suchlicki (ed.), *The Cuban Military under Castro* (Miami, 1989).

There has been an increase in publications concerning the international relations of the Cuban revolution. Eight collections gather much good work. They are Carmelo Mesa-Lago and Cole Blasier (eds.), *Cuba in the World* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1979); Martin Weinstein (ed.), *Revolutionary Cuba in the World Arena* (Philadelphia, 1979); Carmelo Mesa-Lago and June Belkins (eds.), *Cuba in Africa* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1982); Barry Levine (ed.), *The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean* (Boulder, Colo., 1983); Sergio Díaz-Briquets (ed.), *Cuban Internationalism in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1989); Instituto Superior de Relaciones Internacionales 'Raúl Roa', *De Eisenhower a Reagan* (Havana, 1987); Wayne E. Smith and Esteban Morales Domínguez (eds.), *Subject to Solution: Problems in Cuban–U.S. Relations* (Boulder, Colo., 1988); and Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Hernández (eds.), *U.S.–Cuban Relations in the 1990s* (Boulder, Colo., 1989). See also Carla A. Robbins, *The Cuban Threat* (New York, 1983); Lynn D. Bender, *Cuba vs. United States: The Politics of Hostility*, 2nd rev. ed. (San Juan, 1981); W. Raymond Duncan, *The Soviet Union and Cuba* (New York, 1985); Pamela Falk, *Cuban Foreign Policy: Caribbean Tempest* (Lexington, Mass., 1985); H. Michael Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations: The Anatomy of a Nationalistic Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colo., 1985); Wayne E. Smith, *The Closest of Enemies* (New York, 1987); Peter Shearman, *The Soviet Union and Cuba* (London, 1987); Morris H. Morley, *Imperial State and Revolution: The*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

United States and Cuba, 1952–1986 (Cambridge, Eng., 1988); Damián J. Fernández, *Cuba's Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (Boulder, Colo., 1988); Francisco López Segrera, *Cuba: Política exterior y revolución (1959–88)* (Havana, 1988); Richard J. Payne, *Opportunities and Dangers of Soviet–Cuban Expansion* (Albany, N.Y., 1988); and Jorge I. Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

An important source, monitoring U.S.–Cuban relations over time, and generating a great deal of information for primary research on this topic, has been the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, through its published hearings records. The series of documents occasionally published by the Central Intelligence Agency, National Foreign Assessment Center, entitled *Communist Aid to Less Developed Countries of the Free World,* provides a useful, though at times controversial and incomplete, listing of the Cuban overseas presence. This organization also published two valuable reference aids in the late 1970s and early 1980s, namely, the *Directory of Officials of the Republic of Cuba,* and the *Chronology,* various years. All are unclassified.

There are some excellent sources on certain specialized topics. Seymour Menton's *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1975) discusses literature and its social and political setting. On labour, see Maurice Zeitlin's *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (New York, 1970) and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *The Labor Sector and Socialist Distribution in Cuba* (New York, 1968). Juan and Verena Martínez Alier, in their *Cuba: Economía y sociedad* (Paris, 1972), are especially helpful on the early social, political and economic background of agrarian questions, and on gender and colour. For more recent years, see Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (Los Angeles, 1988). On religion, see John M. Kirk, *Between God and the Party: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Cuba* (Gainesville, Fla., 1989). On government corruption, see *Case 1/1989: End of the Cuban Connection* (Havana, 1989).

28. THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

There are few academic studies of the changes which have taken place in the Dominican Republic during the last sixty years, and these generally devote more attention to the political process than to the evolution of economy and society.

On the antecedents and origins of the Trujillo era there are two impor-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tant political histories: Luis Felipe Mejía, *De Lilís a Trujillo: Historia contemporánea de la República Dominicana* (Caracas, 1944), and Víctor Medina Benet, *Los responsables* (Santo Domingo, 1976). Both excellent monographs are based partially on the documented memoirs of the authors, who were witnesses to the fall of President Horacio Vásquez and were present when Trujillo conspired to seize power and establish his dictatorship. The outstanding book on the Trujillo regime is Jesús de Galíndez, *La era de Trujillo: Un estudio casuístico de una dictadura hispanoamericana* (Santiago, Chile, 1956), which began as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University and is full of accurate documentation, mostly official publications and newspapers. More revealing of the intimate life of the regime is Gregorio Bustamante, *Una satrapía en el Caribe* (Mexico, D.F., 1950). Bustamante is the pseudonym of José Almoina, who had earlier been Trujillo's secretary. Both Galíndez and Almoina were Spanish exiles from the Civil War, and both were assassinated on Trujillo's orders for having written these books.

A useful text on the mechanisms used by the dictator to build his economic empire is German E. Ornes, *Trujillo: Little Caesar of the Caribbean* (New York, 1958). Also interesting for its psychological interpretation of the dictator is Juan Bosch, *Trujillo: Causas de una tiranía sin ejemplo* (Caracas, 1959). Both authors partially rely on Albert Hicks, *Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo* (New York, 1946), an important but sensationalist journalistic version that seems to have been based on an article by C. A. Thompson, 'Dictatorship in the Dominican Republic', *Foreign Policy Reports,* 12 (15 April 1936), the first study of Trujillo's commercial and financial manipulations and the establishment of his monopolies. For a critical biography and history of his regime, the best book published to date is Robert D. Crassweller, *Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator* (New York, 1966). It is exciting reading and its documentation is impeccable. Howard Wiarda, *Dictatorship and Development: The Methods of Control in Trujillo's Dominican Republic* (Gainesville, Fla., 1968), is based on interviews and newspaper sources; its content is principally political. Two Marxist interpretations of the Trujillo era are Roberto Cassá, *Capitalismo y dictadura* (Santo Domingo, 1982), and Luis Gómez, *Las relaciones de producción predominantes en la República Dominicana, 1875–1975* (Santo Domingo, 1977), which share grandiloquent theorizing and a commitment to ideological speculation. Both try to interpret the figures of the statistical series annually published by the Dominican government in the *Anuario estadístico de la República Dominicana* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1936–56), a task in which Gómez fails lamentably and Cassá struggles with better luck while

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

arriving at some farfetched conclusions. A collection of interesting documents has been edited by Bernardo Vega, *La vida cotidiana dominicana: A través del archivo particular del generalísimo* (Santo Domingo, 1986).

The pro-Trujillo bibliography is extraordinarily abundant, as can be verified from Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Bibliografía de Trujillo* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955), which contains more than 5,000 citations of articles, books and pamphlets published in praise of the dictator and his work during the first twenty-five years of his regime. In this mountain of publications very few, if any, academic works stand out. That most resembling an academic study is Joaquín Balaguer, *La realidad dominicana: Semblanza de un país y de su régimen* (Buenos Aires, 1947), although it is in reality a tendentious apology for Trujillo in the context of a pessimistic and extreme racist interpretation of Dominican history. This book was written as part of the propaganda campaign launched to justify the murder of the Haitians in 1937 and to explain the Dominicanization of the frontier. It reviews a large part of the ideology of Trujillo's regime and condenses the official vision of the economic and social problems of the 1940s. It would have remained almost forgotten had not Balaguer re-edited and published it again under the new title *La isla al revés* (Santo Domingo, 1985). Another book by Balaguer on Trujillo is *La palabra encadenada* (Santo Domingo, 1975), which is important as a psychological portrait of Trujillo despite its tendentious, falsifying and self-justificatory contents. The third volume of Ramón Marrero Aristy, *La República Dominicana: Origen y destino del pueblo cristiano más antiguo de América* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1958), the conclusion to an official history of the country, outlines the dictatorship's ideology and explains the providential presence of Trujillo as the 'saviour' of Dominican nationality. Trujillo himself tried to provide a systematic ideological justification for his regime in *Fundamentos y política de un régimen* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1959).

Relations between Trujillo and the United States are described in Pope Atkins and Larman Wilson, *The United States and the Trujillo Regime* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1972), although the authors could have taken more advantage of the voluminous documentation they handled in the National Archives of the United States in Washington, D.C. The Fundación Cultural Dominicana is publishing a series of volumes by Bernardo Vega which attempts to gather the Dominican–U.S. diplomatic documentation between 1930 and 1961. See, for example, *Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo, 1930*, 2 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1986), *Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo, 1945* (Santo Domingo, 1982); *Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo, 1946* (Santo Do-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

mingo, 1982); *Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo, 1947* (Santo Domingo, 1984); *Eisenhower y Trujillo* (Santo Domingo, 1991); *Trujillo y el control financiero norteamericano* (Santo Domingo, 1990); and *Kennedy y los Trujillo* (Santo Domingo, 1991). A Trujilloist and anti-North American interpretation of relations at the end of dictatorship is given in Arturo Espaillat, *Trujillo: The Last Caesar* (Chicago, 1964). Martin D. Clausner, *The Dominican Republic: Settled, Unsettled, Resettled* (Philadelphia, 1973), also mentions aspects of Dominican–U.S. relations before and after Trujillo, with special emphasis on the development of education and agriculture. José Israel Cuello (ed.), *Documentos del conflicto dominicano–haitiano de 1937* (Santo Domingo, 1985), has published the diplomatic and confidential correspondence of the Dominican government produced by the Ministry of Foreign Relations as a result of the genocide of the Haitians in 1937, on which see also Juan Manuel García, *La matanza de los haitianos: Genocidio de Trujillo, 1937* (Santo Domingo, 1983) and Bernardo Vega (ed.), *Trujillo y Haití, 1930–37* (Santo Domingo, 1986).

The transition of dictatorship to a new, more democratic political order has been studied in exacting detail by Howard Wiarda, *Dictatorship, Development and Disintegration: Politics and Social Changes in the Dominican Republic,* 3 vols. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975). Another of Wiarda's works, which records the efforts at building a democratic order after Trujillo's death in 1961, is *The Dominican Republic: A Nation in Transition* (New York, 1969). On U.S. attempts to promote democracy in the Dominican Republic in the twentieth century, see Jonathan Hartlyn, 'The Dominican Republic: The legacy of intermittent engagement', in Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1991). A suggestive comparative essay is Catherine M. Conaghan and Rosario Espinal, 'Unlikely transitions to uncertain regimes? Democracy without compromise in the Dominican Republic and Ecuador', *JLAS,* 22/3 (1990), 553–74.

Most books on the thirty years or so since the end of the dictatorship deal mainly with political changes and the struggles between parties or civil–military relations. Some have as their principal setting the civil war of 1965. Important among these are John Bartlow Martin, *Overtaken by Events: The Dominican Crisis from the Fall of Trujillo to the Civil War* (Garden City, N.Y., 1966), the memoirs of a special ambassador of the United States to the Dominican Republic; Juan Bosch, *The Unfinished Experiment: Democracy in the Dominican Republic* (New York, 1964); Abraham F. Lowenthal, *The Dominican Intervention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), which pres-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ents a detailed account of decision-making in the United States; Jerome Slater, *Intervention and Negotiation: The United States and the Dominican Revolution* (New York, 1970); Piero Gleijeses, *The Dominican Crisis: The 1965 Constitutionalist Revolt and the American Intervention* (Baltimore, 1978), which offers an excellent interpretation and an extraordinary mass of new details on the civil war not covered by other authors. Gleijeses's view of the military intervention is radical and close to the Dominican nationalist position. See also G. Lane Van Tasell, 'American–Dominican economic linkages: External financing and domestic policies surrounding the 1965 U.S. intervention', *Journal of Third World Studies* (Fall 1987); Major Lawrence M. Greenberg, *United States Army Unilateral Coalition Operations in the 1965 Dominican Republic Intervention* (Washington, D.C., 1987), and Bruce Palmer, *Intervention in the Caribbean: The Dominican Crisis of 1965* (Lexington, Ky., 1991). A nationalist interpretation is Eduardo Latorre, *Política dominicana contemporánea* (Santo Domingo, 1975), which tends to see the Dominican political process as the result of tension between the traditional forces embodied in *caudillismo* and modernizing forces represented by liberal and democratic populism. Another useful work which presents the view of the anti-Trujilloist exiles is Nicolás Silfa, *Guerra, traición y exilio,* (Barcelona, 1980–81). The inner conflicts and the social organization of the constitutionalist forces during the civil war are described in José A. Moreno, *Barrios in Arms* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1970).

On the events following the civil war of 1965, several works deserve to be mentioned: José Israel Cuello, *Siete años de reformismo* (Santo Domingo, 1973), written to oppose the regime of Joaquín Balaguer; G. Pope Atkins, *Arms and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), a revealing study of the relations between President Balaguer and the military between 1966 and 1978, based on primary and private sources; Roberto Cassá, *Los doce años* (Santo Domingo, 1986), a Marxist study of Balaguer much inclined to interpretive theorizing; Ian Bell, *The Dominican Republic* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), a general history written by a former British ambassador; and Howard Wiarda and Michael Kryzanek, *The Dominican Republic: A Caribbean Crucible* (Boulder, Colo., 1982), which introduces the reader to contemporary party politics. Kryzanek and Wiarda are also the authors of *The Politics of External Influence in the Dominican Republic* (Westport, Conn., 1988). Other studies of contemporary political developments include: Miriam Díaz Santana and Martin F. Murphy, *The 1982 National Elections in the Dominican Republic: A Sociological and Historical*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Interpretation (Río Piedras, P.R., 1983). Jan Knippers Black, *The Dominican Republic: Politics and Development in an Unsovereign State* (Boston, 1986); Rosario Espinal, 'The defeat of the Dominican Revolutionary Party in the 1986 elections: Causes and implications', *BLAR*, 9/1 (1990), 103–16, and 'Between authoritarianism and crisis-prone democracy: The Dominican Republic after Trujillo', in Colin Clarke (ed.), *Society and Politics in the Caribbean* (Oxford, 1991).

On industrial development up to 1961, see Frank Moya Pons, 'Import substitution industrialization policies in the Dominican Republic, 1925–1961', *HAHR*, 70/4 (1990), 539–78. See also Rafael Francisco de [Frank] Moya Pons, 'Industrial incentives in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1983' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1987).

On the Dominican economy after 1961, Julio César Estrella, *La moneda, la banca y las finanzas de la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1971), still stands out as a general but rather unbalanced monetary history. For a study of one financial group, see Frank Moya Pons, *Pioneros de la banca dominicana: Una historia institucional del Banco Popular Dominicano y del Grupo Financiero Popular* (Santo Domingo, 1989). A useful although apologetic study on the earlier part of the Balaguer regime is the little book by Eduardo Tejera, *Una década de desarrollo económico dominicano 1963–1973* (Santo Domingo, 1975). An equally useful interpretation of the impact of recent economic policy-making is Miguel Ceara Hatton, *Tendencias estructurales y coyunturales de la economía dominicana 1968–1983* (Santo Domingo, 1985), which has a structuralist slant. A Marxist study from the *dependentista* school is provided in Wilfredo Lozano, *El reformismo dependiente* (Santo Domingo, 1985), which contains a rich mixture of speculation with some statistical data. Also important are the serial publications produced by the Oficina Nacional de Planificación, the Banco Central de la República Dominicana, and the Oficina Nacional de Estadística. Complementing those sources are the three volumes published in the mid-1970s by the Comisión de Economía de la Academia de Ciencias de la República Dominicana, *Economía dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1975, 1976 and 1977). As part of a series of thirty volumes containing studies on contemporary socio-economic and political issues published between 1982 and 1988, Frank Moya Pons (ed.), *Los problemas del sector externo en la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1982), *El régimen de incentivos en la economía dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1983), *La situación cambiaria en la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1984) and *Causas y manejo de la crisis económica dominicana* (Santo Domingo,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1986), brings together up-to-date studies and discussions about the origins and management of the Dominican economic crisis, external debt and the economic policies of the governments of Balaguer, Guzmán and Jorge Blanco. For a more recent essay on contemporary issues of political economy, see John T. Cuddington and Carlos Asilis, 'Fiscal policy, the current account and the external debt problem in the Dominican Republic', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990), 331–52.

For the origins of the labour movement from a socialist perspective, see Roberto Cassá, *Movimiento obrero y lucha socialista en la República Dominicana: Desde los orígenes hasta 1960* (Santo Domingo, 1990).

Studies of the structural socio-economic and political changes after Trujillo include: Isis Duarte, *Capitalismo y superpoblación en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1980), which treats the demographic implications of underdevelopment, urbanization and migration from a Marxist perspective; José Luis Alemán, *27 ensayos sobre economía y sociedad dominicana* (Santiago de los Caballeros, Dom. Rep., 1982); Frank Moya Pons, *El pasado dominicano* (Santo Domingo, 1986), which contains several historical studies on the problems of modernization in the Dominican Republic in the twentieth century; and Rosario Espinal, *Autoritarismo y democracia en la política dominicana* (San José, C.R., 1987), which deals with the evolution of the Dominican political system between 1930 and 1986 from the perspective of the dynamics of the political parties.

Migration studies have received some attention in recent years. See, for example, Bernardo Vega, *La migración española de 1939 y los inicios del marxismo-leninismo en la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1984); Consuelo Naranjo Ovorio, 'Transterrados españoles en las Antillas: Un acercamiento a su vida cotidiana', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 44 (1987), 521–48; Jorge Duany, *Los dominicanos en Puerto Rico: Migración en la semi-periferia* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1990); and a brief article by Kai Schoenhals, 'An extraordinary migration: Jews in the Dominican Republic', *Caribbean Review*, 14/4 (1985).

Bibliographical works include: Howard Wiarda, *Materiales para el estudio de la política y el gobierno de la República Dominicana, 1930–1966* (Santiago de los Caballeros, Dom. Rep., 1966); Deborah Hitt and Larman Wilson, *A Selected Bibliography of the Dominican Republic: A Century after the Restoration of Independence* (Washington, D.C., 1968); and Wolf Grabendorf, *Bibliographie zu Politik und Gesellschaft der Dominikanischen Republik: Neuere Studien 1961–1971* (Munich, 1973). A more recent and very useful

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

economic bibliography is Banco Central de la República Dominicana, *Biblografía económica de la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1984).

29. HAITI

General works dealing with Haiti in the period from 1930 to the present include Patrick Bellegarde Smith, *Haiti: The Breached Citadel* (Boulder, Colo., 1990); see also his intellectual biography of the Haitian politician Dantès Bellegarde, *In the Shadow of Powers* (Atlantic Heights, N.J., 1985). These works, however, present a rather superficial view of the country's history. The last four chapters of David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, 1979; 2nd ed., London 1989), are concerned with recent social and political thought. Most of Lyonel Paquin, *The Haitians: Class and Color in Politics* (New York, 1983) concerns the period from 1930 onwards. Popular, somewhat journalistic, accounts of the Haitian past include Robert Rotberg, *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor* (Boston, 1971). Robert Debs Heinl, who was in charge of the U.S. Marine mission to Haiti in the early years of the Duvalier regime, has produced, with Nancy Heinl, a highly ethnocentric and anecdotal history of Haiti entitled *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People* (Boston, 1978). The second volume of Claude Moïse, *Constitutions et luttes de pouvoir en Haïti (1804–1987)* (Montreal, 1990) deals with developments in this period. For bibliographical works on Haiti, see essay VI:16.

Rayford Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (London, 1968) is a useful volume and best on relations of Haiti with the United States. Other works concentrating on Haiti's foreign relations include L. F. Manigat, *Haiti of the Sixties: Object of International Concern* (Washington D.C., 1964) and Robert Tomasek, 'The Haitian–Dominican Republic controversy of 1963 and the Organisation of American States', *Orbis*, 12 (1968).

Dealing particularly with literary and cultural developments in the period are J. Michael Dash, *Literature and Ideology in Haiti, 1915–1961* (London, 1981) and *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (New York, 1988). Ulrich Fleischmann's *Ideologie und Wirklichkeit in der Literatur Haitis* (Berlin, 1969) deals with the post-1930 years. There is a Kréyol translation of this work, under the title *Ideyoloji ak reyalite nan literati ayisyen* (Geneva, 1981). René Depestre's *Bonjour et adieu*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

à la négritude (Paris, 1980) and Laënnec Hurbon's *Culture et dictature en Haïti* (Paris, 1979) consider Haitian culture from a historical standpoint, relating movements in Haitian literature to the Duvalier phenomenon. More recently Hurbon has written *Comprendre Haïti: Essai sur l'état, la nation, la culture* (Port-au-Prince and Paris, 1987). Raphael Berrou and Pradel Pompilus have produced a revised and enlarged edition of their *Histoire de la litterature haïtienne* (Port-au-Prince, 1975). It is somewhat uncritical and didactic but is nevertheless a useful manual. Léon-François Hoffmann in *Le nègre romantique* (Paris, 1973), *Le roman haïtien* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), *Essays on Haitian Literature* (Washington D.C., 1984) and in a number of articles in *Caribbean Review* and elsewhere has greatly added to our knowledge and appreciation of the Haitian literature of this period. Two short monographs on J. S. Alexis have appeared in recent years, one by Michael Dash, *Jacques Stéphen Alexis* (Toronto, 1975) and the other entitled *Le romancero aux etoiles* by Maximilien Laroche (Paris, 1978). Claude Souffrant deals with Jacques Roumain and J. S. Alexis, together with the U.S. poet Langston Hughes, in *Une négritude socialiste* (Paris, 1978).

The best book on the U.S. occupation remains Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), which is a superb critical study of U.S. policies in Haiti. Schmidt, however, deals only incidentally and somewhat inadequately with Haitian reactions to the occupation. Robert Spector, *W. Cameron Forbes and the Hoover Commissions to Haiti (1930)* (Lanham, Md., 1985) contains much useful information, but the book lacks a sophisticated analysis of the situation.

Works specifically on the Duvalier period include the lurid account of Bernard Diederich and Al Burt, *Papa Doc: Haiti and Its Dictator* (London, 1970) and Elizabeth Abbott, *Haiti: The Duvaliers and Their Legacy* (New York, 1988), which is a kind of sequel, though rather better written. Another decidedly journalistic account of recent years is Amy Wilenz, *The Rainy Season: Haiti since Duvalier* (London, 1989). More serious attempts at looking beneath the surface are to be found in Latin America Bureau, *Haiti: Family Business* (London, 1985) and James Ferguson's *Papa Doc, Baby Doc* (London, 1987); these are brief but good critical accounts of the Duvalier dictatorship. There is also a rather dull collection of papers edited by Charles Foster and Albert Valdman, *Haiti – Today and Tomorrow* (Lanham, Md., 1984). More analytical is Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Les racines historiques de l'état duvaliérien* (Port-au-Prince, 1986); there is an

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

English version of this book published under the title *Haiti: State against Nation* (New York, 1990). Some chapters in David Nicholls, *Haiti in Caribbean Context* (London, 1985) also deal with the modern period.

Roger Dorsinville's *Marche arrière* (Outremont, Que., 1986) is in the form of extended interviews with the veteran intellectual, containing memories of and comments on the post-1930 years. Other biographical studies include two books by Carlo A. Désinor: *L'affaire Jumelle* (Port-au-Prince, 1987) and *Daniel* (Port-au-Prince, 1986), on populist leader Daniel Fignolé.

Although a good economic history of Haiti is not to be found, a number of works on the Haitian economy approach issues from an historical perspective. These include Mats Lundahl's two books, *Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti* (London, 1979) and *The Haitian Economy: Man, Land and Markets* (London and Canberra, 1983); also Christian Girault, *Le commerce du café en Haïti: Habitants, spéculateurs et exportateurs* (Paris, 1981).

On more specialised topics there is Kern Delince, *Armée et politique en Haïti* (Paris, 1979), which contains useful historical information on the modern period. The growth of the small trade union movement is outlined in Jean-Jacques Doubout and Ulrich Joly, *Notes sur le developpement du mouvement syndical en Haïti* (n.p., n.d.) More recently there is Michel Hector, *Syndicalisme et socialisme en Haïti: 1932–1970* (Port-au-Prince, 1989), and an article by Mats Lundahl 'The rise and fall of the Haitian labour movement', in Malcolm Cross and Gad Heuman (eds.), *Labour in the Caribbean* (London, 1988). Charles Tardieu's *L'éducation en Haïti: De la période coloniale à nos jours* (Port-au-Prince, 1990) also deserves mention. The excellent *Atlas d'Haïti* (Bordeaux, 1985) published by a group coordinated by Christian Girault contains a wealth of historical information.

Several works have recently appeared on Haitian migration. Maurice Lemoine deals with the migration of Haitian cane cutters to the Dominican Republic in *Sucre amer: Esclaves aujourd'hui dans les Caraïbes* (Paris, 1981), as does Ramón Antonio Veras in *Inmigración, haitianos, Esclavitud* (Santo Domingo, 1983). The massacre of Haitians by Trujillo is the subject of Juan Manuel García, *La matanza de los haitianos: Genocidio de Trujillo, 1937* (Santo Domingo, 1983); José I. Cuello (ed.), *Documentos del conflicto dominicano–haitiano de 1937* (Santo Domingo, 1984); and Bernardo Vega (ed.) *Trujillo y Haití, 1930–37* (Santo Domingo, 1988). Another important migration is considered by Dawn Marshall, in *'The Haitian Problem': Illegal Migration to the Bahamas* (Kingston, Jam., 1979). There are numerous articles on Haitian migration to North America; these are reviewed by

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Robert Lawless, 'Haitian migrants and Haitian Americans: From invisibility into the spotlight', *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 14/2 (1986).

30. PUERTO RICO

Much of the raw material for the history of Puerto Rico since 1940 is buried in the statistics gathered by various agencies of the commonwealth government. Puerto Rico is probably one of the most 'measured' societies in Latin America. The statistics are generally reliable, if copious and not always easily available. The yearly Economic Reports to the Governor, published by the Planning Board, are a useful source of basic information on the economy, as are the monthly reports on employment and unemployment put out by the Department of Labor and Human Resources. The Division of Social Planning of the Planning Board has published a number of special reports and studies; an example is its 1974 study, 'Informe recursos humanos: Puerto Rican migrants, a socio-economic study'. The annual reports of the important government agencies, such as the Departments of Public Education, Commerce, Agriculture, Labor and Human Resources, and Fomento, and the Electoral Commission, are sources of useful, though undigested, data.

The *Report of the United States–Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico* (Washington, D.C., 1966), with its supplementary background papers, is a major source of information on Puerto Rico as well as a crucial document in itself. Another source of important data on the Puerto Rican economy, as of the late 1970s, is the two-volume *Economic Study of Puerto Rico: Report to the President Prepared by the Interagency Task Force Coordinated by the U.S. Department of Commerce* (Washington, D.C., 1979).

Gordon K. Lewis, *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean* (New York, 1963), is a standard work on modern Puerto Rico. A supplement and update to that book is the author's *Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution* (New York, 1975). An important more recent general work on Puerto Rico, from a 'neutral', European point of view, is Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (New York, 1984).

The story of the New Deal in Puerto Rico and the political events of the 1930s are chronicled in Thomas Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville, Fla., 1960). For the origins of the PPD, its ideological orientations, and its early history, see Robert W. Anderson, *Party Politics in Puerto Rico* (Stanford, Calif., 1965). For the war years, R. G. Tugwell, *The*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Stricken Land (New York, 1947) is essential reading. A good description of Governor Tugwell's administration is to be found in Charles Goodsell, *The Administration of a Revolution: Executive Reform in Puerto Rico under Governor Tugwell, 1941–1946* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). The history of the policy of industrial incentives under the Tugwell governorship during the Second World War is described in detail in David Ross, *The Long Uphill Path* (San Juan, P.R., 1976). On the process leading up to the passage of the law authorizing direct elections for governor of Puerto Rico in 1948, see Surendra Bhana, *The United States and the Development of the Puerto Rican Status Question, 1936–1948* (Lawrence, Kans., 1975). On constitutional and economic developments generally in the postwar period, see Henry Wells, *The Modernization of Puerto Rico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

On economic and development policy in the contemporary period, interesting and critical views are to be found in Richard Weisskoff, *Factories and Food Stamps: The Puerto Rican Model of Development* (Baltimore, 1985) and in Emilio Pantojas-García, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (London, 1990). See also James Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Changes and Capitalist Development* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

On party politics, Kenneth Farr, *Personalism and Party Politics: Institutionalization of the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico* (Hato Rey, P.R., 1973) contains mainly descriptive material. Vol. 2 of Bolívar Pagán's *Historia de los partidos políticos puertorriqueños* (San Juan, P.R., 1972) has some information on the post-1940 period, but it is largely anecdotal and quite unsystematic. A view of local party structure is given in Angel Quintero Rivera, *El liderato local de los partidos políticos en el estudio de la política puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1970) and Rafael Ramírez, *El arrabal y la política* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1977). See also Angel Quintero Rivera, 'La clase obrera y el proceso político en Puerto Rico', *Revista de Ciencias Sociales,* 20 (1976), 3–48, and Rafael Ramírez and Eduardo Rivera Medina, *Del cañaveral a la fábrica* (San Juan, P.R., 1984). The statehood movement in Puerto Rico is dealt with extensively in two recent books: Aaron Ramos, *Las ideas anexionistas en Puerto Rico bajo la dominación norteamericana* (San Juan, 1987) and Edgardo Meléndez, *Puerto Rico's Statehood Movement* (New York, 1988).

The most authoritative source on constitutional law and development is the four-volume study by a former Chief Justice of the Puerto Rico Supreme Court, José Trías Monge: *Historia constitucional de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1980–3). The third and fourth volumes deal with the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

period since 1940. A prime source for the history and development of the commonwealth status is the book written by its principal protagonist in Congress, former Resident Commissioner Antonio Fernós Isern, *Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico: Antecedentes, creación y desarrollo hasta la época presente* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1974). A legalistic critical view of commonwealth is presented in Rafael Garzaro, *Puerto Rico: Una nación en busca de estado* (Salamanca, 1974).

A very useful collection of articles on the island's contemporary problems is Jorge Heine (ed.), *Time for Decision: The United States and Puerto Rico* (Lanham, Md., 1983). The pamphlet *The Puerto Rican Question,* by Jorge Heine and Juan M. García Passalacqua, is a good, informative brief introduction to Puerto Rico's political dilemmas; it was published as No. 266 in the Foreign Policy Association Headline Series (November–December 1983). There is an excellent series of articles on contemporary Puerto Rican society, based for the most part on solid research and from a critical perspective, in the special issue of the journal *Radical America,* 23/1 (1990). See also, for an earlier but similar collection, a special issue of *LAP,* 2/3 (1976), dedicated entirely to Puerto Rico. See also the chapter by Robert W. Anderson, 'The United States and Puerto Rico: A critique', in R. G. Hellman and H. J. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Latin America: The Search for a New International Role* (New York, 1975), 167–90.

The Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) has included Puerto Rico in its attentions in recent years. In its multi-volumed, committee-edited series titled *¿Hacia un nuevo orden estatal en América Latina?* (Buenos Aires, 1988–90) there are three useful, though brief, chapters on current aspects of the Puerto Rican polity and economy. Vol. 1 (*Democratización/modernización y actores políticos*) has a chapter by Marcia Rivera, 'Democracia en la colonia: Las transformaciones del estado en la encrucijada puertorriqueña', 387–410. M. Rivera and Juan Castañer deal with economic policy in vol. 3, *Los actores socio-económicos del ajuste estructural:* 'Reajuste en la dependencia: Nuevas propuestas de política económica en Puerto Rico', 527–71. And there is a chapter on 'Cultura y grupos populares en la historia viva de Puerto Rico hoy' by Lydia M. González in vol. 8, *Innovación cultural y actores socio-culturales,* 323–42.

José Hernández Alvarez, *Return Migration to Puerto Rico* (Berkeley, 1967), one of the few serious studies of an important aspect of Puerto Rican migration, is in urgent need of expansion and updating. Manuel Maldonado Denis, *Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos: Emigración y colonialismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), is a rather polemical overview of the migration

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

phenomenon. José L. Vázquez Calzada, *La población de Puerto Rico y su trayectoria histórica* (San Juan, P.R., 1978), is a useful work of demographic history.

The publications of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños of the City University of New York are especially noteworthy, particularly in the areas of class analysis and migration problems. An example, useful for anyone interested in the cultural dimensions of contemporary Puerto Rico, is *Taller de cultura, los puertorriqueños y la cultura; crítica y debate: Conferencia de historiografía* (New York, April 1974). José Luis González's *Puerto Rico: El país de cuatro pisos* (San Juan, P.R., 1980; Eng. trans., Princeton, N.J., 1993) with its sequel, *Nueva visita al cuarto piso* (Madrid, 1986) is an excellent example of the controversial literature on the problem of Puerto Rican cultural 'identity'.

Puerto Rico's position in international affairs has received not a little attention during the past two decades. W. Michael Reisman's *Puerto Rico and the International Process: New Roles in Association* (Washington, D.C., 1975) deals with the (largely unrealized) potentials for Puerto Rico's participation in international organizations under its present commonwealth status. The debate in the United Nations over Puerto Rico and 'decolonization' is chronicled, as of the mid-seventies, in Carmen Gautier Mayoral and María del Pilar Argüelles, *Puerto Rico y la ONU* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1978). Good collections of critical essays on the limitations and possibilities of Puerto Rico's international and regional roles, written by Puerto Rican scholars, are Carmen Gautier Mayoral, Angel Rivera Ortiz, and Ilsa Alegría Ortega (eds.), *Puerto Rico en las relaciones internacionales del Caribe* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1990) and *Puerto Rico en la economía política del Caribe* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1990). A one-volume edition of these essays was published by CLACSO (Buenos Aires) in 1987 under the title *Puerto Rico en el Caribe hoy.* The military aspects of Puerto Rico's importance for the United States in the region are documented and discussed in Jorge Rodríguez Beruff, *Política militar y dominación: Puerto Rico en el contexto latinoamericano* (San Juan, 1988).

31. ARGENTINA, 1930–1946

Still among the best and liveliest introductions to Argentina in the period between the revolution of 1930 and the rise of Perón (1943–6) are three English-language books published in the early 1940s: John W. White,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Argentina, the Life Story of a Nation (New York, 1942), which aptly captures the puzzled response among North Americans to the apparently hostile attitudes of Argentines during the late 1930s until 1942; Ysabel Rennie, *The Argentine Republic* (New York, 1945), which remains one of the best general introductions to Argentine history and offers an excellent analysis of the years 1943–5; and Felix Weil, *Argentine Riddle* (New York, 1944). Weil, a member of one of the 'Big Four' grain-exporting families, argued for the type of future association between Argentina and the United States that Pinedo and the Liberals had aspired to in 1940s, in which the United States would take charge of industrializing Argentina. If the book contains this thread of wishful thinking, it also shows an extremely well-informed knowledge of Argentine society and the issues facing the country at this critical juncture. Other highly informative accounts by American and British observers are: Robert J. Alexander, *The Perón Era* (New York, 1951); COI (Congress of Industrial Organizations), Committee on Latin American Affairs, *The Argentine Regime: Facts and Recommendations to the United Nations* (New York, 1946); CTAL (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina), *White and Blue Book: In Defense of the Argentine People and Against the Fascist Regime Oppressing It* (Mexico D.F., February 1946); Ray Josephs, *Argentine Diary: The Inside Story of the Coming of Fascism* (New York, 1944); Nicholas John Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power* (New York, 1942); Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?* (New York, 1946).

Mark Falcoff and Ronald H. Dolkart (eds.), *Prologue to Perón: Argentina in Depression and War* (Berkeley, 1975) is a general introduction containing several excellent essays. See also David Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley, 1987), chap. 6, and for a reinterpretation of the 1940s, Carlos H. Waisman, *The Reversal of Development in Argentina: Post-war Counterrevolutionary Politics and the Structural Consequences* (Princeton, N.J., 1987).

No single book deals exclusively or quite fully with economic issues in this period. The best introductions are Aldo Ferrer, *La economía argentina: Las etapas de su desarrollo y problemas actuales* (Buenos Aires, 1964); Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967); Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970); and Laura Randall, *An Economic History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1978). For an account of the Argentine economy by an informed contemporary, see Alejandro E. Bunge, *Una nueva Argentina* (Buenos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Aires, 1940). For statistical data, see CEPAL, *El desarrollo económico de la Argentina,* 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1959). On farming, see Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Life in Argentina* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948); Darrell F. Fienup, Russell H. Brannon and Frank A. Fender, *The Agricultural Development of Argentina: A Policy and Development Perspective* (New York, 1969); and Jaime Fuchs, *Argentina: Su desarrollo capitalista* (Buenos Aires, 1965). On industry, see George Wythe, *Industry in Latin America* (New York, 1945); Adolfo Dorfman, *Historia de la industria argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1970); Thomas C. Cochran and Rubén Reina, *Espíritu de empresa en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1965), which examines the career of Torcuato Di Tella, the industrialist; and Miguel Murmis and Juan Carlos Portantiero, 'Crecimiento industrial y alianza de clases en la Argentina (1930–1940)', in Miguel Murmis and Juan Carlos Portantierto (eds.), *Estudios sobre los orígenes del peronismo,* vol. 1 (Buenos Aires, 1971). An important addition to this literature is Paul H. Lewis, *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990). The best available studies of population and migration stem from the Centro de Estudios de Población in Buenos Aires, headed by Alfredo E. Lattes; for an introduction, see Zulma Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo E. Lattes, *La población de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975). Foreign investment, foreign debt and many trade issues are discussed in Harold J. Peters, *The Foreign Debt of the Argentine Republic* (Baltimore, 1934); Vernon L. Phelps, *The International Economic Position of Argentina* (Philadelphia, 1938); and Roger Gravil, *The Anglo–Argentine Connection, 1900–1939* (Boulder, Colo., 1985).

The two best general introductions to Argentine politics after 1930 are Robert A. Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1928–1945: Yrigoyen to Perón* (Stanford, Calif., 1969), and Alain Rouquié, *Poder militar y sociedad política en la Argentina,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1982). See also Alberto Ciria, *Parties and Power in Modern Argentina* (Albany, N.Y., 1974). For additional information on the 1930 revolution, see David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), and Peter H. Smith, 'The breakdown of democracy in Argentina, 1916–1930', in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1978). For economic policy issues under Justo, see Peter H. Smith, *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change* (New York, 1969); Daniel Drosdoff, *El gobierno de las vacas, 1933–1956: Tratado Roca–Runciman* (Buenos Aires, 1972); Pedro Skupch, 'El deterioro y fin de la hegemonía británica sobre la economía argentina, 1914–1947', in L. Marta Panaia et al., *Estudios sobre*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

los orígines del peronismo, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1973); and Gravil, *The Anglo–Argentine Connection.*

Studies of the political parties during this period are almost non-existent. But see Ciria, *Parties and Power,* and Peter G. Snow, *El radicalismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1972). A pioneering study in regional politics is Richard J. Walter, *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). On trade unions, see Hiroschi Matsushita, *Movimiento obrero argentino: Sus proyecciones en la historia del peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1983); Louise Doyon, 'Organized labor and Perón: A study in the conflictual dynamics of the Peronist movement' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1978); David Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930–1945* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1985); Joel Horowitz, *Argentine Unions, the State and the Rise of Perón, 1930–1945* (Berkeley, 1990); and, above all, Juan Carlos Torre, *La vieja guardia sindical y Perón: Sobre los orígenes del peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1990). See also the chapter on Argentina in Charles W. Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). The best-known contemporary account is José Peter, *Crónicas proletarias* (Buenos Aires, 1968). Tamarin's work not only deals most informatively with the unions, but also provides an excellent account of the workers' role in the events of October 1945. A second outstanding piece is Daniel James, 'October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass protest, Peronism and the Argentine working class,' *Journal of Social History,* 21 (1988), 441–61.

On the Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Juventud (FORJA), see Mark Falcoff, 'Argentine nationalism on the eve of Perón: The Force of Radical Orientation of Young Argentina and its rivals, 1935–45' (unpublished Ph.D., thesis, Princeton University, 1970); Mark Falcoff, 'Raul Scalabrini Ortiz: The making of an Argentine nationalist', *HAHR,* 52/1 (1972), 74–101; and Arturo Jauretche, *FORJA y la década infame* (Buenos Aires, 1962). For the *nacionalistas,* see Marysa Navarro Gerassi, *Los nacionalistas* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Enrique Zuleta Alvarez, *El nacionalismo argentino,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1975); and María Inés Barbero and Fernando Devoto, *Los nacionalistas, 1910–1932* (Buenos Aires, 1983). Federico Ibarguren, *Los orígenes del nacionalismo argentino, 1927–1937* (Buenos Aires, 1969), provides a fascinating glimpse into the *nacionalista* mentality. Other important studies or contemporary accounts of the Nationalist Right, which commanded so much influence during this period, are Mario Amadeo, *Hoy, ayer, mañana* (Buenos Aires, 1956); Paul Everett Brown, 'Ideological origins of modern Argentine nationalism' (unpub-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

lished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1975); Cristián Buchrucker, *Nacionalismo y peronismo: La Argentina en la crisis ideológica mundial (1927–1955)* (Buenos Aires, 1987); Juan E. Carulla, *Al filo de medio siglo* (Paraná, 1951); Alicia S. García and Ricardo Rodríguez Molas, *El autoritismo y los argentinos: La hora de la espada (1924–1946)* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Juan José Hernández Arregui, *La formación de la conciencia nacional,* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1973); Austin A. Ivereigh, 'Nationalist Catholic thought in Argentina, 1930–1946: Monseñor Gustavo Franceschi and *Criterio* in the search for a post-liberal order' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1990); Leopoldo Lugones, *La patria fuerte* (Buenos Aires, 1930) and *La grande Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1930); Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900–1932: The Argentine Patriotic League* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986); Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo, *La revolución que anunciamos* (Buenos Aires, 1945); Oscar A. Troncoso, *Los nacionalistas argentinos: Antecedentes y trayectoria* (Buenos Aires, 1957). The most recent history of the Nationalist movement, which contains extensive data on the period 1930–46, is David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact* (Berkeley, 1993). For *nacionalismo* in the army, see Robert A. Potash (comp.), *Perón y el GOU: Los documentos de una logia secreta* (Buenos Aires, 1984). For an introduction to historical revisionism, see Rodolfo Irazusta and Julio Irazusta, *La Argentina y el imperialismo británico: Los eslabones de una cadena, 1806–1933* (Buenos Aires, 1934).

Recent decades have seen the appearance of several high-quality works on the British–Argentine–U.S. triangle in both its economic and political aspects. The most recent is Guido Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939–46* (London, 1989). But see also Jorge Fodor and Arturo O'Connell, 'La Argentina y la economía atlántica en la primera mitad del siglo veinte', *DE,* 13/49 (1973), 1–67; Michael J. Francis, *The Limits of Hegemony: United States Relations with Argentina and Chile during World War II* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977); Mario Rapoport, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y las clases dirigentes argentinas, 1940–45* (Buenos Aires, 1981); Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942–1949* (Buenos Aires, 1983); R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War,* 2 vols. (London, 1981–2); and C. A. MacDonald, 'The politics of intervention: The United States and Argentina, 1941–1946', *JLAS,* 12/2 (1980), 365–96. For wartime British attitudes towards Argentina, see Sir David Kelly, *The Ruling Few, or The Human Background to Diplomacy* (London, 1953), and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

for the official line from the United States, Cordell Hull, *Memoirs,* 2 vols. (New York, 1948). David Green, *The Containment of Latin America: A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Chicago, 1971), sheds much light on the attitudes and behaviour of U.S. policy-makers. See also Bryce Wood, *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Austin, Tex., 1985). A facsimile of the Pinedo Plan (1940) appears in *DE,* 19/75 (1979), 403–26.

On the rise of Perón, the most outstanding works are Potash, *Army and Politics,* and Samuel L. Baily, *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967). See also Félix Luna, *El '45* (Buenos Aires, 1971); Paul W. Lewis, 'Was Perón a Fascist? An inquiry into the nature of Fascism', *The Journal of Politics,* 42 (1980), 242–56; Rodolfo Puiggrós, *El peronismo: Sus causas* (Buenos Aires, 1971); Horowitz, *Argentine Unions;* Torre, *La vieja guardia sindical;* Doyon, 'Organized labor'; Matsushita, *Movimiento obrero;* Tamarin, *Argentine Labor Movement;* Eldon Kenworthy, 'The formation of the Peronist coalition' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1970); and Enrique Díaz Araujo, *La conspiración del '43* (Buenos Aires, 1971). For personal details on Perón, see Joseph A. Page, *Perón: A Biography* (New York, 1983). The best accounts of Braden's role in 1945–6 are in MacDonald, 'The politics of intervention', and Green, *Containment of Latin America,* while the 1946 election has been studied intensively in Manuel Mora y Araujo and Ignacio Llorente (eds.), *El voto peronista: Ensayos de sociología electoral argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1980). Of particular note are essays by Peter H. Smith and Gino Germani. For statistics on the election, see Darío Cantón, *Materiales para el estudio de la sociología política en la Argentina,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1969). A valuable primary source on the 1943–6 period is Juan Perón, *El pueblo quiere saber de qué se trata* (Buenos Aires, 1944).

32. ARGENTINA SINCE 1946

ECONOMY

G. Di Tella and M. Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1967), is a general work inspired by W. W. Rostow's stages of growth theory. Aldo Ferrer, *The Argentine Economy* (Berkeley, 1967), first published in Spanish in 1964, is a less factual, much more interpretive account that reflects views on development and dependency typical of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

late 1950s and early 1960s. Ferrer's *Crisis y alternativas de la política económica* (Buenos Aires, 1977) brings the analysis up to the late 1970s. Carlos Díaz Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), is a collection of excellent economic analyses of different aspects of Argentine history that has been very influential. Laura Randall, *An Economic History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1978), tries to interpret Argentina's development as a succession of rather clear-cut economic models; some historians have found it unconvincing. R. Mallon and J. V. Sourruoille, *Economic Policy in a Conflictive Society: The Argentine Case* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), explores economic problems, particularly in the mid-1960s, without excluding political variables.

D. Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley, 1987), is a comprehensive history that reveals great economic insight; it is the best introduction to the history of Argentina in this period. Gary Wynia, *Argentina in the Post-War Era: Politics and Economic Policy Making in a Divided Society* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1978), concentrates on decision making in the period from 1946 to 1976. Two general essays discuss the main issues in the economic history of the period: G. Di Tella, 'Controversias económicas en la Argentina, 1930–1970', in J. Fogarty, E. Gallo and H. Diéguez (eds.), *Argentina y Australia* (Buenos Aires, 1979); and C. Díaz Alejandro, 'No less than one hundred years of Argentine economic history plus some comparisons', in G. Ranis, R. L. West, M. W. Leiserson and C. Taft Morris (eds.), *Comparative Development Perspectives: Essays in Honor of Lloyd G. Reynolds* (Boulder, Colo., 1984). One of the best and most comprehensive collections of essays on the economic history of post-war Argentina is G. Di Tella and R. Dornbusch (eds.), *The Political Economy of Argentina, 1946–1983* (London, 1989), which analyses the economic policies of every government from Perón's first presidency to the military administration of the period 1976–83. J. C. de Pablo, *La economía que yo hice* (Buenos Aires, 1980), presents a series of interviews with officials in charge of economic affairs since the 1940s and contains much useful historical information.

Beginning in 1949 the influence of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), under the intellectual leadership of R. Prebisch, was widely felt in both political and professional fields. The 1949 ECLA *Survey* reflected the postwar spirit in its deep scepticism of the role of foreign trade and its stress on import substitution industrialization and the internal market. See ECLA, *Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems* (New York, 1949). The questioning of the ECLA

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

model in the 1960s is reflected in Mario Brodershon (ed.), *Estrategias de industrialización para América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1967); the contribution by David Félix, 'Más allá de la sustitución de importaciones, un dilema latinoamericano', is a good example of the new perspective. See also Félix's 'The dilemma of import substitution: Argentina', in G. Papanek (ed.), *Development Policy: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). M. Diamond, *Doctrinas económicas, desarrollo e independencia económica* (Buenos Aires, 1973), presents an original analysis of the structural imbalance found in the Argentine productive sectors. In the 1970s and 1980s the focus of interest shifted to the causes of Argentine stagnation and decline. A good example of the changing emphasis is the work of J. J. Llach and P. Gerchunoff on the 1964–74 growth experience: 'Capitalismo industrial, desarrollo asociado y distribución del ingreso entre los dos gobiernos peronistas', *DE*, 15/57 (1975), 3–54, and the subsequent debate in *DE*, 15/60 (1976), 612–39. The weak economic performance of Argentina and the need for institutional reforms are explored in D. Cavallo and Y. Mundlak, 'Agriculture and economic growth: The case of Argentina', *Research Report 36* (Washington, D.C., 1982); D. Cavallo, *Volver a crecer* (Buenos Aires, 1984); J. J. Llach, *Reconstrucción o estancamiento* (Buenos Aires, 1987); Secretaría de Planificación, *Lineamientos para una estrategia de crecimiento* (Buenos Aires, 1985); and C. A. Rodríguez, 'Estabilización versus cambio estructural: La experiencia argentina', Centro de Estudios Macroeconómicos de Argentina, Documento de Trabajo 62 (Buenos Aires, 1988).

On inflation and stabilization policies in the 1950s and 1960s, see A. Ferrer (ed.), *Los planes de estabilización en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1967), with contributions from the editor, M. Brodershon, and E. Eshag and R. Thorp; Eshag and Thorp's article, 'Economic and social consequences of orthodox policies in Argentina in the post-war years', was originally published in *Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Economics and Statistics* (February 1965), 3–44. See also C. Díaz Alejandro, *Exchange Rate Devaluation in a Semi-industrialized Country: The Experience of Argentina, 1955–1961* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). Against the conventional wisdom of the time, Díaz Alejandro demonstrated that exchange devaluations may have recessive consequences in a country with an export-oriented agriculture and an inward-oriented industry. This idea had a far-reaching impact. For the period from 1966 to 1973, J. C. de Pablo, 'Relative prices, income distribution and stabilization plans, 1967–1970', *Journal of Development Economics*, 1 (1974), 50–78, is an important article; an expanded version is

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Política anti-inflacionaria en Argentina, 1967–1970 (Buenos Aires, 1972). On the same period, see G. Maynard and W. van Ryckeshen, 'Stabilization policy in an inflationary economy', in Papanek (ed.), *Development Policy;* G. Di Tella, *Argentina under Perón, 1973–1976* (London, 1983), studies the problems of stabilizing the economy under a labour-based government; see also A. Canitrot, 'La experiencia populista de redistribución de ingresos', *DE,* 15/59 (1975), 331–51, which underlines the inherent contradictions of the populist model. The stabilization efforts of the military regime between 1976 and 1982 produced very interesting analyses from different perspectives: A. Canitrot, 'Teoría y práctica del liberalismo: Política anti-inflacionaria y apertura económica en la Argentina', *DE,* 21/82 (1981), 131–89; J. L. Machinea, 'The use of exchange rates as an anti-inflationary instrument in a stabilization-liberalization attempt' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1983); R. B. Fernández and C. A. Rodríguez (eds.), *Inflación y estabilidad* (Buenos Aires, 1982); and J. Schvarzer, *Martínez de Hoz, la lógica política de la política económica* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

For conceptual approaches to the theory of inflation, see J. Olivera, 'On structural inflation and Latin American structuralism', *Oxford Economic Papers,* 16 (November 1964), 321–32, and 'On structural stagflation', *Journal of Development Economics,* 6/4 (1979), 549–55; and A. Canavese, 'The structuralist explanation in the theory of inflation', *World Development,* 10 (1982), 523–9. The monetarist approach is well argued in Fernández and Rodríguez (eds.), *Inflación y estabilidad.* J. J. Llach, 'La megainflación argentina', in N. Botana and P. Waldmann (eds.), *El impacto de la inflación* (Buenos Aires, 1988), presents an institutional approach. The role of inertial factors in inflation is underlined in R. Frenkel, 'Salarios e inflación: Resultados de investigaciones recientes en Argentina, Brasil, Colombia, Costa Rica y Chile', *DE,* 25/100 (1986), 387–414, an approach which inspired the Austral Plan launched by the Alfonsín administration in 1985. For the latter experience, see the essays in M. Bruno, G. Di Tella and R. Dornbusch (eds.), *Inflation Stabilization: The Experience of Israel, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); D. Heyman, *Tres ensayos sobre inflación y políticas de estabilización* (Buenos Aires, 1986); P. Gerchunoff and C. Bozzalla, 'Posibilidades y límites de un programa de estabilización heterodoxo', in J. Villanueva (ed.), *Empleo, inflación y comercio internacional* (Buenos Aires, 1988); R. Dornbusch and M. Simonsen, *Inflation Stabilization with Income Policy Support* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); and R. Frenkel and J. M. Fanelli,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Políticas de estabilización y hiperinflación en Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1990). The account of J. L. Machinea (president of the Central Bank at the time), 'Stabilization under Alfonsín's Government', Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES), Documento de Trabajo 42 (Buenos Aires, 1990), must be consulted.

On the evolution of Argentine industry, see A. Dorfman, *Cincuenta años de industrialización argentina, 1930–1980* (Buenos Aires, 1983); J. Katz and B. Kosacoff, *El sector manufacturero argentino: Maduración, retroceso y prospectiva* (Buenos Aires, 1989); and B. Kosacoff and D. Aspiazu, *La industria argentina, desarrollo y cambios estructurales* (Buenos Aires, 1989). On the controversial issue of industrial policies, a number of works deserve mention: H. H. Schwartz, 'The Argentine experience with industrial credit and protection incentives, 1943–1958' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1967), is a pioneer work. See also O. Altimir, H. Santamaría and J. V. Sourrouille, 'Los instrumentos de la promoción industrial en la post-guerra', *DE,* 6/24 (1967), 709–34; J. Berlinski and D. Schydlowsky, 'Incentives for industrialization in Argentina', in B. Balassa (ed.), *Development Strategies in Semi-industrialized Countries* (Baltimore, 1982); J. Berlinski, 'La protección efectiva de actividades seleccionadas de la industria argentina', Instituto Di Tella, CIE, Documento de Trabajo 119 (Buenos Aires, 1985); D. Artana, 'Incentivos fiscales a la inversión industrial', Instituto Di Tella, CIE, Documento de Trabajo 151 (Buenos Aires, 1987); J. Schvarzer, 'Promoción industrial argentina', Centro de Investigaciones Sociales sobre Estado y Administración (CISEA), Documento de Trabajo 90 (Buenos Aires, 1987); S. Teitel and F. Thomi, 'From import substitution to exports: The recent experience of Argentina and Brazil', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* 34 (1986), 455–90; and J. Nogues, 'Economía política del proteccionismo y la liberalización en Argentina', *DE,* 28/100 (1988), 159–82.

On agriculture, see C. Díaz Alejandro, 'An interpretation of Argentine economic growth since 1930', *Journal of Development Studies,* part 1 (1966), 14–41, part 2 (1967), 155–77, a good example of a negative view of Perón's agricultural policies; J. Fodor gives a different account in 'Perón's policies for agricultural exports, 1946–1948: Dogmatism or Common Sense?' in D. Rock (ed.), *Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1975). For many years, works in this field focussed on the alleged lack of price elasticity of agricultural production. L. Reca made a substantial contribution, emphasizing the role of prices, which had previously been underrated, in 'The price and production duality within Argentine agricul-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ture' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1967), and further works such as 'Determinantes de la oferta agropecuaria en la Argentina', *Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas de la CGE; Estudios sobre la economia argentina,* 5 (1969), 57–65. Later, E. S. de Obschatko and M. Piñeiro, *Agricultura pampeana: Cambio tecnológico y sector privado* (Buenos Aires, 1986), drew attention to the great technological transformation which took place in agriculture from the 1970s and led to a great increase in production and productivity.

On the labour market and wages, the following works are recommended: J. J. Llach and C. Sánchez, 'Los determinantes del salario en Argentina', *Estudios,* 7/29 (1984), 1–47; H. Diéguez and P. Gerchunoff, 'Dinámica del mercado laboral urbano en Argentina, 1976–1982', *DE,* 24/93 (1984), 3–40; A. Marshall, *El mercado del trabajo en el capitalismo periférico* (Santiago, Chile, 1978); L. Beccaria and G. Yoguel, 'Apuntes sobre la evolución del empleo industrial en 1973–1984', *DE,* 27/1 (1988), 589–606; R. Frenkel, 'Salarios industriales e inflación, 1976–1982', *DE,* 24/95 (1984), 387–414; and J. L. Llach, *Políticas de ingresos en la década del noventa: Un retorno a la economía política* (Buenos Aires, 1990). The reports produced by Proyecto Argentina PNUD and International Labor Organization entitled *Employment, Human Resources and Wages* and published by the Ministry of Labour between 1984 and 1989 are indispensable.

Little attention was given to the public sector until the mid-1980s. Secretaría de Hacienda, *Política para el cambio estructural en el sector público* (Buenos Aires, 1989), brings together the presidential messages to Congress on the occasion of the passage of the 1986–9 budget laws; particularly useful is the 1989 message, which traces the evolution of the role of the public sector in Argentina since 1930. On the fiscal crisis, three works deserve mention: P. Gerchunoff and M. Vicens, *Gasto público, recursos públicos y financiamiento de una economía en crisis: El caso de Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1989); R. Carciofi, *La desarticulación del pacto fiscal: Una interpretación sobre la evolución del sector público argentino en las últimas dos décadas* (Buenos Aires, 1989); and A. Porto, *Federalismo fiscal* (Buenos Aires, 1990). For a different point of view, see Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latino-americanas (FIEL), *El fracaso del estatismo: Una propuesta para la reforma del sector público argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

For the external debt and its repercussions, see E. A. Zalduendo, *La deuda externa* (Buenos Aires, 1988); E. Feldman and J. Sommer, *Crisis financiera y endeudamiento externo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1986); R. Frenkel, J. M. Fanelli and J. Sommer, 'El proceso del endeudamiento

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

externo argentino', CEDES, Documento de Trabajo 2 (Buenos Aires, 1988); R. Bouzas and S. Keifman, 'Las negociaciones financieras externas de Argentina en el período 1982–1987', in R. Bouzas (ed.), *Entre la heterodoxia y el ajuste* (Buenos Aires, 1988); A. García and S. Junco, 'Historia de la renegociación de la deuda externa argentina', *Boletín Informativo Techint,* 245 (1987), 29–58; and J. C. de Pablo and R. Dornbusch, *Deuda externa e inestabilidad macroeconómica en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1988).

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

There are few general works on politics and social development over the entire period from 1946 to 1989. The best account available in English is D. Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1987,* cited above. See also C. Floria and C. García Belsunce, *Historia política de la Argentina contemporánea, 1880–1983* (Madrid, 1988); J. E. Corradi, *The Fitful Republic: Economy, Society and Politics in Argentina* (Boulder, Colo., 1985); G. Wynia, *Argentina: Illusions and Reality* (New York, 1986); and a well-documented chronicle, E. Crawley, *A House Divided: Argentina, 1880–1980* (London, 1985). Although their main subject is the role of the military in politics, R. Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1945–1962* (Stanford, Calif., 1980), and A. Rouquié, *Pouvoir militaire et société politique en Republique Argentine* (Paris, 1978), provide general insights for the years up to the 1970s. T. Halperín Donghi, *Argentina, la democracia de masas* (Buenos Aires, 1983), is another valuable contribution. See also M. Peralta Ramos, *Acumulación de capital y crisis políticas en Argentina, 1930–1974* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). In a more interpretive vein, several essays deserve mention: G. O'Donnell, 'State and alliances in Argentina, 1956–1976', *Journal of Development Studies,* 15/1 (1978), 3–33, and 'El juego imposible: Competición y coaliciones entre partidos políticos en la Argentina, 1955–1966', which is included in his *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, 1973), 180–213; M. Mora y Araujo, 'El ciclo político argentino', *DE,* 22/86 (1982), 203–30, and 'El estatismo y los problemas políticos del desarrollo argentino', in C. Floria (ed.), *Argentina política* (Buenos Aires, 1983), 31–64; and J. C. Portantiero, 'La crisis de un régimen: Una visión retrospectiva', in J. Nun and J. C. Portantiero (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la transición democrática argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1987), 57–80.

On Argentina's social structure, the works of G. Germani, *Estructura*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

social de la Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1955) and *Política y sociedad en una época de transición* (Buenos Aires, 1965), are of seminal importance. See also ECLA, *Economic Development and Income Distribution in Argentina* (New York, 1969); J. L. de Imaz, *Those Who Rule* (Albany, N.Y., 1970); O. Altimir, 'Estimaciones de la distribución del ingreso en Argentina, 1953–1980', *DE,* 25/100 (1986), 521–66; H. Palomino, 'Cambios ocupacionales y sociales en Argentina, 1947–1985', CISEA, Documento de Trabajo 88 (1987), 213; J. Nun, 'Cambios en la estructura social de la Argentina', in Nun and Portantiero (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la transición democrática argentina,* 117–37; S. Torrado, 'La estructura social de la Argentina, 1945–1983', Centro de Estudios Urbanos, Documento de Trabajo 14 and 15 (1988); Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, *La pobreza en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1984) and *La pobreza en el conurbano bonaerense* (Buenos Aires, 1989). A good bibliography can be found in S. Bagú, *Argentina, 1875–1975: Población, economía y sociedad – Estudio temático y bibliográfico* (Mexico, D.F., 1978).

On the military, in addition to the books by Potash and Rouquié already mentioned, see G. O'Donnell, 'Modernization and military coups: Theory, practice and the Argentine case', in A. Lowenthal (ed.), *Armies and Politics in Latin America* (New York, 1976), 197–243; A. Rouquié, 'Hegemonia militar, estado y dominación social', in A. Rouquié (ed.), *Argentina hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); and D. Cantón, *La política de los militares argentinos, 1900–1971* (Buenos Aires, 1971). On the church, a very neglected subject, see J. M. Ghio, 'The Argentine church and the limits of democracy' in A. Stuart-Gambino and E. Cleary (eds.), *The Latin American Church and the Limits of Politics* (Boulder, Colo., 1991).

On political parties and the Congress, see D. Cantón, *Elecciones y partidos políticos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1973); P. Snow, *Political Forces in Argentina* (Boston, 1971); L. Schoultz, *The Populist Challenge: Argentine Electoral Behaviour in the Post War Era* (Chapel Hill; N.C., 1983); D. James, 'The Peronist Left', *JLAS,* 8/2 (1976), 273–96; M. Acuña, *De Frondizi a Alfonsín: La tradición política del radicalismo,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1984); M. Cavarozzi, *Peronismo y radicalismo; transiciones y perspectivas* (Buenos Aires, 1988); D. Cantón, *El Parlamento argentino en épocas de cambio* (Buenos Aires, 1966); M. Goretti and M. Panosyan, 'El personal parlamentario frente a un contexto político cambiante', in *Dos ensayos de ciencia política* (Buenos Aires, 1986); Liliana de Riz et al., *El parlamento hoy* (Buenos Aires, 1986); and Liliana de Riz, 'Régimen de gobierno y gobernabilidad: Parlamentarismo en Argentina', in D. Nohlen and A.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Solari (eds.), *Reforma política y consolidación democrática: Europa y América Latina* (Caracas, 1988), 273–85.

On trade unions, see S. Baily, *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967); R. Carri, *Sindicatos y poder en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1967); M. Cavarozzi, 'Peronismo, sindicatos y política en la Argentina, 1943–1981', in P. González Casanova (ed.), *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1984), 146–99; D. James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988); G. Ducatenzeiler, *Syndicats et politique en Argentine, 1955–1973* (Montreal, 1981); R. Rotondaro, *Realidad y dinámica del sindicalismo* (Buenos Aires, 1974); T. Di Tella, *El sistema político argentino y la clase obrera* (Buenos Aires, 1964); R. Zorrilla, *Estructura y dinámica del sindicalismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1974); S. Senen González, *Diez años de sindicalismo, de Perón al proceso* (Buenos Aires, 1984); E. C. Epstein, 'Labor populism and hegemonic crisis in Argentina', in Epstein (ed.), *Labor Autonomy and the State in Latin America* (Boston, 1989).

On entrepreneurs, see J. Freels, *El sector industrial en la política nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1970); J. Niosi, *Los empresarios y el estado argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1974); D. Cúneo, *Crisis y comportamiento de la clase empresaria* (Buenos Aires, 1967); M. L. de Palomino, *Tradición y poder: La Sociedad Rural Argentina, 1955–1983* (Buenos Aires, 1988); D. Azpiazu, E. Basualdo and M. Khavisse, *El nuevo poder económico en la Argentina de los años 80* (Buenos Aires, 1986); R. Sidicaro, 'Poder y crisis de la gran burguesía agraria argentina', in A. Rouquié (ed.), *Argentina hoy,* 51–104; and most recently, Paul H. Lewis, *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990) and P. Ostiguy, *Los capitanes de la industria* (Buenos Aires, 1990).

On Argentina's foreign relations, see in particular C. Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942–1949* (Buenos Aires, 1983); J. A. Lanus, *De Chapultepec al Beagle* (Buenos Aires, 1984); and J. S. Tulchin, *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston, 1990).

On Perón's first two terms in office, between 1946 and 1955, see the perceptive and colorful historical reconstruction by F. Luna, *Perón y su tiempo,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1984–6). Profiles of the two major characters of those years can be found in J. Page, *Perón: A Biography* (New York, 1983), and Nicholas Fraser and Marysa Navarro, *Eva Perón* (New York, 1980). The sociological approach is represented by J. Kirkpatrick, *Leader*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and Vanguard in Mass Society: A Study of Peronist Argentina (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), and P. Waldmann, *El peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1981). A suggestive attempt to assess the impact of Perón's policies on subsequent Argentine political development is Carlos H. Waisman, *The Reversal of Development in Argentina: Post-war Counterrevolutionary Policies and Their Structural Consequences* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). A. Ciria, *Política y cultura popular: La Argentina peronista, 1946–1955* (Buenos Aires, 1983), deals well with the workings of *peronista* ideology in practice. A useful introductory treatment of a neglected topic is offered by W. Little in 'Party and state in Peronist Argentina', *HAHR,* 53 (1973), 628–56. L. Doyon, 'Organized Labor and Perón: A study of the conflictual dynamics of the Peronist movement' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1978), is indispensable. Some chapters of Doyon's thesis and other valuable contributions are collected in J. C. Torre (ed.), *La formación del sindicalismo peronista* (Buenos Aires, 1988); see also J. C. Torre, *La vieja guardia sindical y Perón: Sobre los orígenes del peronismo* (Buenos Aires, 1990). The relations between Perón and the military are examined in the books already mentioned by R. Potash and A. Rouquié. An informative account of Perón's fall in 1955 is given in J. Godio, *La caída de Perón* (Buenos Aires, 1973).

On Frondizi's government, see Celia Szusterman, *Frondizi and the Politics of Developmentalism in Argentina, 1955–1962* (London, 1993); M. Barrera, *Information and Ideology: A Case Study of Arturo Frondizi* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973); D. Rodríguez Lamas, *La presidencia de Frondizi* (Buenos Aires, 1984); N. Babini's memoirs, *Frondizi: De la oposición al gobierno* (Buenos Aires, 1984); and E. Kvaternik, *Crisis sin salvataje* (Buenos Aires, 1987). On Illia's presidency, see E. Kvaternik, *El péndulo cívico militar: La caída de Illia* (Buenos Aires, 1990). On both presidencies, C. Smulovitz, 'Opposition and government in Argentina: The Frondizi and Illia Years' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1990), deserves mention.

The period of military rule between 1966 and 1972 is the subject of a major work by G. O'Donnell, *El estado burocrático autoritario* (Buenos Aires, 1981; Eng. trans., Berkeley, 1988). See also William C. Smith, *Authoritarianism and the Crisis of the Argentine Political Economy* (Stanford, Calif., 1989); N. Botana, R. Braun and C. Floria, *El régimen militar, 1966–1972* (Buenos Aires, 1973); F. Delich, *Crisis y protesta social: Córdoba, mayo de 1969* (Buenos Aires, 1970); and R. Perina, *Onganía, Levingston, Lanusse: Los militares en la política argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1983). The memoirs of General Onganía's secretary, Roberto Roth, *Los*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

años de Onganía (Buenos Aires, 1980), and those of General Agustín Lanusse, *Mi testimonio* (Buenos Aires, 1977), deserve careful reading.

On Perón's return to power in 1973, see G. Di Tella, *Argentina under Perón* and L. de Riz, *Retorno y derrumbe: El último gobierno peronista* (México, D.F., 1981). The collection of essays compiled by F. Turner and J. E. Miguenz, *Juan Perón and the Reshaping of Argentina* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1983), contains good analyses of the period. See also M. Mora y Araujo, 'Las bases estructurales del peronismo' and 'Peronismo y desarrollo', in M. Mora y Araujo and J. Lorente (eds.), *El voto peronista* (Buenos Aires, 1980), 397–440. The role of trade unions is studied in J. C. Torre, *Los sindicatos en el gobierno, 1973–1976* (Buenos Aires, 1983). A very illuminating study of Perón's political discourse and its relation to the youth movement is S. Sigal and E. Veron, *Perón o muerte* (Buenos Aires, 1986).

On the military regime of 1976–83, see, for a general view, P. Waldmann and E. Garzón Valdez (eds.), *El poder militar en Argentina, 1976–1983* (Frankfurt, 1982); M. Peralta Ramos and C. Waisman (eds.), *From Military Rule to Liberal Democracy in Argentina* (Boulder, Colo., 1987); and Smith, *Authoritarianism*, 224–66. A. Fontana, 'Policy making by a military corporation: Argentina, 1976–1983' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1987), deserves mention. On the guerrilla movement the best study available is R. Gillespie, *Soldiers of Perón: Argentina's Montoneros* (Oxford, 1982). For documents and reports on the human rights issue, see Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas, *Nunca más* (Buenos Aires, 1984; Engl. trans., 1986); and Organization of American States, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Argentina* (Washington, D.C., 1980). C. Escudé, 'Argentina: The costs of contradiction', in A. F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1991), sheds light on the contradictions of President Carter's human rights policy. The Malvinas War has been extensively documented; O. Cardozo, R. Kirshbaum and E. Van de Kooy, *Malvinas: La trama secreta* (Buenos Aires, 1983), and M. Hastings and S. Jenkins, *The Battle for the Falklands* (New York, 1983), are contemporary accounts presenting both sides of the conflict.

Although a global assessment of Alfonsín's presidency is still lacking, several works deserve mention: M. Mora y Araujo, 'The nature of the Alfonsín coalition', and M. Cavarozzi, 'Peronism and Radicalism: Argentina's transition in perspective', in P. Drake and E. Silva (eds.), *Elections and Democratization in Latin America* (San Diego, Calif., 1986), 143–88; E. Catterberg, *Los argentinos frente a la política* (Buenos Aires, 1989); N.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Botana et al., *La Argentina electoral* (Buenos Aires, 1985); Nun and Portantiero (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la transición democrática argentina;* N. Botana and A. M. Mustapic, 'La reforma constitucional frente al régimen político argentino', Instituto Di Tella, Documento de Trabajo 101 (Buenos Aires, 1988); M. Cavarozzi and M. Grossi, 'De la reinvención democrática al reflujo político y la hiperinflación', Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, GTPP 12 (1989); J. C. Torre, 'Economía e política nella transizione argentina: Da Alfonsín a Menem', in G. Urbani and F. Ricciu (eds.), *Dalle armi alle urne, economia, società e politica nell'America Latina degli anni novanta* (Bologna, 1991). Liliana de Riz, M. Cavarozzi and J. Feldman, 'El contexto y los dilemas de la concertación en la Argentina actual', in M. dos Santos (ed.), *Concertación politico-social y democratización* (Buenos Aires, 1987), 189–224; Carlos H. Acuña and L. Golbert, 'Empresarios y política', *Boletín Informativo Techint,* 263 (1990), 33–52; R. Gaudio and A. Thompson, *Sindicalismo peronista y gobierno radical* (Buenos Aires, 1990); and A. Fontana, 'La política militar en un contexto de transición: Argentina, 1987–1989', CEDES, Documento de Trabajo 34 (1989); R. Fraga, *La cuestión militar argentina, 1987–1989* (Buenos Aires, 1989).

33. URUGUAY

The literature on Uruguay since 1930 is very uneven in its coverage. The 1930s and 1940s in particular have been neglected, and it was not until the crisis years of the 1960s that a substantial literature developed on Uruguay's contemporary situation and recent past. During the military regime (1973–85), the publication of serious work on recent history and current problems was inhibited, but the position was eased to some extent after 1983. Henry Finch, *Uruguay,* World Bibliographical Series, vol. 102 (Oxford, 1989), is an annotated bibliography of books and articles on all aspects of Uruguayan affairs, the majority of them in English. Among basic source materials, newspapers are a significant source for political developments, but traditionally each newspaper represents a political faction and none could be regarded as authoritative. The number of daily newspapers published after 1985 was greatly reduced, and the process of democratization was marked by a proliferation of political journals. The weekly *Búsqueda,* published since 1981, comes closer than other papers to being a journal of record. The radical weekly *Marcha,* founded in 1939, is an indispensable source of perceptive analysis and comment on all aspects

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of the period until its closure in 1974. For basic social and economic data, the *Anuario Estadístico* of the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (DGEC) is central. Population, housing and economic census data are also published by DGEC, as are household survey data on employment and income distribution. Since 1967 the monthly *Boletín Estadístico* of the Banco Central del Uruguay (BCU) has been a principal source of economic and financial data; before 1967, the *Suplemento Estadístico* of the Banco de la República (BROU) published less complete information. Three compilations of data are Instituto de Economía, *Uruguay: Estadísticas básicas* (Montevideo, 1969); Aldo Solari, Néstor Campiglia and Germán Wettstein, *Uruguay en cifras* (Montevideo, 1966); and Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH), *Uruguay, indicadores básicos* (Montevideo, 1983).

General works covering most of the period since 1930 include Roque Faraone, *El Uruguay en que vivimos (1900–1968)*, 2nd ed. (Montevideo, 1968), and *De la prosperidad a la ruina* (Montevideo, 1987); Martin Weinstein, *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure* (Westport, Conn., 1975), and *Uruguay: Democracy at the Crossroads* (Boulder, Colo., 1988); F. E. Panizza 'Accumulation and consensus in post-war Uruguay', in Christian Anglade and Carlos Fortín (eds.), *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America,* vol. 2 (London, 1990), 149–81; and M. H. J. Finch, *A Political Economy of Uruguay since 1870* (London, 1981). Important accounts of the early years are Juan A. Oddone, *Uruguay entre la depresión y la guerra, 1929–45* (Montevideo, 1990); Gerardo Caetano and Raúl Jacob, *El nacimiento del terrismo, 1930–33* (Montevideo, 1989); Raúl Jacob, *El Uruguay de Terra, 1931–1938* (Montevideo, 1984); Ana Frega Mónica Maronna and Yvette Trochon, *Baldomir y la restauración democrática (1938–1946)* (Montevideo, 1987); and Germán d'Elía, *El Uruguay neo-batllista, 1946–1958* (Montevideo, 1983). The period of the Blanco administrations is reviewed in Rosa Alonso Eloy and Carlos Demasi, *Uruguay, 1958–1968* (Montevideo, 1986). The economic development of the period is analysed in Instituto de Economía, *El proceso económico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1969), and Luis A. Faroppa, *El desarrollo económico del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1965). Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *Uruguay: Portrait of a Democracy* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1954), is well described as an affectionate study of the country. Marvin Alisky, *Uruguay: A Contemporary Survey* (New York, 1969), is not reliable. An informative introduction to Uruguay in the 1960s is Instituto de Estudios Políticos para América Latina (IEPAL), *Uruguay: Un país sin problemas en crisis,* 3rd ed. (Montevideo, 1967). Luis

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Benvenuto et al., *Uruguay hoy* (Montevideo, 1971), contains five essays on the contemporary situation.

The most detailed account of the functioning of the political system is Philip B. Taylor, *Government and Politics of Uruguay* (New Orleans, La., 1960). Works by Aldo Solari, especially *Estudios sobre la sociedad uruguaya,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1965), and *El desarrollo social del Uruguay en la postguerra* (Montevideo, 1967), contain material on the political system, as well as aspects of social structure and development. 'Bibliografía sobre estratificación y estructura de clases en el Uruguay', in Instituto de Ciencias Sociales, *Uruguay: Poder, ideología y clases sociales* (Montevideo, 1970), is comprehensive. There are subtle analyses of the nature of Uruguayan democracy in Francisco E. Panizza, *Uruguay: Batllismo y después* (Montevideo, 1990), and Germán W. Rama, *La democracia en Uruguay* (Montevideo 1987). Carlos Real de Azua, 'Política, poder y partidos en el Uruguay de hoy', 145–321, and Carlos Martínez Moreno, 'Crepúsculo en arcadia: La institucionalidad y su derrumbe a la uruguaya', 405–55, in *Uruguay hoy* are perceptive accounts of the political situation on the eve of the military coup. See also Howard Handelman, 'Labor–industrial conflict and the collapse of Uruguayan democracy', *JIAS,* 23/4 (1981), 371–94.

Carlos Real Azúa, *El impulso y su freno: Tres décadas de batllismo* (Montevideo, 1964), is a classic study of the decline of *batllismo,* and there are stimulating reflections in Alberto Methol Ferré, *El Uruguay como problema,* 2nd ed. (Montevideo, 1971), and Oscar Bruschera, *Los partidos tradicionales y la evolución institucional del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1962). Material on the emergence of the Frente Amplio is provided in Miguel Aguirre Bayley, *El Frente Amplio: Historia y documentos* (Montevideo, 1985). The guerrilla movement is examined in Antonio Mercader and Jorge de Vera, *Tupamaros: Estrategía y acción* (Montevideo, 1969); Alain Labrousse, *The Tupamaros* (London, 1973); and Arturo C. Porzecanski, *Uruguay's Tupamaros: The Urban Guerrilla* (New York, 1973). Documents relating to the armed forces' political involvement can be found in Amilcar Vasconcellos, *Febrero amargo* (Montevideo, 1973), and *Cuadernos de Marcha,* 68–9 (Montevideo, 1973), while the historical background of the military is the subject of Liliana de Riz, 'Ejército y política en Uruguay', in Instituto de Ciencias Sociales, *Uruguay: Poder, ideología y clases sociales.* On the military during and after the dictatorship, see Juan Rial, *Las fuerzas armadas* (Montevideo, 1986). A remarkable account of the operations of the CIA in Uruguay during 1964–6 is given by Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (London, 1975). The structure and development of the trade union

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

movement are the subject of Alfredo Errandonea and Daniel Costabile, *Sindicato y sociedad en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1969); Héctor Rodríguez, *Nuestros sindicatos* (Montevideo, 1965); Lucía Sala de Touron and Jorge E. Landinelli, '50 años del movimiento obrero uruguayo' in Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and Germán d'Elía, *El movimiento sindical* (Montevideo, 1969).

Important contributions to the history of the industrialization process are Julio Millot, Carlos Silva and Lindor Silva, *El desarrollo industrial del Uruguay: De la crisis de 1929 a la postguerra* (Montevideo, 1973), and Luis Bértola, *The Manufacturing Industry of Uruguay, 1913–61* (Gothenburg and Stockholm, 1990). The evolution of the public sector is discussed in Aldo Solari and Rolando Franco, *Las empresas públicas en el Uruguay: Ideología y política* (Montevideo, 1983). The rural sector is comprehensively analysed in CLAEH-Cinam, *Situación económica y social del Uruguay rural* (Montevideo, 1964); Ministerio de Ganadería y Agricultura (MGA)–Comisión de Inversiones y Desarrollo Económico (CIDE), *Estudio económico y social de la agricultura en el Uruguay,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1967); Aldo Solari, *Sociología rural nacional,* 2nd ed. (Montevideo, 1958); and Russell H. Brannon, *The Agricultural Development of Uruguay* (New York, 1967). Danilo Astori, *La evolución tecnológica de la ganadería uruguaya, 1930–1977* (Montevideo, 1979), addresses an issue of critical importance. Raúl Jacob, *Uruguay, 1929–1938: Depresión ganadera y desarrollo fabril* (Montevideo, 1981), is an important source. Survey data on internal migration are presented in Néstor Campiglia, *Migración interna en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1968). International emigration is treated in Israel Wonsewer and Ana María Teja, *La emigración uruguaya, 1963–1975* (Montevideo, 1985), and César Aguiar, *Uruguay: País de emigración* (Montevideo, 1982).

Three accounts of the influence of the International Monetary Fund are Alberto Couriel and Samuel Lichtensztejn, *El FMI y la crisis económica nacional* (Montevideo, 1967); Juan Eduardo Azzini, *La reforma cambiaria: Monstruo o mártir?* (Montevideo, 1970); and Danilo Astori, Mario Bucheli, Walter Cancela and Luis Faroppa, *El FMI y nosotros* (Montevideo, 1983). The pre–national plan diagnosis by Comisión de Inversiones y Desarrollo Económico (CIDE) is made in *Estudio económico del Uruguay: Evolución y perspectivas,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1963). The two national plans were published as CIDE, *Plan nacional de desarrollo económico y social, 1965–1974,* 5 vols. (Montevideo, 1965), and Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto, *Plan nacional de desarrollo, 1973–1977,* 2nd ed., 2 vols.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Montevideo, 1977). Analysis of the economy in the late 1960s and early 1970s can be found in Instituto de Economía, *Estudios y coyuntura,* 3 vols. (Montevideo, 1970–3).

The military's own account and documentation of its campaign against the Tupamaros and the early years of the post-1973 regime is given in Junta de Comandantes en Jefe, *Las fuerzas armadas al pueblo oriental,* vol. 1: *La subversion* (Montevideo, 1976), vol. 2: *El proceso político* (Montevideo, 1978). Alejandro Végh Villegas, *Economía política: Teoría y acción* (Montevideo, 1977), is an important source on the economic policy of the regime. There are extended accounts of recent economic performance in Luis Macadar, *Uruguay, 1974–1980: Un nuevo ensayo de reajuste económico?* (Montevideo, 1982); Jorge Notaro, *La política económica en el Uruguay, 1968–1984* (Montevideo, 1984); Centro de Investigaciones Económicas (CINVE), *La crisis uruguaya y el problema nacional* (Montevideo, 1984); Luis A. Faroppa, *Políticas para una economía disequilibrada: Uruguay, 1958–1981* (Montevideo, 1984); and James Hansen and Jaime de Melo, 'The Uruguayan experience with liberalization and stabilization, 1974–81', *JIAS,* 25/4 (1983), 477–508. The impact of the regime's policy on manufacturing is analysed in Instituto Alemán de Desarrollo, *Monetarismo en Uruguay: Efectos sobre el sector industrial* (Berlin, 1983), and the position of the rural sector is discussed in M. H. J. Finch, 'The Military regime and dominant class interests in Uruguay, 1973–82', in P. Cammack and P. O'Brien (eds.), *Generals in Retreat* (Manchester, Eng., 1985), 89–114. The social costs of the military regime are clearly established in Juan Pablo Terra and Mabel Hopenhaym, *La infancia en el Uruguay, 1973–1984* (Montevideo, 1986), and Rosario Aguirre et al., *El trabajo informal en Montevideo* (Montevideo, 1986). There are illuminating studies of the development of the natural and social sciences in Uruguay in CINVE, *Ciencia y tecnología en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1986).

The essential reference on the restoration of democratic government is Charles Guy Gillespie, *Negotiating Democracy: Politicians and Generals in Uruguay* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). Accounts of the process at earlier stages are in Luis Eduardo González, 'Uruguay 1980–1981: An unexpected opening', *LARR,* 18/3 (1983), 63–76; Charles Gillespie, Louis W. Goodman, Juan Rial and Peter Winn (eds.), *Uruguay y la democracia* (Montevideo, 1985); Carlos Filgueira, *El dilema de la democratización* (Montevideo, 1984); Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU), *Siete enfoques sobre la concertación* (Montevideo, 1984); and Juan Rial, *Partidos políticos, democracia, y autoritarismo* (Montevideo, 1984). See also

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Charles Guy Gillespie and Luis Eduardo González, 'Uruguay: The survival of old and autonomous institutions', in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, *Democracy in Developing Countries,* vol. 4, *Latin America* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 207–45. The quarterly journal *Cuadernos del Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana,* nos. 31 and 32 (1984), contains a number of useful articles on the transition to democracy. On the issue of electoral reform, see Dieter Nohlen and Juan Rial, *Reforma electoral* (Montevideo, 1986), and Angel Cocchi, *Reforma electoral y voluntad política* (Montevideo, 1988).

Aspects of Uruguay's economic and political situation at the end of the 1980s are considered in Henry Finch (ed.), *Contemporary Uruguay: Problems and Prospects* (University of Liverpool, Institute of Latin American Studies Working Paper 9, 1989). The four independent research institutes established in recent years, CINVE, CIESU, CLAEH and Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo (CIEDUR), have published a considerable quantity of material, much of it in the form of working papers.

34. PARAGUAY

Modern Paraguay begins with the Chaco War (1932–5), which has been studied by many Paraguayan and Bolivian historians, usually in a polemical fashion. An objective study, in English, is David Zook, *The Conduct of the Chaco War* (New Haven, Conn., 1960). Also of interest from the Paraguayan perspective are the memoirs of the victorious commander-in-chief José Félix Estigarribia, *The Epic of the Chaco: Marshal Estigarribia's Memoirs of the Chaco War,* translated and edited by Pablo Max Ynsfrán (Austin, Tex., 1950). On the postwar peace negotiations with Bolivia, see Leslie B. Rout, Jr., *Politics of of the Chaco Peace Conference, 1935–1939* (Austin, Tex., 1970). See also Gustavo A. Riart, *El Dr. Luis A. Riart y la defensa del Chaco* (Asunción, 1987); Agustín Blujaki, 'Presencia de la iglesia católica durante la Guerra del Chaco', *Estudios Paraguayos* (December 1984); Leandro Aponte Benítez, *La aviación paraguaya en la Guerra del Chaco* (Asunción, 1985); Ramiro Escobar, *Ráfagas de metralletas, sangre en los pajonales: Guerra del Chaco* (Asunción, 1982); Lorenzo Livieres Guggiari, *El financiamiento de la Guerra del Chaco, 1924–1935: Un desafío al liberalismo económico* (Asunción, 1983).

The February Revolution of 1936 also generated much polemical litera-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ture. The essential English-language work on the revolution, and the Febrerista party that grew out of it, is Paul H. Lewis, *The Politics of Exile* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968). The most complete defence of Colonel Franco's government is by his foreign affairs minister, Juan Stefanich, whose four-volume *Capítulos de la revolución paraguaya* was published while Stefanich was in exile in Buenos Aires during 1945 and 1946. Ruperto Resquín, *La generación paraguaya (1928–1932)* (Buenos Aires, 1978), is also useful for understanding the outlook of the young anti-Liberals who, after fighting in the Chaco War, helped bring about the February Revolution. Perhaps the best critique of the Franco government is Policarpo Artaza, *Ayala, Estigarribia, y el Partido Liberal* (Buenos Aires, 1936).

For the decade from 1937 to 1947, which covers the Paíva, Estigarribia and Morínigo years, the indispensable work is Michael Grow, *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay* (Lawrence, Kans., 1981). Grow's study not only sheds interesting light on Paraguay's domestic politics, but also relates them to competition between the United States and Germany for paramountcy in the region. See also General Amancio Pampliega, *Misión cumplida* (Asunción, 1984). Pampliega was a close aide of Estigarribia's and served Morínigo as both minister of defence and minister of interior. Another account by a member of Estigarribia's government is Carlos Pastor, *Capítulos de la historia política paraguaya, 1935–1940* (Asunción, 1986). On Axis penetration of Paraguay, see Alfredo M. Seiferheld, *Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1985). Seiferheld, whose tragic death in 1988 deprived Paraguay of perhaps its most prolific and promising modern historian, also wrote a biography of Marshal Estigarribia: *Estigarribia: Veinte años de política paraguaya* (Asunción, 1982). More polemical, but still worthwhile treatments of this period are Arturo Bray, *Armas y letras,* 3 vols. (Asunción, 1981), which is critical of Estigarribia from an Old Liberal viewpoint, and Leandro Prieto, *El proceso de la dictadura liberal de 1940 (versión documental)* (Asunción, 1985), which attacks the Estigarribia government from the Colorado side. Absolutely essential for the whole panorama of Paraguay's politics from the Chaco War to the 1947 civil war is Seiferheld's three-volume *Conversaciones político-militares* (Asunción, 1984–6), which consists of transcribed interviews with leading politicians, soldiers and intellectuals of the period; and Saturnino Ferreira's four-volume *Proceso político del Paraguay: Una visión desde la prensa* (Asunción, 1986–9), which is composed of excerpts from the contemporary press of the era 1936–47. The much-maligned General Morínigo gets his day in court in Augusto Ocampos Caballero, *Testimonios*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de un presidente (Asunción, 1983), which is based on interviews with the former president.

The 1947 civil war continues to attract the attention of Paraguayan writers since it is seen as a recent historical watershed. Older works, such as Major Antonio E. González, *La rebelión de Concepción* (Buenos Aires, 1947), and O. Barcena Echeveste, *Concepción 1947* (Asunción, 1948), are frankly pro-Colorado versions. The most recent *La revolución de 1947 y otros recuerdos* (Asunción, 1987) by Colonel Sixto Duré Franco is also by a loyalist soldier and close associate of Stroessner, but has a more dispassionate view of the subject, thanks to the passage of forty years. See also Gustavo Prieto Bustos, *Apuntes para la historia: Datos para una reseña del 9 de junio de 1946 al 20 de agosto de 1947* (Asunción, 1987), which includes some military documents. For the rebel version, see Colonel Alfredo Ramos, *Concepción 1947, la revolución derrotada* (Asunción, 1985). There is still no scholarly work that focusses exclusively on the turbulent period from the end of the civil war to Stroessner's seizure of power. Alfredo M. Sieferheld (ed.), *La caída de Federico Chaves: Una visión documental norteamericana* (Asunción, 1987) is a collection of the correspondence between the U.S. embassy in Asunción and the State Department in the years 1953 and 1954. Carlos Caballero Ferreira, founder of the 14 May movement, has described why the 1959 revolution failed in *La celda del miedo* (Asunción, 1986).

On the *stronato,* the standard work is Paul H. Lewis, *Paraguay Under Stroessner* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), but it is based on research completed in the late 1970s. This is partly remedied in a second study by Lewis, *Socialism, Liberalism, and Dictatorship in Paraguay* (New York, 1982). More recent works on the *stronato* include Carlos R. Miranda, *The Stroessner Era: Authoritarian Rule in Paraguay* (Boulder, Colo. and Oxford, 1990), and Carlos María Lezcano, *El régimen militar de Alfredo Stroessner* (Asunción, 1989). An interesting comparative essay is Paul C. Sondrol, 'Totalitarian and authoritarian dictators: A comparison of Fidel Castro and Alfredo Stroessner', *JLAS,* 23/3 (1991), 599–620. A new generation of young Paraguayan economists and sociologists has started to produce excellent studies of the contemporary scene. See, for example, the two-volume *Economía del Paraguay contemporáneo* by Carlos Fletschner et al. (Asunción, 1984); Pablo A. Herken Krauer, *Via crucis económico, 1982–86* (Asunción, 1986); and Roberto Luís Céspedes et al., *Paraguay, sociedad, economía y política* (Asunción, 1988). For the study of the colonization schemes implemented during the period 1965–85, see E. B. Zoomers, *Rural Develop-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ment and Survival Strategies in Central Paraguay (Amsterdam, 1988), and J. M. G. Kleinpenning, *Man and Land in Paraguay* (Amsterdam, 1987). The issue of Brazil's influence during the *stronato* is thoroughly explored in two excellent articles by R. Andrew Nickson: 'The Brazilian colonization of the eastern border region of Paraguay', *JLAS*, 13/1 (1981), 111–31, and 'The Itaipú hydroelectric project: The Paraguayan perspective', *BLAR*, 2/2 (1982), 1–20. The Catholic church's challenge to the regime is summarized in Kenneth Westhues, 'Curses versus blows: Tactics in church–state conflict', *Sociological Analysis*, 36 (1975), 1–16. See also Frederick Hicks, 'Politics, power, and the role of the village priest', *JIAS*, 9/2 (1967), 273–82. Hicks also provides a fine analysis of the hold that traditional party leaders exercised over the peasantry in 'Interpersonal relationships and caudillismo in Paraguay', *JIAS*, 13/1 (1971), 89–111.

Brief descriptions of political events prior to the fall of Stroessner can be found in Andrew Nickson, 'Tyranny and longevity: Stroessner's Paraguay', *Third World Quarterly*, 10/1, (1988), 237–59; and John H. Williams, 'Paraguay's Stroessner: Losing control?', *Current History*, 86 (January 1987), 25–8.

The fall of Stroessner has motivated some studies on the issue of transition and the prospects of democratization in Paraguay. See, for example, Thomas Sanders, *The Fall of Stroessner* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1989); Diego Abente, *Stronismo, Post-Stronismo and the Prospects for Democratization in Paraguay* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1989); Andrew Nickson, 'The overthrow of the Stroessner regime: Re-establishing the status quo', *BLAR*, 8/2 (1989), 185–210; Marcial Antonio Riquelme, *Hacia la transición a la democracia en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1989); Diego Abente, 'Constraints and opportunities: Prospects for democratization in Paraguay', *JIAS*, 30/1, (1989), 73–104; and Riordan Roett and Richard Scott Sacks, *Paraguay: The Personalist Legacy* (Boulder, Colo., 1991).

35. CHILE, *c.* 1930–*c.* 1960

Most important among the primary sources for this period are newspapers, especially *El Mercurio* and *El Diario Ilustrado* from the Right, *La Nación* from the government, and *La Opinión* and *El Siglo* from the Left. Periodicals, notably *Ercilla* and *Zig-Zag*, are also useful; see in particular a series of candid retrospectives with past political actors arranged by Wilfredo Mayorga in *Ercilla* during 1965–8. The tables compiled by Markos

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Mamalakis, *Historical Statistics of Chile,* 5 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1979, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985) are an indispensable source of information.

The most valuable memoirs come from President Arturo Alessandri Palma, *Recuerdos de gobierno,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1952); U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers, *Chile through Embassy Windows* (New York, 1958); President Gabriel González Videla, *Memorias,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1975); Elías Lafertte, *Vida de un comunista* (Santiago, Chile, 1961); Arturo Olavarria Bravo, *Chile entre dos Alessandri,* 4 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1962, 1965), by a professional politician; Eudocio Ravines, *La gran estafa* (Santiago, Chile, 1954), by a disillusioned Comintern agent; and General Carlos Sáez Morales, *Recuerdos de un soldado,* 3 vols. (Santiago, 1934).

The best general history of Chile is Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1988). A comprehensive contribution on the period from the 1930s to the 1950s is Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–52* (Urbana, Ill., 1978). Other basic works include the collection of articles in Universidad de Chile, *Desarrollo de Chile en la primera mitad del siglo XX,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1953), Julio César Jobet's revisionist *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1955), and Fredrick B. Pike's landmark *Chile and the United States, 1880–1962* (South Bend, Ind., 1963). Also see Mariana Aylwin et. al., *Chile en el siglo XX* (Santiago, Chile, 1983).

For political history of the period, the following works by Chileans are especially recommended: Ricardo Boizard, *Historia de una derrota* (Santiago, Chile, 1941); Fernando Casanueva Valencia and Manuel Fernández Canque, *El Partido Socialista y la lucha de clases en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1973); César Caviedes, *The Politics of Chile: A Sociogeographical Assessment* (Boulder, Colo., 1979); Carlos Charlín O., *Del avión rojo a la república socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1972); Luis Correa, *El presidente Ibáñez* (Santiago, Chile, 1962); Ricardo Cruz-Coke, *Geografía electoral de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1952) and *Historia electoral de Chile, 1925–1973* (Santiago, Chile, 1984); Luis Cruz Salas, 'Historia social de Chile, 1931–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, 1969); Ricardo Donoso, *Alessandri, agitador y demoledor,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1952, 1954); Florencio Durán, *El Partido Radical* (Santiago, Chile, 1958); Alberto Edwards Vives and Eduardo Frei Montalva, *Historia de los partidos políticos chilenos* (Santiago, Chile, 1949); Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); Juan F. Fernández C., *Pedro Aguire Cerda y el Frente Popular Chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1938); Marta Infante Barros, *Testigos del treinta y ocho* (Santi-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ago, Chile, 1972); Julio César Jobet, *El Partido Socialista de Chile,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1971); Norbert Lechner, *La democracia en Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1970); Tomás Moulian and Isabel Torres Dujisin, *Discusiones entre honorables: Las candidaturas presidenciales de la derecha, 1938–1946* (Santiago, Chile, 1988); Alfonso Stephens Freire, *El irracionalismo político en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1957); Germán Urzúa Valenzuela, *Historia política electoral de Chile, 1931–1973* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); Carlos Vicuña Fuentes, *La tiranía en Chile,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1938); and Ignacio Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago, Chile, 1990). For encyclopedic citations, scholars can refer to Jordi Fuentes and Lia Cortés, *Diccionario político de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1967).

The most useful political accounts by non-Chileans are Robert J. Alexander's political biography of *Arturo Alessandri,* 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1977); Frank Bonilla and Myron Glazer, *Student Politics in Chile* (New York, 1970); Donald W. Bray, 'Chilean politics during the second Ibáñez government, 1952–58' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1961); Michael J. Francis's treatment of a neglected topic, *The Limits of Hegemony: United States Relations with Argentina and Chile during World War II* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977); Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London, 1984); Federico G. Gil's standard *The Political System of Chile* (Boston, 1966); George Grayson, *El Partido Democrata Cristiano Chileno* (Buenos Aires, 1968); Ernst Halperin's ideological analysis, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Kalman Silvert's insightful *The Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America* (New Orleans, La., 1961; 2nd rev. ed., New York, 1966); Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton, N.Y., 1982); and John Reese Stevenson's narrative, *The Chilean Popular Front* (Philadelphia, 1942).

On the economic history of the period, the place to begin is Markos Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy* (New Haven, Conn., 1976). Other vital works include Jorge Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria* (Santiago, Chile, 1965); Oscar Alvarez Andrews, *Historia del desarrollo industrial de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1936); P. T. Ellsworth, *Chile, an Economy in Transition* (New York, 1945); Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, *Políticas económicas en Chile, 1952–1970* (Santiago, Chile, 1973); Albert O. Hirschman, 'Inflation in Chile', in *Journeys toward Progress* (Garden City, N.Y., 1965); Francisco Illanes Benítez, *La economía chilena y el comercio exterior* (Santiago, Chile, 1944); Ricardo Lagos Escobar, *La concentración del poder económico* (Santiago, Chile, 1961); Rolf Luders, 'A monetary history of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile, 1925–1958' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968); Markos Mamalakis and Clark Reynolds, *Essays on the Chilean Economy* (New York, 1965); Oscar Muñoz, *Crecimiento industrial de Chile, 1914–65* (Santiago, Chile, 1968); Luis Ortega Martínez et. al., *Corporación de Fomento de la Producción: 50 años de realizaciones, 1939–1989* (Santiago, Chile, 1989); Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, *Antecedentes sobre el desarrollo de la economía chilena, 1925–1952* (Santiago, Chile, 1954) and *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado* (Santiago, Chile, 1962); Enrique Sierra, *Tres ensayos de estabilización en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1970); United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, *Antecedentes sobre el desarrollo de la economía chilena, 1925–1952* (Santiago, Chile, 1954); Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Economía, *Desarrollo económico de Chile, 1940–1956* (Santiago, Chile, 1956); and Enrique Zañartu Prieto, *Hambre, miseria e ignorancia* (Santiago, Chile, 1938).

Agricultural and labour issues are considered in a number of monographs. On the rural sector, George M. McBride, *Chile: Land and Society* (New York, 1936); Gene Ellis Martin, *La división de la tierra en Chile central* (Santiago, Chile, 1960); Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919–1973* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976); Erico Hott Kinderman, 'Las sociedades agrícolas nacionales y su influencia en la agricultura de Chile' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, 1944); Jean Carrière, *Landowners and Politics in Chile* (Amsterdam, 1981); and Thomas C. Wright, *Landowners and Reform in Chile: The Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, 1919–40* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), stand out. On trade unions, see Jorge Barría, *El movimiento obrero en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1971); Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (London, 1972); J. Samuel Valenzuela, 'Labor movement formation and politics: The Chilean and French cases in comparative perspective, 1850–1950' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1979); and Crisóstomo Pizarro, *La huelga obrera en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1986).

The social and cultural-intellectual history of the middle decades of the twentieth century have been neglected. One exception is Felícitas Klimpel, *La mujer chilena: El aporte femenino al progreso de Chile, 1910–1960* (Santiago, Chile, 1962). A valuable recent addition is Iván Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (New York, 1989). Some older works remain valuable, especially Arturo Torres Ríoseco, *Breve historia de literatura chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1956); Fernando Alegría, *Literatura chilena del siglo XX*, 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1962); Julio Durán Cerda, *Panorama del teatro chileno, 1842–1959* (Santiago, Chile,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1959); and Raúl Silva Castro, *Historia crítica de la novela chilena, 1843–1956* (Madrid, 1960). Also see David Foster, *Chilean Literature: A Working Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Boston, 1978).

36. CHILE SINCE *c.* 1960

An important source for this period are reviews and magazines. The invaluable *Mensaje* provides a monthly mixture of political, economic and religious analysis. *Panorama Económico* is very useful on the economy. *Qué Pasa* is important for the politics of the right. *Ercilla* is an essential weekly news magazine for much of the period. The *Ercilla* journalists formed *Hoy,* after one of the many takeover deals of the Pinochet era brought *Ercilla* closer to the politics of the Pinochet government. *Hoy* is close to the PDC. Numerous other weekly magazines were intermittently affected by the capricious censorship of Pinochet's Chile; amongst the best are *APSI* and *Análisis.*

Amongst the academic publications, *Estudios CIEPLAN* provides excellent critical analysis of the economy; and *Estudios Públicos,* a mixture of economic, political and philosophical analysis from the neo-classical right. The exile journal *Chile–América,* published in Rome, is indispensable for the decade following the coup of 1973. Of the many publications that appeared during the Allende government, the *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Chile Hoy* and *Revista EURE* are important.

There are several useful bibliographical studies, including Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, 'Visions of Chile', *LARR,* 10/3 (1975); William Sater, 'A survey of recent Chilean historiography, 1965–1976', *LARR,* 14/2 (1979); Paul Drake, 'El impacto académico de los terremotos políticos: Investigaciones de la historia chilena en inglés, 1977–1983', *Alternativas* (Santiago) (January–April 1984); Benny Pollack and Jean Grugel, 'Chile before and after monetarism', *BLAR,* 3/2, 1984; Lois Hecht Oppenheim, 'The Chilean road to Socialism revisited', *LARR,* 24/1 (1989).

There are few good general accounts of the whole period, but for the period up to 1970 see Mariana Aylwin et al., *Chile en el Siglo XX* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). For electoral data, see Germán Urzua, *Historia política electoral de Chile, 1931–1973* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). A useful guide to parties and movements is Reinhard Friedman, *1964–1988: La política chilena de la A a la Z* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). An excellent interpretation

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of the politics of the Left is Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1988). Social change is examined in Javier Martínez and Eugenio Tironi, *Las clases sociales en Chile: cambio y estratificación 1970–1980* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). An excellent study of the origins of the urban poor is Vicente Espinoza, *Para una historia de los pobres de la ciudad* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

POLITICS

Most writing on the politics of this period tends to concentrate on one administration. Although it was written in 1966, Federico Gil, *The Political System of Chile* (Boston, 1966) has stood the test of time as an invaluable reference work. Rather over-rated is James Petras, *Politics and Social Forces in Chilean Development* (Berkeley, 1969). Paul Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile 1964–1976* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1978) is good on the Christian Democrats, but tends to be polemical thereafter. Although it focuses on the Allende government, full of insights for the structure of Chilean politics and an indispensable source, is Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile* (Baltimore, 1978). Another book by Valenzuela is of more general interest than its title might suggest: *Political Brokers in Chile: Local Government in a Centralized Polity* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977).

Political parties have attracted far less attention than their central political role merits. An excellent set of essays, however, is Adolfo Aldunate et al., *Estudios sobre el sistema de partidos en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). A conservative historian gives his account in Bernardino Bravo Lira, *Régimen de gobierno y partidos políticos en Chile, 1924–1973,* (Santiago, Chile, 1978). A set of comparative essays which includes articles on Chile, notably one by Tomas Moulián and Isabel Torres on the Chilean Right, is Marcelo Cavarozzi and Manuel Antonio Garretón, *Muerte y resurreción; los partidos políticos en el autoritarismo y las transiciones del Cono Sur* (Santiago, Chile, 1989).

On the PDC, see George Grayson, *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano chileno* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 1985). On the Socialists, see Fernando Casanueva and Manuel Fernández, *El Partido Socialista y la lucha de clases en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1973); and Benny Pollack et. al., *Mobilization and Socialism in Chile* (Liverpool, 1981). Ernst Halperin, *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) is still useful. More

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

recent is Benny Pollack and Hernan Rosenkranz, *Revolutionary Social Democracy: The Chilean Socialist Party* (London, 1986). See also Ignacio Walker, *Socialismo y democracia: Chile y Europa en perspectiva comparada* (Santiago, Chile, 1990). Three books develop Socialist rethinking: Jorge Arrate, *La fuerza democrática de la idea socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), and edited by the same author, *La renovación socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1987); and Ricardo Lagos, *Democracia para Chile: Proposiciones de un socialista* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). On the Communists, see Carmelo Furci, *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism* (London, 1984); Eduardo Godard Labarca, *Corvalán, 27 horas* (Santiago, Chile, 1973), and Augusto Varas (ed.), *El Partido Comunista en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

The eruption of the military into political life took academics as well as politicians by surprise. There were very few useful accounts of the military, apart from Alain Joxe, *Las fuerzas armadas en el sistema político de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), and Frederick Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History: Essays on Civil–Military Relations 1810–1973* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976). A more recent study is Hugo Frühling et. al., *Estado y fuerzas armadas* (Santiago, Chile, 1982). An early military plotter tells his story in Florencia Varas, *Conversaciones con Viaux* (Santiago, Chile, 1972). Carlos Prats tells his own story in *Memorias: Testimonio de un Soldado* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). A prominent military supporter of Pinochet has written his memoirs: Ismael Huerta Diaz, *Volvería a ser marinero,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

A pioneering study of foreign policy, partly dealing with this period, is Fredrick Pike, *Chile and the United States,* 1880–1962 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963). A Chilean study covering a long period is Walter Sánchez and Teresa Pereira, *Ciento cincuenta años de política exterior chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1979). A useful account is Francisco Orrego Vicuña, *La participación de Chile en el sistema internacional* (Santiago, Chile, 1974). The journal *Estudios Internacionales* (Santiago) carries interesting and well-documented articles on Chilean foreign policy – for example, Manfred Wilhelmy, 'Hacia un análisis de la política exterior chilena contemporánea', *Estudios Internacionales* (October–December 1979). A detailed and well-argued account of the foreign policy of the Allende government is Joaquín Fermandois, *Chile y el mundo: 1970 – 1973* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). The most comprehensive treatment of recent foreign policy is Heraldo Muñoz, *Las relaciones exteriores del gobierno militar chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). On relations with the United States, see Heraldo Muñoz and Carlos Portales, *Una amistad esquiva: Las relaciones de EE.UU. y Chile*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Santiago, Chile, 1987) and William F. Sater, *Chile and the United States*, (Athens, Ga., 1991).

THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

A useful summary of the major issues in Chilean economic development is Robert Zahler et al., *Chile, 1940–1975: Treinta y cinco años de discontinuidad económica* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). The economic policies of the Alessandri and Frei administrations are dealt with in Enrique Sierra, *Tres ensayos de estabilización en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1969). A very useful collection in the area of political economy is Aníbal Pinto et al., *Chile, Hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1970). An excellent technical account is Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, *Políticas económicas en Chile, 1952–1970* (Santiago, Chile, 1973). A controversial and stimulating work is Markos Mamalakis, *The Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy from Independence to Allende* (Washington, D.C. 1976). A great deal of useful data is available in the World Bank Report, *Chile: An Economy in Transition* (Washington, D.C., 1980). Markos Mamalakis has published five volumes of the indispensable *Historical Statistics of Chile* (London, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1986). An interesting comparative study of the three civilian administrations is Barbara Stallings, *Class Conflict and Economic Development in Chile* (Stanford, Calif., 1978). Markos Mamalakis and Clark Reynolds, *Essays on the Chilean Economy* (New York, 1965) is excellent on copper and public policy. A useful collection of data appears in Oficina de Planificación Nacional (ODEPLAN), *Antecedentes del desarrollo económico, 1960–1970* (Santiago, Chile, 1971). Oscar Landerretche, 'Inflation and socio-political conflicts in Chile, 1955–1970' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1983) is extremely perceptive. Industrialization is examined in Oscar Muñoz, *Chile y su industrialización: Pasado, crisis y opciones* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). Social policy is examined in José Pablo Arellano, *Políticas sociales y desarrollo: Chile, 1924–1984* (Santiago, Chile, 1985).

The copper sector is covered in two excellent studies: Theodore Moran, *Multinational Corporations and the Politics of Dependence: Copper in Chile*, (Princeton, N.J., 1974); and Ricardo Ffrench-Davis and Ernesto Tironi (eds.), *El cobre en el desarrollo nacional* (Santiago, Chile, 1974). See also the earlier but still useful studies by Mario Vera, *La política económica del cobre* (Santiago, Chile, 1961), and *Una política definitiva para nuestras riquezas básicas* (Santiago, Chile, 1969).

A scholarly and impressive account of rural labour, which perhaps over

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

emphasises the extent of conflict, is in Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labour in Chile, 1919–1973* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976). The basic source of data is the CIDA report, *Chile: Tenencia de la tierra y desarrollo socio-económico del sector agrícola* (Washington, D.C., 1966). See also Luz Eugenia Cereceda and Fernando Dahse, *Dos décadas de cambios en el agro chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1980). For the PDC and UP reforms, see Solon Barraclough and Juan Fernández, *Diagnóstico de la reforma agraria chilena* (Buenos Aires, 1974); Kyle Steenland, *Agrarian Reform under Allende: Peasant Revolt in the South* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1978); and Robert Kaufman, *The Politics of Land Reform in Chile, 1950–1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973). For more recent developments, see Sergio Gómez, *Instituciones y procesos agrarios en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1982). Jacques Chonchol's work is important: see, for example, the chapter in Aníbal Pinto (ed.), *Chile, Hoy;* and 'La reforma agraria en Chile, 1970–1973' *TE,* 53 (1976). Post-coup policies are examined in Lovell Jarvis, *Chilean Agriculture under Military Rule* (Berkeley, 1985), and in Patricio Silva, *Estado, neoliberalismo y política agraria en Chile, 1973–1981* (Amsterdam, 1987), and José Garrido (ed.), *Historia de la reforma agraria en Chile* (Santiago, Chile 1988). An excellent more recent set of essays is David Hojman (ed.), *Neo-Liberal Agriculture in Rural Chile* (London, 1990).

The pioneer of labour studies in Chile, Jorge Barría, wrote extensively on the subject: see especially *Trayectoria y estructura del movimiento sindical chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1963) and *Historia de la CUT* (Santiago, Chile, 1971). Urban and mining labour is examined in Alan Angell, *Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile* (Oxford, 1972), for the period up to 1970. Indispensable for the rural union movement up to 1970 is Almino Affonso, Sergio Gómez and Emilio Klein, *Movimiento campesino chileno,* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1970). An excellent study of labour under Pinochet is Guillermo Campero and José Valenzuela, *El movimiento sindical chileno en el capitalismo autoritario* (Santiago, Chile, 1981). A fascinating study at the local level – an altogether too rare example – is Penelope Pollitt, *Religion and Politics in a Coal Mining Community in Southern Chile* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1981). Another rare example of detailed empirical work is Manuel Barrera et al., *El cambio social en una empresa del APS* (Santiago, Chile, 1973). An earlier study of worker attitudes is Torcuato di Tella et al., *Huachipato et Lota: Etude sur la conscience ouvrière dans deux entreprises chilennes* (Paris, 1966).

The role of workers under the UP government is examined in Juan Espinosa and Andrew Zimbalist, *Economic Democracy: Workers' Participation*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Chilean Industry, 1970–1973 (New York, 1978); and in two short monographs by Francisco Zapata, *Los mineros de Chuquicamata: Productores o proletarios,* (Mexico, D.F., 1975) and *Las relaciones entre el movimiento obrero y el gobierno de Allende* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). A brilliant account of a worker takeover is Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York, 1986). Useful accounts of labour under Pinochet are Gonzalo Falabella, *Labour in Chile under the Junta,* Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, Working Paper no. 4 (1981); a publication of the Chilean research centre Vector, *El movimiento sindical* (Santiago, Chile, 1981); J. Roddick and N. Haworth, 'Labour and Monetarism in Chile', *BLAR,* 1/1 (1981); and Manuel Barrera et al., *Sindicatos y estado en el Chile actual* (Geneva, 1985).

On the entrepreneurial sector, there is a detailed analysis of the structure of organizations in Genaro Arriagada, *La oligarquía patronal chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1970). Marcelo Cavarozzi, 'The government and the industrial bourgeoisie in Chile, 1938–1964' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1975) contains a great deal of useful information. An excellent study of recent entrepreneurial behaviour is by Guillermo Campero, *Los gremios empresariales en el período 1970–1983* (Santiago, Chile, 1984). The ideology of an important voice of the entrepreneurial sector is examined in Guillermo Sunkel, *El Mercurio: Diez años de educación político ideológico, 1969–1979* (Santiago, Chile, 1983).

Three books begin the task of writing the history of womens' involvement in political life: Julieta Kirkwood, *Ser política en Chile: Las feministas y los partidos* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); María Angélica Maza, *La otra mitad de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); and María Elena Valenzuela, *La mujer en el Chile militar* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). See also the chapter on feminist politics in Chile by Patricia M. Chuchryk in Jane Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America* (London, 1989).

An impressive study of the church in the last few decades in Chile is Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). On the role of the church in the Pinochet years, see Enrique Correa and Jose Antonio Viera Gallo, *Iglesia y dictadura* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); and Patricio Dooner (ed.), *La iglesia católica y el futuro político de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). On Protestantism, see Humberto Lagos, *Los Evangélicos en Chile: Una lectura sociológica* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). See also Maria Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco Pastene, *La iglesia chilena y los cambios sociopolíticos* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

Education is examined in Kathleen Fischer, *Political Ideology and Educa-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tional Reform in Chile, 1964–1976, (Los Angeles, 1979); and in Guillermo Labarca, *Educación y sociedad: Chile, 1969–1984* (Amsterdam, 1985). An interesting account of the development of philosophy in Chile, including the Pinochet period, is Iván Jaksić, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (New York 1989).

THE FREI GOVERNMENT

An excellent study of policy making during the Frei government is Peter Cleaves, *Bureaucratic Politics and Administration in Chile* (Berkeley, 1974). An insider's account is Sergio Molina, *El proceso de cambio en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1977). Arturo Olavarria Bravo has written several volumes of opinionated narrative under the title of *Chile bajo la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago, Chile, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969). The best overall account is Ricardo Yocelevsky, *La Democracia Cristiana chilena y el gobierno de Eduardo Frei* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). See also Patricio Dooner, *Cambios sociales y conflicto político: El conflicto político nacional durante el gobierno de Eduardo Frei* (Santiago, Chile, 1984).

THE POPULAR UNITY GOVERNMENT

There is a huge literature on the Popular Unity period. For a fascinating account of the origins of the UP government, see Eduardo Labarca, *Chile al rojo* (Santiago, Chile, 1971). A great deal of sociological data for the period is contained in Manuel Castells, *La lucha de clases en Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1974). Excellent collections of essays are S. Sideri (ed.), *Chile, 1970–1973: Economic Development and Its International Setting* (The Hague, 1979); Arturo Valenzuela and Samuel Valenzuela (eds.), *Chile: Politics and Society* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1976); and Federico Gil et al. (eds.), *Chile at the Turning Point: Lessons of the Socialist Years, 1970–1973* (Philadelphia, 1979). A valuable account, compiled during the UP period, is J. Ann Zammit (ed.), *The Chilean Road to Socialism* (Sussex, Eng., 1973); and after the coup, Philip O'Brien (ed.), *Allende's Chile* (London, 1976). The collection edited by Kenneth Medhurst, *Allende's Chile* (London, 1972), has some interesting essays. A useful recent account of the period is Edy Kaufman, *Crisis in Chile: New Perspectives* (New York, 1988). An intelligent critique from a conservative standpoint is Mark Falcoff, *Modern Chile, 1970–1988: A Critical History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989).

A collection of Allende's speeches gives some idea of his policy and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

aims: Salvador Allende, *Chile's Road to Socialism* (London, 1973). Allende's aims are more interestingly explored in Regis Debray, *Conversations with Allende* (London, 1971). At times rather pretentious, but at other times an indispensable source, is the account by Allende's aide, Joan Garcés, *Allende y la experiencia chilena* (Barcelona, 1976). Widely used, though written rather too close to the event, is Ian Roxborough, Phil O'Brien and Jackie Roddick, *Chile: The State and Revolution* (London, 1977). Perceptive reflections of a journalist-politician are contained in Luis Maira, *Dos años de Unidad Popular* (Santiago, Chile, 1973). Two leading Chilean sociologists provide an interpretation in Manuel A. Garretón and Tomás Moulián, *Análisis coyuntural y proceso político* (San José, C.R., 1978). See also Eduardo Novoa, *Via legal hacia el socialismo? El caso de Chile, 1970–1973* (Caracas, 1978). Few leading politicians of the period have written their memoirs, but in Patricia Politzer, *Altamirano* (Buenos Aires, 1989) a leading Socialist radical justifies his role.

On the economic policy of the UP, the best argued and most informative work is that of a former minister of the government, Sergio Bitar, *Chile: Experiment in Democracy* (Philadelphia, 1986). Another leading economist gives his account in Gonzalo Martner, *El gobierno de Salvador Allende 1970–1973: Una evaluación* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). An influential early post mortem is Stefan de Vylder, *Allende's Chile: The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Popular Unity* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). Not very accessible, but of importance, is José Serra and Arturo León, *La redistribución del ingreso en Chile durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular,* Documento de Trabajo No. 70, FLACSO (Santiago, 1978). See also Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View* (New York, 1977). Two reports of the Instituto de Economía of the University of Chile are worth consulting: *La economía chilena en 1971* and *La economía chilena en 1972.*

An interesting case study of the state sector of the economy is Samuel Cogan, 'The nationalization of manufacturing firms in Chile, 1970–1973; A case study of the building materials sector' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1981). A rather optimistic account of the UP's economic strategy written before the coup is Sergio Ramos, *Chile: Una economía de transición* (Havana, 1972). A work that stresses the neglect of short-term financial management is Stephany Griffith-Jones, *The Role of Finance in the Transition to Socialism* (London, 1981).

The frantic politics of the period are not treated so well as the economy. A detailed article is Atilio Borón, 'La movilización política en Chile', *Foro*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Internacional (Mexico), 16/1 (1975), 64–121. See also Alan Angell, *Political Mobilization and Class Alliances in Chile, 1970–1973* (Rotterdam, 1978), which contains extensive references to discussions on *poder popular.* A case study of an important strike is Sergio Bitar and Crisóstomo Pizarro, *La caída de Allende y la huelga de El Teniente* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). The left-wing Socialist, Carlos Altamirano, offers his explanation of what went wrong in *Dialéctica de una derrota* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Very moving is the work of the French sociologist Alain Touraine, *Vida y muerte del gobierno popular* (Buenos Aires, 1974). Problems of ideology and cultural politics are discussed in Manuel Antonio Garretón et al., *Cultura y comunicaciones de masas* (Barcelona, 1975). Relations with the Soviet Union are the theme of Isabel Turrent, *La Unión Soviética en América Latina: El caso de la Unidad Popular chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). The important episode of the educational reform proposal is well treated in Joseph Farrell, *The National Unified School in Allende's Chile* (Vancouver, 1986); and judicial changes are discussed in Jack Spence, *Search for Justice: Neighborhood Courts in Allende's Chile* (Boulder, Colo., 1979).

The question of U.S. involvement in the coup first surfaced in the Staff Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Intelligence Activities, *Covert Action in Chile, 1963–1973* (Washington D.C., 1975), though a Chilean ambassador had already documented some covert interference in Armando Uribe, *La livre noir de l'intervention américaine au Chile* (Paris, 1974). See also James Petras and Morris Morley, *The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Allende Government* (New York, 1975). A fascinating account is by U.S. Ambassador Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Allende* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985). A savage attack by a leading journalist on U.S. policy is contained in Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the White House Years* (Boston, 1980).

There is relatively little on the opposition to Allende. Some suggestive ideas are contained in Paul W. Drake, 'Corporatism and functionalism in modern Chilean politics', *JLAS,* 10/1 (1978), 83–116; and also the last chapter of the same author's *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952* (Urbana, Ill., 1978), which is a valuable political commentary on events leading to the coup. Pablo Baraona et al., *Chile: A Critical Survey* (Santiago, Chile, 1972), contains some interesting essays from the Right. The events of the coup itself are brilliantly narrated in Ignacio González Camus, *El día en que murió Allende* (Santiago, Chile, 1988).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT

On the Pinochet period there are several excellent studies of the economy. See particularly Alejandro Foxley, *Latin American Experiments in Neo-Conservative Economics* (Berkeley, 1983); the collective work by the economists at CIEPLAN, *Modelo económico chileno: Trayectoria de una crítica* (Santiago, 1982); Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, 'The monetarist experiment in Chile', *World Development*, 11/11 (1983), and Christian Anglade and Carlos Fortín, *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America* (London, 1985). Plans for escaping from the collapse of the boom of the 'Chicago boys' are contained in CIEPLAN, *Reconstrucción económica para la democracia* (Santiago, Chile, 1983).

A perceptive account of the problems of economic stabilisation in this period is by Laurence Whitehead, in Rosemary Thorp and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Inflation and Stabilisation in Latin America* (London, 1979). See also Whitehead's later account in Rosemary Thorp and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis* (London, 1987). A study of the process of economic concentration which caused a minor political storm is Fernando Dahse, *El mapa de la extrema riqueza* (Santiago, Chile, 1979). An excellent criticism of free-market policies, and alternative recommendations, is Alejandro Foxley, *Para una democracia estable* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). A defence of free-market policies is Alvaro Bardon et al., *Una década de cambios económicos: La experiencia chilena, 1973–1983* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). See also Sebastián Edwards and A. C. Edwards, *Monetarism and Liberalism: The Chilean Experiment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

An insider account of the role of the 'Chicago boys' is Arturo Fontaine, *Los economistas y el Presidente Pinochet* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). The origins of the free-market school in Chile are thoroughly analysed in Juan Gabriel Valdés, *La Escuela de Chicago: Operación Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1989). A highly-publicized eulogy of the free-market experiment is Joaquín Lavin, *La revolución silenciosa* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). A damaging critique stressing the social costs of the experiment is Eugenio Tironi, *Los silencios de la revolución* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). The extent of poverty is documented in Eugenio Ortega and Ernesto Tironi, *Pobreza en Chile* (Santiago, 1988). Two journalists provide an up-to-date account of the whole Pinochet period: M. Délano and H. Traslaviña, *La herencia de los Chicago Boys* (Santiago, Chile, 1989).

The politics of the Pinochet era is discussed in the brief but useful P.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

O'Brien and J. Roddick, *Chile: The Pinochet Decade* (London, 1983). A massively detailed and indispensable book by three journalists which covers the whole period is Ascanio Cavallo, Manuel Salazar and Oscar Sepúlveda, *La historia oculta del régimen militar* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). An overall interpretation of the political economy of the Pinochet period is Karen Remmer, *Military Rule in Latin America* (London, 1989). The Constitution of 1980 is examined in detail in Luz Bulnes Aldunate, *Constitución política de la república de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1981). A set of essays covering events up to 1980 is J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions* (Baltimore, 1986). Covering the 1980s is the excellent collection of essays in Paul Drake and Iván Jaksić (eds.), *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile, 1982–1990* (Lincoln, Nebr., and London, 1992).

The role of the press is explored in Fernando Reyes Matta et al., *Investigaciones sobre la prensa en Chile (1974–1984)* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). Cultural policy is analysed in José Joaquín Brunner, *La cultura autoritaria en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1981). An excellent study of public opinion is Carlos Huneeus, *Los chilenos y la política: Cambio y continuidad en el autoritarismo* (Santiago, 1987).

Pinochet's own account of his involvement in the coup is contained in Augusto Pinochet, *El día decisivo* (Santiago, Chile, 1977). Rather more revealing of the man and his ideas is Raquel Correa and Elizabeth Subercaseaux, *Ego Sum Pinochet* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). Another military man – now disillusioned – gives his view in Florencia Varas, *Gustavo Leigh: El general disidente* (Santiago, Chile, 1979). The best more recent accounts are Genaro Arriagada, *La política militar de Pinochet* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), and Augusto Varas, *Los militares en el poder: Régimen y gobierno militar en Chile, 1973–1986* (Santiago, Chile, 1987).

An impressive attempt to evaluate the politics of Chile since 1970 is Manuel Antonio Garretón, *El proceso político chileno* (Santiago, Chile, 1983), and there is a welcome English translation of this, *The Chilean Political Process* (London, 1989). The numerous FLACSO documents by Garretón and Tomás Moulián constitute a running commentary on politics and society since 1973. Moulián's constantly stimulating ideas are brought together in his *Democracia y socialismo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1983). A useful collection of writings of FLACSO researchers is contained in Manuel Antonio Garretón et al., *Chile 1973–198?* (Santiago, Chile, 1983). A leading political figure collects his articles together in Genaro Arriagada, *10 años: Visión crítica* (Santiago, Chile, 1983). On the first phase of military

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

rule, see Tomás Moulián and Pilar Vergara, 'Estado, ideología y política económica en Chile, 1973–1978', in *Estudios CIEPLAN*, 3 (1980). A comprehensive account of the ideology of the regime is Pilar Vergara, *Auge y caída del neoliberalismo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). Two lucid and informative articles are Carlos Huneeus, 'La política de la apertura y sus implicancias para la inauguración de la democracia en Chile' and 'Inauguración de la democracia en Chile', in *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 7/1 (1985) and 8/1–2 (1986).

A study of the shanty towns in the Pinochet years is Rodrigo Baño, *Lo social y lo político* (Santiago, Chile, 1985), and another is Guillermo Campero, *Entre la sobrevivencia y la acción política* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). A series of interviews explains the desperation of the youth of the shanty towns, in Patricia Politzer, *La ira de Pedro y los otros* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe (PREALC) has documented the work and lives of the poor in Chile in a series of scholarly works: *Sobrevivir en la calle: El comercio ambulante en Santiago* (Santiago, Chile, 1988); David Benavente, *A medio morir cantando: 13 testimonios de cesantes* (Santiago, Chile, 1985); and Jorge Alvarez, *Los hijos de la erradicación* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). There are numerous studies of the social conditions of the pobladores. Amongst them are Clarisa Hardy, *Organizarse para vivir: Pobreza urbana y organización popular* (Santiago, Chile, 1987); and Dagmar Raczynski and Claudia Serrano, *Vivir la pobreza: Testimonios de mujeres* (Santiago, Chile, 1985).

The murky world of state terrorism is, by definition, difficult to examine, but the book by Thomas Hauser, *Missing* (London, 1982), asks some awkward questions – later given wide publicity in a film of the same name. On the hideous assassination of Orlando Letelier, see John Dinges and Saul Landau, *Assassination on Embassy Row* (New York, 1980), and Taylor Branch and Eugene Propper, *Labyrinth* (New York, 1982). An account of domestic brutality is contained in Maximo Pachecho, *Lonquén* (Santiago, Chile, 1980). The issue of exile is examined by Alan Angell and Susan Carstairs, 'The exile question in Chilean politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 9/1 (1987), 148–67. Three leading politicians write movingly of their experience of exile, of imprisonment, and of their beliefs: Erich Shnacke, *De improviso la nada* (Santiago, Chile, 1988), Clodomiro Almeyda, *Reencuentro con mi vida* (Santiago, Chile, 1988), and Jorge Arrate, *Exilio: Textos de denuncia y esperanza* (Santiago, Chile, 1987).

The violation of human rights by the Pinochet government has been extensively documented. See for example the report of Amnesty Interna-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tional, *Chile* (London, 1974), and those of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, *Report on the Status of Human Rights in Chile* (Washington, D.C., 1974); and subsequent reports of the same organisation issued in 1976, 1977, and 1985. A three-volume work by members of the Vicaria de la Solidaridad provides a graphic account of human rights violations: Eugenio Ahumada et al., *Chile: La memoria prohibida* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). See also Hugo Frühling (ed.), *Represión política y defensa de los derechos humanos* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). A moving account of massacres in the north of Chile following the coup is Patricia Verdugo, *Caso Arellano: Los Zarpazos del Puma* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up by the Aylwin government published its findings in *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación,* 3 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1991). Many books have recounted the long years of suffering under the Pinochet dictatorship. Two are quite outstanding. Sergio Bitar describes his fate in the concentration camps created by the regime for leading members of the UP government in *Isla 10* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). An account of the fate of various individuals – some of whom did very well, some of whom suffered appallingly – is Patricia Politzer, *Miedo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1985).

THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

The theme of the transition to democracy is explored with great insight in Manuel Antonio Garretón, *Reconstruír la política: Transición y consolidación democrática en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1987). The plebiscite of October 1988 is examined in the 'Report by the International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to observe the Chilean Plebiscite', *BLAR,* 8/2 (1989); and in the report of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, *Chile's Transition to Democracy: The 1988 Presidential Plebiscite* (Washington, D.C., 1988). An examination of the role of international support for the opposition to Pinochet both before and during the plebiscite is Alan Angell, 'La cooperación internacional en el apoyo de la democracia en América Latina: el caso de Chile', *Foro Interacional,* 30/118 (1989), 215–45. A graphic account of the whole year is Esteban Tomic, *1988 y el general bajo al llano* (Santiago, Chile, 1989). The elections of December 1989 are analysed in Alan Angell and Benny Pollack, 'The Chilean elections of December 1989 and the politics of the transition to democracy', *BLAR,* 9/1 (1990). See also César Caviedes, *Elections in*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile: The Road toward Redemocratization (Boulder, Colo., and London, 1991).

37. PERU, 1930–*c.* 1960

The best general political history of Peru, with an extensive bibliography, is D. P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale, Ill., 1978). The period from 1930 to 1960 is accorded chapters in other general histories: F. B. Pike, *The Modern History of Peru* (London, 1967); R. B. Marette, *Peru* (London, 1969); H. Dobyns and P. C. Doughty, *Peru: A Cultural History* (New York, 1976); and J. Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima, 1978). Jorge Basadre's massive *Historia de la República del Perú,* 10 vols., 5th ed. (Lima, 1961–4) peters out in 1933, and much Peruvian historical writing on the subsequent three decades is either polemical or takes the form of personal reminiscences by political figures. The 1970s and 1980s spawned a new generation of work by both foreign and Peruvian scholars; for an introductory survey see R. Miller, 'Introduction: Some reflections on foreign research and Peruvian history', in R. Miller (ed.), *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History* (Liverpool, 1987), 7–20.

D. M. Masterson, 'The Peruvian armed forces in transition, 1939–1963: The impact of national politics and changing professional perspectives' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976) and 'Soldiers, sailors and Apristas: Conspiracy and power politics in Peru, 1932–1948', in J. F. Bratzel and D. M. Masterson (eds.), *The Underside of Latin American History* (East Lansing, Mich., 1977), provide an excellent detailed analysis of political events, focussing on the role of the military. Foreign policy issues, particularly the Leticia case and the war with Ecuador, are covered in Ronald Bruce St. John, 'The end of innocence: Peruvian foreign policy and the U.S., 1919–1942', *JLAS,* 8/2 (1976), 325–44. On the role of the church, see two books by J. L. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977) and *La iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde la independencia* (Lima, 1988; Eng. trans., 1992); and C. A. Astiz, 'The Catholic church in Latin American politics: A case study of Peru', in D. H. Pollock and A. R. M. Ritter (eds.), *Latin American Prospects for the 1970s: What Kinds of Revolution?* (New York, 1973). Two analyses of Peruvian class structure and political life written during the 1960s, and typical of conventional thinking in that decade, are C. A. Astiz, *Pressure Groups and Power Elites in Peruvian Politics* (Ithaca,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

N.Y., 1969) and F. Bourricaud, *Power and Society in Contemporary Peru* (London, 1970).

A general economic history focussing on the modern sectors of the economy is R. Thorp and G. Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London, 1978), parts 3 and 4. The pioneering work on quantitative economic history by Shane Hunt appeared in a number of discussion papers from the Woodrow Wilson School Research Program in Economic Development, Princeton University; for citations see Thorp and Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977*, 436–7. Besides his statistical working papers, Hunt has published 'Distribution, growth and government economic behaviour in Peru', in G. Ranis (ed.), *Government and Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1972), 375–416; 'Foreign investment in Peru: New rules for an old game' in A. Lowenthal (ed.) *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change under Military Rule* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 302–49; and *Real Wages and Economic Growth in Peru 1900–1940*, Boston Center for Latin American Development Studies, Discussion Paper No. 25 (1977).

On the evolution of real wages through the 1940s and 1950s, see W. Warren, *Inflation and Real Wages in Underdeveloped Countries; India, Peru and Turkey* (London, 1976). Trends in the 1930s are discussed in W. Derpich, J. L. Huiza and C. Israel, *Lima años 30: Salarios y costo de la vida de la clase trabajadora* (Lima, 1985); and D. Bruce, 'La Depresión de 1930 y los ingresos', in H. Bonilla (ed.), *Las crisis económicas en la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1986), 231–62.

R. Hopkins, *La producción agropecuario en el Perú, 1944–1969: Una aproximación estadística* (Lima, 1979), and A. Figueroa, 'La agricultura y el desarrollo capitalista en el Perú', in J. Iguiñiz (ed.), *La cuestión rural en el Perú* (Lima, 1983), 225–34, extend earlier historical analyses of agriculture. A long-run GDP series prior to the period covered by official data is C. Boloña, 'Peru: Estimaciones preliminares del producto nacional, 1900–1942', *Apuntes*, 13 (1983), 3–14. F. Durand, 'La industrialización en el Perú: Bibliografía', *Estudios Andinos*, 17–18 (1981), 195–246, contains a large number of references on manufacturing. Wage and productivity trends in the mining industry are assembled by Elizabeth Dore, *The Peruvian Mining Industry: Growth, Stagnation and Crisis* (Boulder, Colo., 1988), a book which, however, falls disappointingly short of its ambitious aim of uncovering the internal logic of the labour process as an alternative to dependency models.

Trends in income distribution during the 1950s are documented by R. C. Webb, *The Distribution of Income in Peru*, Princeton University, Wood-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

row Wilson School Research Program in Economic Development, Discussion Paper No. 26 (Princeton, N.J., 1972) and *Trends in Real Income in Peru,* Discussion Paper No. 41 (Princeton, N.J., 1974); and also by R. Vandendries, 'Income distribution in Peru after World War II', *Journal of Developing Areas,* 8 (1974), 421–36. Similar conclusions on regressive trends in distribution, based on food-supply data, were reached in R. Thorp, 'A note on food supplies, the distribution of income and national income accounting in Peru', *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics,* 31/4 (1969), 229–41.

The role of U.S. capital, and the political aspects of foreign investment and aid during the period, are discussed in J. C. Carey, *Peru and the United States* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1964). A useful history of the Standard Oil subsidiary which epitomised foreign capital to most Peruvians is A. J. Pinelo, *The Multinational Corporations as a Force in Latin American Politics – A Case Study of the International Petroleum Company in Peru* (New York, 1973).

Discussion of the evolution of rural society in the sierra rests heavily upon the pioneering research of J. Martínez-Alier, 'Los huachilleros en las haciendas de la Sierra Central del Perú desde 1930' in E. Florescano (ed.), *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1975), 433–44, and *Haciendas, Plantations and Collective Farms* (London, 1977); and also on C. F. Oman, 'The formation of capitalist society in Peru: "Dualism" and underdevelopment' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1978). Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983) has detailed case studies of the Yanamarca Valley and a useful bibliography on the recent literature for the central sierra. Events in the northern sierra are described in L. Taylor, 'Main trends in agrarian capitalist development: Cajamarca, Peru, 1880–1976' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1979). The work of T. R. Ford, *Man and Land in Peru* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962) is useful on the situation in the early 1950s, and social mobility in the south is studied in F. Bourricaud, *Changements à Puno* (Paris, 1960). F. L. Tullis, *Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) provides some case studies of rural conflicts in the central sierra during the 1940s. An overview of agrarian conflicts in both sierra and coast, with emphasis on the latter, is C. Harding, 'Land reform and social conflict', in A. F. Lowenthal (ed.), *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change under Military Rule* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 220–53. See also J. Deústua, 'Sobre movimientos campesinos e historia regional

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

en el Perú moderno: Un comentario bibliográfico', *Revista Andina* 1/1 (1983), 219–40.

Knowledge of modern sierra history expanded rapidly during the 1970s, due partly to major field-research programmes by anthropologists and sociologists, and partly to the opening up of hacienda archives following the 1969 agrarian reform, a bonanza for scholarship described in H. Rodríguez Pastro, 'El Archivo del Fuero Agrario, Lima, Peru', *LARR*, 14/3 (1979), 202–6. Examples of the fieldwork programmes are Bryan Roberts, 'The social history of a provincial town: Huancayo, 1890–1972', in R. Miller, C. T. Smith and J. Fisher (eds.), *Social and Economic Change in Modern Peru* (Liverpool, 1976); Fiona Wilson, 'Conflict between indigenous and immigrant commercial systems in the Peruvian central sierra, 1900–1940', in R. Miller (ed.), *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History* (Liverpool, 1987), 125–61; N. Long and B. Roberts, *Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1978) and *Peasants and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984); W. F. Whyte and G. Alberti, *Power, Politics and Social Change in Rural Peru* (New York, 1976); and B. Orlove, *Alpaca, Sheep and Men: The Wool Export Economy in Southern Peru* (New York, 1977).

Archive-based work by Peruvian historians has focussed on the rise of peasant movements and the crisis of the hacienda; see for example M. Burga and A. Flores Galindo, 'Feudalismo andino y movimientos sociales', in J. Mejía Baca (ed.), *Historia del Peru* (Lima, 1980), vol. 11; A. Flores Galindo, 'Apuntes sobre las ocupaciones de tierras y el sindicalismo agrario, 1945–1964', *Allpanchis*, 11 (1978), 175–85; G. Renique, 'Movimientos campesinos en la sociedad ganadero del centro, 1910–1950', *Allpanchis*, 11 (1978), 129–50; W. Kapsoli, *Los movimientos campesinos en Cerro de Pasco, 1800–1963* (Lima, 1975); M. Burga and W. Reátegui, *Lanas y capital mercantil en el sur: La Casa Ricketts, 1895–1935* (Lima, 1981); G. Renique, 'Tendencias y características en el desarrollo de una empresa ganadera en los Andes centrales: El caso de la Sociedad Ganadera del Centro, 1910–1960', *Tierra y Sociedad: Revista del Archivo del Fuero Agrario* (Lima), 1/1 (1978), 39–59; and J. Iguiñiz (ed.), *La cuestíon rural en el Perú* (Lima, 1983), especially the chapter by H. Bonilla, 'Estudios sobre la formación del sistema agrario peruano: Logros y perspectivas', 235–60. A survey of events which includes the period 1930–62 is P. Kamman, *Movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1900–1968: Análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo preliminar* (Lima, 1982).

Also useful on the rise of peasant movements in mid-century is T. M.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half-Century of Experience, 1900–1948* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1974). The exceptional peasant movements in La Convención valley is discussed in W. W. Craig, *From Hacienda to Community: An Analysis of Solidarity and Social Change in Peru,* Cornell University Latin American Studies Program, Dissertation ser. no. 6 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976); E. J. Hobsbawm, 'La Convención, Peru: A case of neo-feudalism', *JLAS,* 1/1 (1969), 31–50; and E. Fioravanti, *Latifundio y sindicalismo agrario en el Perú* (Lima, 1976).

A good provincial history of Puno is D. Hazen, 'The awakening of Puno: Government policy and the Indian problem in southern Peru, 1900–1955' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974); see also G. Appleby, 'Las transformaciones del sistema de mercados en Puno, 1890–1960', *Análisis: Cuadernos de Investigación* (Lima), 8–9 (1979), 55–71. A classic study of social change in the northern sierra is S. Miller, 'Hacienda to plantation in northern Peru: The process of proletarianisation of a tenant farmer society', in J. Steward (ed.), *Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies* (Urbana, Ill., 1967). The political role of the sierra elite in the early twentieth century is covered in R. Miller, 'The coastal elite and Peruvian politics, 1895–1919', *JLAS,* 14/2 (1982), 97–120.

The Lima *barriadas,* resulting from the rapid rural–urban migration of the 1950s, are described in J. Matos Mar, 'Migration and urbanization – The barriadas of Lima, an example of integration into urban life', in P. M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America* (New York, 1961), 170–90, and in D. Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs: Authoritarian Rule and Policy Change in Peru* (Baltimore, 1976). Chapters 4 and 5 of Collier's book are particularly useful on policy responses during the period 1945–1962. For discussion of the importance of village-based organisation in the Lima barriadas, see Bryan Roberts, 'Urban migration and change in provincial organisation in the central sierras of Peru', University of Manchester mimeo (1974). An analysis of inter-regional migration flows based on the censuses of 1940, 1961 and 1971 is A. Ortiz S., *Migraciones internas y desarrollo desigual: Perú, 1940–1972* (Lima, 1982).

Modernization of coastal agriculture is covered in C. Collin-Delavaud, 'Consecuencias de la modernización de la agricultura en las haciendas de la Costa Norte del Peru', in H. Favre (ed.), *La hacienda en el Perú* (Lima, 1967). The history of rural class struggle on the coast is still patchy; for useful pointers, see Harding's essay in Lowenthal (ed.), *The Peruvian Experiment,* cited above. Most intensively studied has been the Chancay Valley north of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Lima, where a series of projects sponsored by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos has been conducted; see, for example, J. Matos Mar, *Yanaconaje y reforma agraria en el Perú* (Lima, 1976). See also H. Rodríguez Pastor, *Caquí: Estudio de una hacienda costeña* (Lima, 1969), and M. Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: El Valle de Jequetepec del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima, 1976). On the emergence of the sugar-plantation proletariat, see, for the period up to the 1930s, M. J. Gonzales, *Plantation Agriculture and Social Control in Northern Peru, 1875–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1985) and W. Albert, 'The creation of a proletariat in Peru's coastal plantations, 1880–1920', in B. Munslow and H. Finch (eds.), *Proletarianisation in the Third World: Studies in the Creation of a Labour Force Under Dependent Capitalism* (London, 1984), 99–120. For the period after the 1930s, see C. Scott, 'Peasants, proletarianisation and articulation of modes of production: The case of sugar cane cutters in northern Peru', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* 3/3 (1976), 321–41. An excellent analysis of the emergence and character of the institution of *yanaconaje* is in the Appendix to W. Albert, *An Essay on the Peruvian Sugar Industry, 1880–1920* (Norwich, Eng., 1976).

The Peruvian oligarchy is described, with three detailed family case studies, in D. Gilbert, 'The Oligarchy and the Old Regime in Peru' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1977). Further case-study material is in C. Malpica, *Los dueños del Perú* (Lima, 1968); A. Low, 'Agro-exporters as entrepreneurs: Peruvian sugar and cotton producers, 1890–1945' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1979); and F. Portocarrero Suárez, 'El imperio Prado (1890–1970): Oligarquía o burguesía nacional?', *Apuntes,* 19 (1986), 121–46. Reflections on the problems of characterizing the oligarchy are to be found in F. Bourricaud, J. Bravo Bresani, and J. Piel, *La oligarquía en el Perú* (Lima, 1969) and in F. Bourricaud, *Power and Society in Contemporary Peru* (London, 1970). Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación,* portrays the oligarchy as perennially compromised by its subservience to foreign capital, locating the roots of its factionalism and weakness in its comprador status. E. V. K. Fitzgerald, *The Political Economy of Peru, 1956–78* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979) discusses the relative autonomy of the Peruvian state (chap. 2) and the class structure and political scene of 1960 (chap. 3).

The rise of a national-bourgeois industrial fraction is discussed by W. Bollinger, 'The bourgeois revolution in Peru: A conception of Peruvian history', *LAP,* 4/3 (1977), 18–56, but Bollinger's analysis is concerned primarily with the 1960s and 1970s. Similar comments apply to A. Ferner, 'The dominant class and industrial development in Peru', *Journal*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of Development Studies, 15/4 (1979), 268–88 and *La burguesía industrial en el desarrollo peruano* (Lima, 1982); and to F. L. M. Wils, 'Agricultural and industrial development in Peru: Some observations on their interrelationship', *Development and Change,* 5/21 (1973–4), 76–100. J. Weeks, *Limits to Capitalist Development: The Industrialization of Peru, 1950–1980* (Boulder, Colo., 1985) chap. 4, describes the dominant class in the period 1948–68 as a grand alliance of precapitalist and bourgeois Peruvian interests and foreign capital, whose manufacturing interests were subsidiary to other activities until the 1960s. An (unconvincing) attempt to document the existence of an industrial fraction of the oligarchy for earlier decades is to be found in two books by B. Caravedo Molinari, *Burguesía e industria en el Perú, 1933–1945* (Lima, 1976) and *Clases, lucha política y gobierno en el Perú, 1919–1930: El oncenio ante la historia – Se puede hablar de un período revolucionario? Agro-exportadores versus industriales, el capital imperialista en el Perú* (Lima, 1977). The 'industrial groups' of Peruvian and foreign capital, set up during the later 1950s to dominate the emerging manufacturing sector, are described in H. Espinoza Uriarte and J. Osorio, *El poder económico en la industria* (Lima, 1972).

The characterisation of Leguía's *oncenio,* although it lies outside the period covered here, is important to debates on oligarchic fractions. Portraits of Leguía as a leader of the rising middle class against the oligarchy are M. Capuñay, *Leguía: Vida y obra del constructor del Gran Perú* (Lima, 1951); H. B. Karno, 'Augusto B. Leguía: The oligarchy and the modernisation of Peru' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); and G. R. Garrett, 'The *oncenio* of Augusto B. Leguía: Middle sector government and leadership in Peru' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1973). The depiction of Leguía as the leader of one faction within a divided oligarchy, and a forerunner of the 'authoritarian modernising' regime of Benavides, can be found in C. F. Herbold, 'Developments in the Peruvian administrative system, 1919–1930: Modern and traditional qualities of authoritarian regimes' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1973). Similar interpretations are in S. Stein, *Populism in Peru* (Madison, Wis., 1980), chap. 3; Gilbert, *The Oligarchy and the Old Regime in Peru;* and Werlich, *A Short History.*

Political factionalism within the oligarchy is discussed in B. Loveday, *Sánchez Cerro and Peruvian Politics, 1930–1933,* University of Glasgow Institute of Latin American Studies, Occasional Paper No. 6 (1973). The split over the devaluation issue is presented, disguised as a middle-class-versus-oligarchy split, in M. J. Frankman, 'Export promotion and develop-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ment priorities in Peru, 1946–1965' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1968). Discussion of the same issue in J. Dragisic, 'Peruvian stabilization policies, 1939–1968' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971) is distorted by a desire to present the oligarchy as united on the issue.

B. Caravedo Molinari, *Desarrollo desigual y lucha política en el Perú, 1948–1956: La burgesía arequipeña y el estado peruano* (Lima, 1978) explains Arequipa's activism in largely negative terms, as a reaction against economic and political centralism. Studies emphasizing the special character of the Arequipa bourgeoisie are A. Flores Galindo, *Arequipa y el sur andino: Ensayo de historia regional, siglos XVIII–XX* (Lima, 1977) and A. Flores Galindo, O. Plaza, and T. Ore, 'Notas sobre oligarquía y capitalismo en Arequipa, 1870–1940', *Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Cultura,* 3/4 (Lima, 1977). The emergence onto the national scene of the Arequipa Catholic constitutionalists is described by J. L. Renique, 'Los descentralistas arequipeños en la crisis del año 1930', *Allpanchis,* 12 (1979), 51–78; and the economic roots of southern liberalism are explored by N. Jacobsen, 'Free trade, regional elites, and the internal market in southern Peru, 1895–1932', in J. L. Love and N. Jacobsen (eds.), *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (New York, 1988), 145–75.

For a history of the Arequipa labour movement, see V. Colque Valladares, *Dinámica del movimiento sindical en Arequipa: 1900–1968* (Lima, 1976). For self-portraits of three of the leaders of the Arequipa Catholic professionals, see V. A. Belaúnde, *Memorias* (Lima, 1960–2) and *La crisis presente, 1914–1939* (Lima, 1940); J. L. Bustamante y Rivero, *Tres años de lucha por la democracia en el Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1949); and F. Belaúnde Terry, *La conquista del Perú por los peruanos* (Lima, 1964). On Mostajo, see J. G. Carpio Muñoz, 'Francisco Mostajo: Breve historia de un caudillo', *Tarea,* 5 (Lima, 1981).

Any interpretation of the roots of *aprismo* and *sanchezcerrismo* must draw heavily on Stein, *Populism in Peru* and 'Populism in Peru: APRA, the formative years', in M. L. Conniff (ed.), *Latin American Populism* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1981), 113–34. A good history of APRA is L. M. North, 'The origins and development of the Peruvian Aprista Party' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1973). Víctor Villanueva, prominent in APRA during the 1940s, has written several books on the party: *La sublevación del 48: Tragedia de un pueblo y un partido* (Lima, 1973); *El APRA en busca del poder* (Lima, 1975); and *El*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

APRA y el ejército (1940–50) (Lima, 1977). Another work by a prominent *aprista* is L. A. Sánchez, *Apuntes para una biografía del APRA* (Lima, 1978–9). F. B. Pike, *The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru: Haya de la Torre and the Spiritualist Tradition* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986), seeks to categorise APRA as a millenarian movement and offers an unflattering psychological portrait of Haya. A useful bibliography of earlier work on APRA will be found in Werlich, *A Short History*, 400–1.

A debate among left-wing thinkers on the competition between APRA and the Communist Party for leadership of the labour movement is in M. Lauer et al., *Frente al Perú oligárquico (1928–68): Debate socialista I* (Lima, 1977). The same issue is tackled, with somewhat more historical substance, in C. R. Balbi, *El Partido Comunista y el APRA en la crisis revolucionaria de los años treinta* (Lima, 1980). On Sánchezcerrismo the main source, apart from Stein, *Populism in Peru*, and Loveday, *Sánchez Cerro*, is the work of O. Ciccarelli, 'Sánchez Cerro and the Depression in Peru', *Southern Quarterly*, 9/3 (1971), 231–52, and *Militarism, Aprismo and Violence in Peru: The Presidential Elections of 1931* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1971).

Apart from the contributions by D. M. Masterson ('The Peruvian armed forces' and 'Soldiers, sailors and Apristas'), the main historical treatments of the Peruvian military are A. Gerlach, 'Civil–military relations in Peru: 1914–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1973), and a series of books by V. Villanueva: *El militarismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1962), *El CAEM y la revolución de la fuerza armada* (Lima, 1972), and *100 años del ejercito peruano: Frustraciones y cambios* (Lima, 1972). The emerging ideology associated with the Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM) in the 1950s is described by L. R. Einaudi and A. C. Stepan, *Latin American Institutional Development: Changing Military Perspectives in Peru and Brazil* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1971); by J. Rodríguez Beruff, *Los militares y el poder: Un ensayo sobre la doctrina militar en el Perú, 1948–1968* (Lima, 1983); and by G. Philip, *The Rise and Fall of the Peruvian Military Radicals, 1968–1976* (London, 1978), who suggests that the CAEM graduates constituted the conservative wing of the military by 1968, having been outflanked to the left by Velasco's group.

A sketchy history of the labour movement, but with a useful chronology, is D. Sulmont, *Historia del movimiento obrero peruano (1890–1977)* (Lima, 1977). The political dimensions of the labour movement are covered in J. Payne, *Labor and Politics in Peru* (New Haven, Conn., 1965). The work of various authors on twentieth-century labour relations is critically reviewed in N. Haworth, 'Reordering disorder: An approach to the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

analysis of Peruvian industrial relations', in R. Miller (ed.), *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History,* 163–77. A general survey of the use of strikes is J. Santistevan and A. Delgado, *La huelga en el Perú* (Lima, 1981). An excellent historical treatment, based on the mining unions of the central sierra, is J. Laite, 'Miners and national politics in Peru, 1900–1974', *JLAS,* 12/2 (1980), 317–40. On miner militancy, see also A. DeWind, 'From peasants to miners: The background to strikes in the mines of Peru', *Science and Society,* 39/1 (1975), 44–72.

An excellent discussion of the issue of oligarchic hegemony is A. Angell, 'The difficulties of policy making and implementation in Peru', *BLAR,* 3/1 (1984), 25–43. An earlier survey of social structure and politics is M. S. Larson and A. E. Bergman, *Social Stratification in Peru,* University of California at Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, Politics of Modernization Series No. 5 (1969). The persistent three-way division of the Peruvian electorate is discussed by E. Chirinos Soto, *Cuenta y balance de las elecciones de 1962* (Lima, 1962), and data are available in R. Roncagliolo, *Quién ganó? Elecciones, 1931–81* (Lima, 1980). An analysis of the social composition of Sánchez Cerro's and Haya's 1931 votes in Lima-Callao, based on rather shaky evidence, is given in Stein, *Populism in Peru,* 196–7. Comments on changing hegemonic strategies of the elite are scattered through the literature: for example, Herbold, 'Developments in the Peruvian administrative system', Bourricaud, *Power and Society,* and Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación.* The relationship between economic trends and oligarchic hegemony is discussed in J. Cotler, 'The mechanics of internal domination and social change in Peru', in I. L. Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York, 1970) and 'The new mode of political domination in Peru' in A. F. Lowenthal (ed.), *The Peruvian Experiment,* although Cotler tends to treat the oligarchy as homogeneous and plays down its internal tensions.

The fall of Leguía and the Sánchez Cerro era are covered in the last volume of J. Basadre G., *Historia de la república del Perú* (Lima, 1963–4), and in M. Burga and A. Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática* (Lima, 1979), chaps. 4 and 5. A personal reminiscence of 1930 is V. Villanueva, *Así cayó Leguía* (Lima, 1977). Sánchez Cerro's presidency is covered in detail in the works of Stein, *Populism in Peru;* Loveday, *Sánchez Cerro;* Masterson, 'The Peruvian armed forces'; and Ciccarelli, 'Sánchez Cerro and the Depression' and *Militarism, Aprismo and Violence.* B. Caravedo, 'Poder central y descentralización: Peru 1931', *Apuntes,* 9 (1979), 111–29 describes the role of Arequipa in the elections and junta of 1931.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The economic impact of the Depression is analysed in Thorp and Bertram, *Peru 1890–1977*, part 2; and in R. Thorp and C. Londoño, 'The effect of the Great Depression on the economies of Peru and Colombia', in R. Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis* (London, 1984). Policy responses are analysed from a U.S. perspective in chapter 6 of P. W. Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923–1933* (Durham, N.C., 1989); and from a Peruvian viewpoint by R. Cheesman, 'Políticas de reactivación económica en la crisis de 1929', in H. Bonilla (ed.), *Las crisis económicas en la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1986), 263–98. The 1931 default on the external debt is placed in long-run context by Barbara Stallings, 'Incumplimiento de pagos vs. refinanciación: Crisis de la deuda externa peruana, 1826–1985', *HISLA, Revista Latinoamericano de Historia Económica y Social*, 6 (1985), 59–86. The history of the financial sector and the collapse of the Banco del Perú y Londres is in A. W. Quiroz, *Banqueros en conflicto: Estructura financiera y economía peruana, 1884–1930* (Lima, 1989).

The 1930 labour upheaval at Cerro de Pasco and the Malpaso massacre are covered in C. M. McArver, 'Mining and diplomacy: United States interests at Cerro de Pasco, 1876–1930' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1977) and in chap. 7 of A. DeWind, 'Peasants become miners: The evolution of industrial mining systems in Peru' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977). On the Leticia dispute of 1932 see chap. 5 of R. B. St. John, 'Peruvian foreign policy, 1919–1930: The delimitation of frontiers' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1970). APRA's role in the politics of 1930–32 is covered, from a rather partisan viewpoint, in chap. 7 of P. F. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870–1932* (Austin, Tex., 1973).

For the Benavides, Prado and Bustamante periods some useful specialised sources (as distinct from the general histories) are Masterson, 'The Peruvian armed forces'; Gilbert, *The Oligarchy and the Old Regime;* Villanueva, *El APRA y el ejército;* Pike, *The Politics of the Miraculous,* chaps. 8 and 9; T. M. Davies, Jr., 'Peru', in M. Falcoff and F. B. Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War 1936–39: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982), 203–43; and Caravedo, *Burguesía e industria* (chap. 3 contains a very useful discussion of the 1936 election campaign). An insider's account of the 1936 election and its aftermath is L. A. Eguiguren, *El usurpador (para la historia)* (Lima, 1939). The role of the Right is considered in G. Portocarrero, 'La oligarquía frente a la reinvindicación demo-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

crática (Las opciónes de la derecha en las elecciones de 1936)', *Apuntes*, 12 (1982), 61–74.

A revival of historical interest in Peruvian fascism followed the appearance of J. I. López Soria, *El pensamiento fascista (1930–1945)* (Lima, 1981), and culminated in two articles by O. Ciccarrelli: 'Fascist propaganda and the Italian community in Peru during the Benavides regime, 1933–39', *JLAS*, 20/2 (1988), 361–88, and 'Fascism and politics in Peru during the Benavides regime, 1933–39: The Italian perspective', *HAHR*, 70/3 (1990), 405–32. An annotated bibliography of relevant items in the Lima press is W. Pinto Gamboa, *Sobre fascismo y literatura: La Guerra Civil española en La Prensa, El Comercio y La Crónica (1936–1939)* (Lima, 1983).

The 1941 war with Ecuador is the subject of D. H. Zook, *Zarumilla-Marañón: The Ecuador-Peru Dispute* (New York, 1964). The Bustamante presidency (1945–8) is recalled by the president himself in José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, *Tres años de lucha por la democracia en el Perú*, cited above, and the reasons for its failure are discussed by M. García, 'Coyuntura y política económica populista en la postguerra: 1945–1948', *Apuntes*, 18 (1986), 140–52. The roles of APRA and the military are discussed extensively in Villanueva, *La sublevación del 48* and *El APRA y el ejército*, and in Masterson, 'The Peruvian armed forces'. The government's problems with stabilization policy are covered in R. Hayn, 'Peruvian exchange controls, 1945–1948', *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 10 (1957), 47–70; Dragisic, 'Peruvian stabilization policies'; Frankman, 'Export promotion and developmental priorities'; and D. F. Lomax, 'Monetary control in Peru from 1945 to 1960' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1965). The oligarchic Right's conspiracies of 1948 are dealt with by R. Thorp, 'The Klein Correspondence', mimeo (Oxford, 1974) and in Gilbert, *The Oligarchy and the Old Regime*.

A journalistic but well-informed view of Odría's presidency (1948–56) is in T. Szulc, *Twilight of the Tyrants* (New York, 1959). The experiment with floating exchange rates in the 1950s is analysed by S. C. Tsiang, 'An experiment with flexible exchange rates: Peru 1950–54', *IMF Staff Papers*, 5/3 (1957), 449–76.

38. PERU SINCE *c.* 1960

Peruvian economic trends since 1960 are analysed in R. Thorp and G. Bertram, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1978); E. V. K. Fitzgerald, *The Political Economy of Peru, 1965–1978: Economic Development and the Restructuring of Capital* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979); and Oscar Dancourt, *Sobre las políticas macro-económicas en el Perú, 1970–1984* (Lima, 1986). A critical bibliographical review of economic writings can be found in Teobaldo Pinzas, *La economía peruana, 1950–1978: Un ensayo bibliográfico* (Lima, 1981).

The economic problems of Belaúnde's first government (1963–8) are analysed in P. P. Kuczynski, *Peruvian Democracy under Economic Stress: An Account of the Belaúnde Administration, 1963–1968* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). On the distribution of income, see R. Webb, *Government Policy and the Distribution of Income in Peru, 1963–1973* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), and Shane Hunt, 'Distribution, growth and government: Economic behavior in Peru', in Gustave Rainis (ed.), *Government and Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1971), 375–416. The problems of industrialization have been treated by M. Beaulne, *Industrialización por sustición de importaciones, 1958–1969* (Lima, 1975); M. Vega Centeno, *Crecimiento, industrialización y cambio técnico en el Perú, 1955–1980* (Lima, 1983); and J. Torres, *Estructura económica de la industria en el Perú* (Lima, 1975). There is an abundant bibliography on agrarian problems. See J. Matos and J. M. Mejía, *La reforma agraria en el Perú* (Lima, 1980); E. Alvarez, *Política económica y agricultura en el Perú, 1969–1979* (Lima, 1983); J. M. Caballero, *Economía agraria de la sierra peruana: Antes de la reforma agraria de 1969* (Lima, 1981); A. Figueroa, *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984); Raúl Hopkins, *Desarrollo desigual y crisis de la agricultura peruana, 1944–1969* (Lima, 1981); and E. González, *Economía de la comunidad campesina* (Lima, 1984).

On the economic crisis that Peru has been undergoing since the mid-1970s and the different plans for its solution, see J. González I., *Perú, una economía en crisis* (Lima, 1978); Oscar Ugarteche et al. (eds.), *Crisis económica y democracia: A propósito de la exposición del Primer Ministro Manuel Ulloa, 27–VIII–80* (Lima, 1980), which discusses the measures adopted by Belaúnde's government in 1980; and D. Carbonetto, M. de Cabellos, O. Dancourt and C. Fenon, *El Perú heterodoxo: Un modelo económico* (Lima, 1987), which describes the model García's government tried to install in 1985. E. Gonzáles O. (ed.), *Economía para la democracia* (Lima, 1989), is a compilation of seven lectures from different perspectives. Also by the same author, see *Crisis y democracia* (Lima, 1987), which presents the bases of the crisis and the possibilities for a democratic solution. J. Iguiñiz of the Izquierda Unida (IU) poses the alternatives available to the working and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

middle classes vis-à-vis the crisis in 'Perspectivas y opciones frente a la crisis', in *Revista Pensamiento Iberoamericano,* 4 (1983), 15–44, and 'La crisis peruana actual: Esquema para una interpretación', in H. Bonilla (ed.), *Las crisis económicas en la historia del Perú* (Lima, 1986), 299–364.

In *Libertad: Primer ciclo de conferencias,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1988), several authors belonging to the Movimiento Libertad, headed by Mario Vargas Llosa, diagnose from a neo-Liberal perspective the Peruvian crisis and the measures to be taken to achieve a definitive solution. See also R. Thorp, 'The stabilisation crisis in Peru, 1975–78', in R. Thorp and L. Whitehead, *Inflation and Stabilisation in Latin America* (London, 1979); G. Pennano, C. Amat y León, A. Figueroa and J. Iguiñiz, *Economía peruana: Hacia dónde?* (Lima, 1981); O. Ugarteche, *El estado deudor: Economía política de la deuda: Perú y Bolivia, 1968–1984* (Lima, 1986); D. Kisic, *De la corresponsabiliadad a la moratoria: El caso de la deuda externa peruana, 1970–1986* (Lima, 1987); R. Webb, 'Deuda interna y ajuste financiero en el Perú', *Revista de la CEPAL* (August 1987), 55–74, which examines the period 1980–5.

Detailed analyses of demographic changes in Peru can be found in Asociación Multidisciplinaria de Estudios de Población, *Problemas poblacionales peruanos,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986). Changes in social structure and social and political mobilization during the period before the military government installed in 1968 have been examined by F. Bourricaud, *Power and Society in Contemporary Peru* (New York, 1967); F. Bourricaud, J. Bravo, H. Favre and J. Piel, *La oligarquía en el Perú* (Lima, 1969); J. Cotler, 'The mechanics of internal domination and social change in Peru', in I. L. Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York, 1970), 407–44; J. Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima, 1978); J. Matos, A. Salazar, A. Escobar and J. Bravo, *Perú hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); and A. Quijano, 'Tendencies in Peruvian development and class structure', in J. Petras and M. Zeitlin (eds.), *Latin America, Reform or Revolution?* (New York, 1968), 289–328.

The roots and patterns of the peasant movement before and after the agrarian reform decreed by the military in 1969 have been analysed by G. Alberti and Rodrigo Sánchez, *Poder y conflicto social en el valle del Mantaro* (Lima, 1974); H. Blanco, *Tierra o muerte: Las luchas campesinas en el Perú* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); Alberto Flores-Galindo, 'Movimientos campesinos en el Perú: Balances y esquema', in R. Ames (ed.), *Las investigaciones en ciencias sociales en el Perú* (Lima, 1979); Diego García Sayan, *Toma de tierras en el Perú* (Lima, 1982); H. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes: Peasant*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Political Mobilization in Peru (Austin, Tex., 1975); W. Kapsoli, *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879–1965* (Lima, 1977); H. Neira, *Los Andes: Tierra o muerte* (Madrid, 1968); A. Quijano, *Problema agrario y movimientos campesinos* (Lima, 1979); and R. Montoya, *Lucha por la tierra, reformas agrarias y capitalismo en el Perú del siglo XX* (Lima, 1989). On the emergence of the guerrilla movement in the mid-1960s, see H. Bejar, *Perú 1964: Una experiencia guerrillera* (Lima, 1969).

The development of and changes undergone by the workers' movement have been studied by C. R. Balbi, *Identidad clasista en el sindicalismo: Su impacto en las fábricas* (Lima, 1989); J. Parodi, *Ser obrero es algo relativo . . . Obreros, clasismo y política* (Lima, 1986), and 'La desmovilización del sindicalismo industrial peruano en el segundo belaundismo', in E. Ballón (ed.), *Movimientos sociales y crisis: El caso peruano* (Lima, 1986); E. H. Stephens, *The Politics of Workers' Participation: The Peruvian Approach in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1980); D. Sulmont, *Historia del movimiento obrero peruano (1890–1977)* (Lima, 1977); and E. Yépez del Castillo and J. Bernedo, *La sindicalización en el Perú* (Lima, n.d.).

The military revolution stimulated an intense debate on the country's problems and the military regime's efforts to deal with them. Many of those who present the military revolution in a favourable light served as officials in the regime. Some of their writing can be found in C. Franco (ed.), *El Perú de Velasco*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1983). In addition, advisers to this regime took an active part in explaining and justifying the military revolution. C. Delgado, General Velasco's closest adviser and speech-writer, published several books which are collections of polemical articles: *El proceso revolucionario: Testimonio de lucha* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), *Testimonio de lucha* (Lima, 1973), *Revolución y participación* (Lima, 1974), and *Revolución peruana, autonomía y deslindes* (Lima, 1975). See also H. Béjar, *La revolución en la trampa* (Lima, 1974); F. Guerra, *El peruano, un proceso abierto* (Lima, 1975); and E. J. Kerbusch (ed.), *Cambios estructurales en el Perú, 1968–1975* (Lima, 1975). For CEPAL's point of view on the changes effected by the military government, see A. Pinto and H. Assael, *La política económica en un proceso de cambio global* (Santiago, Chile, 1981).

In M. Lauer (ed.), *El reformismo burgués, 1968–76* (Lima, 1978), representatives of the Left from the 1970s discuss Velasco's government. Essays on the military regime in which different economic and political aspects are analysed from different perspectives can be found in A. F. Lowenthal (ed.), *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), and C. McClintock and A. Lowenthal (eds.), *The*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered (Princeton, N.J., 1983). A. Stepan, *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), is a theoretical reflection on this type of political regime. H. Pease, *El ocaso del poder oligárquico: Lucha política en la escena oficial, 1968–1975* (Lima, 1975) and *Los caminos del poder: Tres años de crisis en la escena política* (Lima, 1979), examines the various courses of action followed by the military government. A. Quijano, *Nationalism and Capitalism in Peru: A Study in Neo-Imperialism* (New York, 1971), examines the military government from a Marxist perspective.

Studies on policies in specific sectors during the military regime can be found in G. Alberti, L. Pásara and J. Santistevan, *Estado y clase: La comunidad industrial en el Perú* (Lima, 1977); D. G. Becker, *The New Bourgeoisie and the Limits of Dependency: Mining, Class and Power in 'Revolutionary' Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); D. Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs: Authoritarian Rule and Policy Change in Peru* (Baltimore, 1976); Peter Cleaves and Martin J. Scurrah, *Agriculture, Bureaucracy and Military Government in Peru* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980); and C. McClintock, *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1981). On the redistributive impact of the military's policies, see R. Webb and A. Figueroa, *Distribución del ingreso en el Perú* (Lima, 1975).

The role played by North American business in Peru is examined in C. A. Godsell, *American Corporations and Peruvian Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974). The phenomenon of expropriations has been addressed by J. P. Einhorn, *Expropriation Politics* (Lexington, Mass., 1974). On the International Petroleum Company, see A. Pinelo, *The Multinational Corporation as a Force in Latin American Politics: A Case Study of the International Petroleum Company in Peru* (New York, 1973). Relations between the United States and Peru at the moment of the military coup has been examined in D. Sharp (ed.), *U.S. Foreign Policy and Peru* (Austin, Tex., 1972).

Other important sources for the military government are *Velasco, la voz de la revolución: Discursos del presidente de la república, General de División Juan Velasco Alvarado,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1972); C. Franco, *La revolución participativa* (Lima, 1975); María del Pilar Tello (ed.), *Golpe o revolución? Hablan los militares del 68* (Lima, 1983); Henry Pease and Olga Verme, *Perú, 1968–1973: Cronología política* (Lima, 1974); F. Guerra, *Velasco: Del estado oligárquico al capitalismo de estado* (Lima, 1983).

The political transition from military to civilian government is examined in J. Cotler, 'Military interventions and transfer of power to civilians in Peru', in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritative Rule,* vol. 2, *Latin America* (Baltimore, 1986), 148–72; Luis A. Abugattas, 'Populism and after: The Peruvian experience', in James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987); and L. A. Sánchez, *Testimonio personal: Adiós a las armas* (Lima, 1988). Analyses of the constitution of 1980 can be found in E. Chirinos, *La constitución al alcance de todos* (Lima, 1980); Marcial Rubio and E. Bernales, *Constitución y sociedad política* (Lima, 1983); and E. Bernales, F. Eguiguren, C. Fernández-Maldonado and D. García Belaúnde, *La constitución: Diez años después* (Lima, 1989).

On political problems during the 1980s, see A. García, *El futuro diferente,* 2nd ed. (Lima, 1987); H. Bonilla and Paul W. Drake (eds.), *El Apra de la ideología a la praxis* (Lima, 1989); J. Cotler (ed.), *Para afirmar la democracia* (Lima, 1987), *Clases populares, crisis y democracia en América Latina* (Lima, 1989), and *Estrategias para el desarrollo de la democracia en el Perú y en América Latina* (Lima, 1990). J. Matos, *Desborde popular y crisis del estado: El nuevo rostro del Perú en la década de 1980* (Lima, 1984); and L. Pásara and J. Parodi (eds.), *Democracia, sociedad y gobierno en el Perú* (Lima, 1987).

The 'informal sector' has attracted a great deal of attention. See D. Carbonetto et al., *El sector informal urbano* (Lima, 1988); P. Galín, J. Carrion and O. Castillo, *Asalariados y clases populares en Lima* (Lima, 1986); R. Grompone, *Talleristas y vendedores ambulantes en Lima* (Lima, 1985); and H. de Soto, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1989).

On urban social movements, see A. Rodríguez et al., *De invasores a invadidos* (Lima, 1973); M. Barrig, 'The difficult equilibrium between bread and roses: Women's organizations and the transition to democracy in Peru', in J. Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America* (Boston, 1989), 114–48; C. Blondet, *Muchas vidas construyendo una identidad: Mujeres pobladoras de un barrio limeño* (Lima, 1986); C. I. Degregori, C. Blondet and N. Lynch, *Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo: De invasores a ciudadanos en San Martín de Porres* (Lima, 1986); and J. Golte and N. Adams, *Los caballos de Troya de los invasores: Estrategias campesinas en la conquista de la Gran Lima* (Lima, 1987).

Analyses of the changes in the armed forces can be found in L. Einaudi, *The Peruvian Military: A Summary Political Analysis* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1969); L. Einaudi and A. Stepan, *Latin American Institutional Development: Changing Military Perspectives in Peru and Brazil* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1971); Victor Villanueva, *El CAEM y la revolución de las fuerzas armadas*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Lima, 1972) and *Nueva mentalidad militar en el Perú?* (Lima, 1969); and P. Mauceri, *Militares: Insurgencia y democratización en el Perú, 1980–1988* (Lima, 1989).

Changes in the church are examined in G. Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1971); the 1988 edition has a new and updated introduction: *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People* (New York, 1984); *On Job: God-Talk and the Suffering of the Innocent* (New York, 1987) and *Dios o el oro de las Indias* (Lima, 1989). See also C. R. de Inguiñiz, 'Church, state and society in contemporary Peru, 1958–1988: A Process of Liberation' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social Research, New York, 1989); Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977) and *La iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde la independencia* (Lima, 1988; Eng. trans., 1992); L. Pásara, *Radicalización y conflicto en la iglesia peruana* (Lima, 1986); M. G. Mcaullay, 'Ideological change and internal cleavages in the Peruvian church: Change, status quo and the priest: The case of ONIS' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1972); and M. Marsal, *La transformación religiosa peruana* (Lima, 1983).

On the emergence and development of Sendero Luminoso, see A. San Martín, C. Rodríguez R., F. Castelnuovo and J. Ansion, *Siete ensayos sobre la violencia en el Perú* (Lima, 1985); D. Chavez, *Juventud y terrorismo: Características sociales de los condenados por terrorismo y otros delitos* (Lima, 1989); C. I. Degregori, *Sendero Luminoso: I. Los hondos y mortales desencuentros; II. Lucha armada y utopía autoritaria,* 7th ed. (Lima, 1989), *Qué difícil es ser Dios: Ideología y violencia política en Sendero Luminoso* (Lima, 1989) and *El nacimiento de Sendero Luminoso: Ayacucho y Huanta en 1969* (Lima, 1990); H. Favre, 'Sentier Lumineux et horizons obscurs', *Problèmes d'Amérique Latine,* 72 (1984); A. Flores Galindo, 'La guerra silenciosa' in A. Flores Galindo and N. Manrique (eds.), *Violencia y campesinado* (Lima, 1986), 17–39; C. Harding, 'The rise of Sendero Luminoso', in R. Miller (ed.), *Region and Class in Modern Peru* (Liverpool, 1986), 179–207; Billie Jean Isbell, *The Emerging Patterns of Peasants' Responses to Sendero Luminoso* (New York, 1988); N. Manrique, 'Democracia y campesinado indígena en el Perú contemporáneo', in Flores Galindo and Manrique (eds.), *Violencia y campesinado,* 5–15; C. McClintock, 'Why peasants rebel: The case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso', *World Politics* (October 1984), 48–84, and 'Sendero Luminoso: Peru's Maoist Guerrillas', in *Problems of Communism* (September–October 1983), 19–34; Lewis Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes: Sendero Luminoso and the Contemporary Guerrilla Movement in Peru* (Liverpool,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1983); and D. S. Palmer, 'Rebellion in rural Peru: The origins and evolution of Sendero Luminoso', *Comparative Politics*, 18/2 (1986), 127–46. In order to understand the motivations and objectives of this group it is indispensible to study 'El reportaje del siglo', presumably an interview with Abimael Guzman, or 'President Gonzalo', in *El Diario* (Lima), 24 July 1988. More recent works on Sendero Luminoso include: G. Gorriti, *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima, 1990); David Scott Palmer (ed.), *The Shining Path of Peru* (New York, 1992).

On problems of violence and human rights, see the reports issued by Americas Watch and Amnesty International since 1984; Instituto de Defensa Legal, *Perú 1989: En la espiral de la violencia* (Lima, 1989); Comisión de Defensa de los Derechos de la Persona y Construcción de la Paz, *Violencia y democracia* (Lima, 1988); J. Klaiber (ed.), *Violencia y crisis de valores en el Perú* (Lima, 1987); R. Ames (ed.), *Informe al congreso sobre los sucesos de los penales* (Lima, 1988); DESCO, *Violencia política en el Perú: 1980–1988* (Lima, 1989); Comisión Especial del Senado sobre las Causas de la Violencia y Alternativas de Pacificación en el Perú, *Violencia y pacificación* (Lima, 1989); and M. P. Tello (ed.), *Sobre el volcán: Diálogo frente a la subversión* (Lima, 1989). On the problem of drug-trafficking, see Diego García Sayán (ed.), *Coca, cocaína y narco-tráfico* (Lima, 1989). On the 1990 elections, see A. Vargas Llosa, *El diablo en campaña* (Madrid, 1991) and C. T. Degregori and R. Grompone, *Elecciones 1990: Demonios y redentores en el nuevo Perú* (Lima, 1991).

39. BOLIVIA

In English the best general account of Bolivian politics since the revolution of 1952 is James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952–82* (London, 1984). James M. Malloy and Eduardo Gamarra, *Revolution and Reaction: Bolivia, 1964–85* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988) is also worth reading. James M. Malloy and Richard S. Thorn (eds.), *Beyond the Revolution: Bolivia since 1952* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1971) contains a number of essays that are still of value. To a lesser extent it is also worth consulting Jerry R. Ladman's edited collection, *Modern-Day Bolivia: A Legacy of the Revolution and Prospects for the Future* (Tempe, Ariz., 1982). A standard source for the pre-revolutionary period is Herbert S. Klein, *Parties and Political Change in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Cambridge, Eng., 1969), which is strong on the 1930s, but peters out thereafter. His more recent survey,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society (Oxford, 1982) pays due attention to the 1940–80 period, although without really vindicating its curious sub-title. J. Valerie Fifer, *Bolivia: Land, Location, and Politics since 1825* (Cambridge, Eng., 1972) gives useful background on the Chaco, but does not develop the implications of Bolivia's location for the postwar period. Other relevant books in English include Christopher Mitchell, *The Legacy of Populism in Bolivia: From the MNR to Military Rule* (New York, 1977); Jerry W. Knudson, *Bolivia: Press and Revolution 1932–64* (Lanham, Md., 1986), which contains many nuggets of information, although the analysis is not very sophisticated; Charles F. Geddes, *Patino: The Tin King* (London, 1972) from a pro-company standpoint; Guillermo Lora, *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement (1848–1971)* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977) by the Trotskyist veteran; Victor Andrade, *My Missions for Revolutionary Bolivia, 1944–62* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1975); Dwight B. Heath, Charles J. Erasmus and Hans C. Buechler, *Land Reform and Social Revolution in Bolivia* (New York, 1969); William J. McEwen et al., *Changing Rural Bolivia* (Oxford, 1975); and Jonathan Kelley and Herbert S. Klein, *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality: A Theory Applied to the Bolivian National Revolution* (Berkeley, 1981). Carmenza Gallo, *Taxes and State Power: Political Instability in Bolivia, 1900–1950* (Philadelphia, 1991) offers a challenging and moderately persuasive interpretation of pre-1952 politics based on the fiscal consequences of enclave development. George Jackson Eder, *Inflation and Development in Latin America: A Case History of Inflation and Stabilisation in Bolivia* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968) is a very detailed study of the 1956 counter-inflation plan which achieved renewed topicality in the 1980s. Juan Antonio Morales has described the 1985 counterpart in Michael Bruno et al. (eds.), *Inflation Stabilization: The Experience of Israel, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

Among the more relevant articles in English are two by John Hillman: 'Bolivia and the international tin cartel', *JLAS*, 20/1 (1988), 83–110, and 'Bolivia and British tin policy, 1939–45', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990), 289–315. See also Manuel E. Contreras, 'Debts, taxes and war: The political economy of Bolivia, *c.* 1920–1935', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990), 265–87, and Mario de Franco and Ricardo Godoy, 'The economic consequences of cocaine production in Bolivia: Historical, local and macro-economic perspectives', *JLAS*, 24/2 (1992), 375–406. Important earlier articles include Cole Blasier, 'The U.S., Germany, and the Bolivian revolutionaries', *HAHR*, 52/1 (1972), 26–54; Andrew Pearse, 'Peasants and revolution: The case of Bolivia', *Economy and Society*, 1/3–4 (1972); Laurence Whitehead, 'Miners

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

as voters: The electoral process in Bolivia's mining camps', *JLAS*, 13/2 (1981), 313–46; James W. Wilkie, 'U.S. foreign policy and economic assistance in Bolivia, 1948–76', in *SALA* 22, (Los Angeles, 1983); and Laurence Whitehead, 'Bolivia', in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992).

The literature in Spanish is, of course, much larger – although Bolivia has relatively few trained historians and social scientists. The best-written books on Bolivian history (in any language) are by the veteran writer and founder of the MNR, Augusto Céspedes. They are also highly revealing and reasonably accurate, if inevitably partisan. Céspedes, *Salamanca, o el metafísico del fracaso* (La Paz, 1973) is a hatchet job which needs to be read in conjunction with David Alvéstegui, *Salamanca: Su gravitación sobre el destino de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1962). His *El dictador suicida: 40 años de historia de Bolivia* (Santiago, Chile, 1956) should be checked against Herbert Klein, *Bolivia* and the recent work of Ferrán Gallego. Chapters from Gallego's Barcelona doctoral thesis on the period 1935–46 have been published in the *Boletín Americanista* (Barcelona), 36 (January 1987), in *I-AA*, 13/2 (1987) and 14/4 (1988) and more fully in *Los Orígenes del reformismo militar en América Latina: La gestión de David Toro en Bolivia* (Barcelona, 1991). There is as yet no good antidote to Céspedes's best historical contribution, his defence of the MNR's role in the Villarroel government: *El presidente colgado* (Buenos Aires, 1966). Other prominent ex-members of the MNR have also taken up the writing of history to fairly good effect. José Fellmann Velarde, who wrote a hagiographic biography of Victor Paz Estenssoro in the 1950s, subsequently produced a dense three-volume *Historia de Bolivia*, of which vol. 3, *La bolivianidad semi-colonial* (La Paz, 1970) covers the first half of the twentieth century, paying particular attention to the Chaco War. Unfortunately, he uses no footnotes to document his assertions. Luis Antezana's *Historia secreta del Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, 6 vols. (La Paz, 1984–7) gives abundant detail, but only limited analysis.

René Zavaleta provides considerable analysis, but limited detail, in his interpretative essay on Bolivia from 1933 to 1971 in Pablo González Casanova (ed.), *América Latina: Historia de Medio Siglo* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). See also René Zavaleta (ed.), *Bolivia hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). A comparable interpretation is offered in Sergio Almaraz, *El poder y la caída* (La Paz, 1969). A good general history of the Chaco War is Roberto Querejazu, *Masamaclay* (La Paz, 1975). For the impact of the 1929 crisis,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

see Laurence Whitehead, 'La Gran Depresión en Bolivia', *DE,* 12/45 (1972), 49–80.

Worthwhile on the military is Gary Prado Salmón, *Poder y fuerzas armadas, 1949–82* (La Paz, 1984). Traditional political history can be found in Porfirio Díaz Machicado, *Historia de Bolivia: Salamanca* (La Paz, 1955), *Toro, Busch, Quintanilla* (La Paz, 1957) and *Péñaranda* (La Paz, 1958). Jose Luis Roca, *Fisionomía del regionalismo boliviano* (La Paz, 1980) has made the most sustained effort to develop an interpretation of Bolivian history on the basis of regional interactions, as opposed to the economic determinism, and the class or ethnic identities stressed by most modern analysts. This approach deserves further development, and not just in Bolivia. For another contribution to the regional history of the revolution, see Laurence Whitehead, 'National power and local power: The case of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia', in Francine F. Rabinowitz and Felicity M. Trueblood (eds.), *Latin American Urban Research,* Vol. III (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973).

A new generation of Bolivian historians and social scientists have begun to reassess this period. Their main focus is on agrarian and indigenous history. The founders were Jorge Dandler, *El sindicalismo campesino en Bolivia* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), followed by Xavier Albó, *Achacachi: Medio siglo de lucha campesina* (La Paz, 1979); see also Xavier Albó, 'From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari', in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World* (Madison, Wis., 1987). The best compilation is Fernando Calderón and Jorge Dandler (eds.), *Bolivia: La fuerza histórica del campesinado* (Geneva, 1986), and the best single-author contribution is Silvia Rivera, *Oprimidos pero no vencidos* (Geneva, 1986), which is useful for the 1940s. For a wide-ranging comparative analysis of the 'Indian' component in Bolivian, Peruvian and Mexican history, see Florencia Mallon, 'Indian communities, political cultures, and the state in Latin America, 1780–1990', in the special issue of *JLAS,* 24 (Quincentenary Supplement, 1992), 35–53, edited by Tulio Halperín Donghi. Rene Arze is starting to produce interesting work on the Chaco War: see his two contributions in J. P. Deler and Y. Saint-Geours (eds.), *Estados y naciones en los Andes,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986). The works of two 'honorary Bolivians' of British nationality deserve mention here: James Dunkerley, *Orígenes del poder militar en Bolivia: Historia del ejército, 1879–1935* (La Paz, 1987), especially chaps. 5 and 6, and Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino* (Lima, 1982), especially chap. 5. For representative samples of current social science in Bolivia, see Roberto

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Laserna (ed.), *Crisis, democracia y conflicto social* (La Paz, 1985); Rene A. Mayorga (ed.), *Democracia a la deriva* (La Paz, 1987) and Jorge Lazarte, *Movimiento obrero y procesos políticos en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1988), together with the FLACSO review *Estado y Sociedad.*

On the mining industry there is a useful economic history by Walter Gómez: *La minería en el desarrollo económico de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1978). For recent scholarship on the history of the mineworkers, see Gustavo Rodríquez Ostria, *El socavón y el sindicato: Ensayos históricos sobre los trabajadores mineros, siglos XIX–XX* (La Paz, 1991), and on labour militancy in the mines, see Laurence Whitehead, 'Sobre el radicalismo de los trabajadores mineros de Bolivia', *RMS,* 42/4 (1980), 1465–96. On the United States and the García Meza dictatorship, see Raul Barrios Moron, *Bolivia y Estados Unidos: Democracia, derechos humanos y narcotráfico* (La Paz, 1989).

40. COLOMBIA

The only one-volume history of Colombia in English is David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley, 1993). One useful volume which embodies recent trends in the historiography is Darío Jaramillo Agudelo (comp.), *La nueva historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1976). This is complemented by Jaime Jaramillo Uribe et al., *Manual de historia de Colombia,* vol. 3 (Bogotá, 1982), and a contemporary reader, Mario Arrubla et al., *Colombia: Hoy,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1978).

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

On the politics of the 1930s and 1940s, see Daniel Pécaut, *L'Ordre et la violence: Evolution socio-politique de la Colombie entre 1930 et 1953* (Paris, 1986); Christopher Abel, *Política, iglesia y partidos en Colombia, 1886–1953* (Bogotá, 1987); and Terrence Burns Horgan, 'The Liberals come to power, *por debajo de la ruana:* A study of the Enrique Olaya Herrera administration, 1930–1934' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1983). Alvaro Tirado Mejía, *Aspectos políticos del primer gobierno de Alfonso López Pumarejo, 1934–1938* (Bogotá, 1981), is a valuable introduction from a committed *lopista* perspective. On the economy, there are Rosemary Thorp and Carlos Londoño, 'The effect of the Great Depression on the economies of Peru and Colombia', and José Antonio Ocampo, 'The Colombian economy in the 1930s', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin Amer-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ica in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis (London, 1984), which should be read with José Antonio Ocampo and Santiago Montenegro, *Crisis mundial, protección e industrialización: Ensayos de historia económica colombiana* (Bogotá, 1984), Alvaro Tirado Mejía (ed.), *Estado y economía* (Bogotá, 1986) and Paul W. Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923–1933* (Durham, N.C., 1989).

The most useful book on Colombian politics from the late 1940s to the mid-1960s remains Robert H. Dix, *Colombia: Political Dimensions of Change* (New Haven, Conn., 1967), which should be supplemented for the more recent period by the essays – of uneven quality – in R. Albert Berry, Ronald G. Hellman and Mauricio Solaún (eds.), *Politics of Compromise: Coalition Government in Colombia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), and also Francisco Leal Buitrago, *Estado y política en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1984) and Robert H. Dix, *The Politics of Colombia* (New York, 1986). On the Turbay administration, J. J. Garcia, *Crónicas de un emirato* (Bogotá, 1985) is also useful. The interpretation of contemporary politics by a maverick socialist and one-time *gaitanista,* Antonio García, remains stimulating. See, in particular, *Gaitán y el camino de la revolución colombiana: Responsabilidad de las clases, las generaciones y los partidos* (Bogotá, 1974). The somewhat dated accounts of Vernon Lee Fluharty, *Dance of the Millions: Military Rule and the Social Revolution in Colombia, 1930–56* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1957), and John D. Martz, *Colombia: A Contemporary Political Study* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962), still contain useful information. Also valuable is Alexander Wilde, 'Conversations among gentlemen: Oligarchical democracy in Colombia', in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, 1978), 28–81, which, however, draws an over-easy equation between democracy and the existence of liberal institutions. This is available in Spanish in an enlarged edition, *La quiebra de la democracia* (Bogotá, 1982).

Other works have done much to clarify the character of military rule in the mid-1950s, especially Silvia Galvis and Alberto Donadio, *El Jefe Supremo: Rojas Pinilla en la violencia y en el poder* (Bogotá, 1988) and Carlos H. Urán, *Rojas y la manipulación del poder* (Bogotá, 1983). A convenient political narrative is found in Daniel Pécaut, *Crónica de dos décadas de política colombiana, 1968–1988* (Bogotá, 1988). The book by Jonathan Hartlyn, *Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988), conveniently synthesizes recent political science writings by both Colombian and U.S. authors, while also containing valuable original material on the propertied interests. Hartlyn summarizes his views in 'Colombia: The

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

politics of violence and accommodation', in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries*, vol. 4: *Latin America* (London, 1989), 291–334. Francisco Leal Buitrago provides a convenient if pessimistic analysis of the crisis of the late 1980s in 'Structural crisis and the current situation in Colombia', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 14/28 (1989), 31–49. The debate on democratic enhancement and consolidation is usefully addressed in Patricia Vásquez de Urrutia (ed.), *Colombia piensa la democracia* (Bogotá, 1989).

No adequate study of executive power in Colombia exists. Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, *El poder presidencial en Colombia: La crisis permanente del derecho constitucional* (Bogotá, 1979), is a stimulating view by a Conservative opposition lawyer and former foreign minister. For congressional behaviour, see Francisco Leal Buitrago, *Estudio del comportamiento legislativo en Colombia*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1973–5). The power and composition of the 'oligarchy' and the validity and viability of 'oligarchy' as a concept are treated in James L. Payne, *Patterns of Conflict in Colombia* (New Haven, Conn., 1968), which is trenchantly criticized by Albert O. Hirschman in 'The search for paradigms as a hindrance to understanding', *World Politics*, 22 (1969–70), 329–43. *Quién es quién en Venezuela, Panamá, Ecuador, Colombia con datos recopilados hasta el 30 de junio de 1952* (Bogotá, 1952) remains for historians a most valuable guide not only to 'oligarchic' careers but also to those of the professional and business classes.

On political parties, Jorge O. Melo (ed.), *Orígenes de los partidos políticos en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978), is useful for background purposes. For contemporary analysis, see Gabriel Murillo C. and Israel Rivera Ortiz, *Activadades y estructura de poder en los partidos políticos colombianos* (Bogotá, 1973), which moves a long way beyond the subjective and partisan colouration characterizing accounts by political activists of earlier generations, as do Jorge Orlando Melo, *Sobre historia y política* (Bogotá, 1979) and Patricia Pinzón de Lewin, *Los partidos políticos colombianos* (Bogotá, 1987). The best examples of previous genres include, for Conservatives, Abel Carbonell, *La quincena política*, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1952), an opposition view of Liberal reformism in the mid-1930s, and Rafael Azula Barrera, *De la revolución al orden nuevo: Proceso y drama de un pueblo* (Bogotá, 1956), an example of articulate *godo* conservatism of the early 1950s; and for Liberals, a composite apologia for the 1930–46 administrations, Plinio Mendoza N. (ed.), *El liberalismo en el gobierno*, 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1946), Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *De la democracia a la dictadura* (Bogotá, 1955) and *Hacia la restauración democrática y el cambio social*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1964).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Gaitanismo at the national and capital-city levels is best approached through Herbert Braun, *The Assassination of Gaitán: Public Life and Urban Violence in Colombia* (Madison, Wis., 1985), in conjunction with Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, *Gaitán, antología de su pensamiento económico y social* (Bogotá, 1968), and *Los mejores discursos de Gaitán,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1968), and popular recollections of the *bogotazo* contained in Arturo Alape, *El bogotazo: Memorias de un olvido* (Havana, 1984). *Gaitanismo* at the regional level can be pursued in Gonzalo Sánchez G., *Los días de la revolución: Gaitanismo y 9 de abril en provincia* (Bogotá, 1983), and Carlos Eduardo Jaramillo, *Ibagué: Conflictos políticos de 1930 al 9 de abril* (Bogotá, 1983).

Few prominent Colombian politicians have written personal memoirs. Notable exceptions include three Liberal presidents: Alberto Lleras Camargo, *Mi gente* (Bogotá, 1976); Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *Borradores para una historia de la república liberal,* vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1975), *Historia y política* (Bogotá, 1980) and *Crónica de mi propia vida* (Bogotá, 1983); and Alfonso López Michelsen, *Parábola del retorno* (Bogotá, 1985); and one eminent Conservative, whose account of the early stages of redemocratization in Colombia in the late 1950s is found in Camilo Vázquez Cobo, *Pro patria El Frente Nacional, su origen y desarrollo: Memorias de Camilo Vázquez Cobo Carrizosa* (Cali, n.d.).

The evolution of political ideas is best approached through Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, *Antología del pensamiento político colombiano,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1970), which, for Liberal ideas, can be usefully supplemented by the writing of a Socialist whose intellectual formation was shaped in the Popular Front period, Gerardo Molina, *Las ideas liberales en Colombia,* vol. 2: *1915–1934* (Bogotá, 1974), and *Las ideas liberales en Colombia de 1935 a la iniciación del Frente Nacional* (Bogotá, 1977). There is no comparable work for the study of Conservative ideas, although James D. Henderson, *Conservative Thought in Twentieth Century Latin America: The Ideas of Laureano Gómez* (Athens, Ohio, 1988), read in conjunction with Laureano Gómez, *Obras completas* (Bogotá, 1984–9) provides a useful introduction to one strand of Conservative thinking and Belisario Betancur, *Colombia: Cara a cara* (Bogotá, 1961) and Betancur et al., *Ensayos sobre teoría y política económicas* (Bogotá, 1985) to another. See also James D. Henderson, 'Proyecto de reforma constitucional conservadora de 1953 en Colombia', *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* (Bogotá), nos. 23–4 (1985–6), 261–80. On Socialist ideas, consult Gerardo Molina, *Las ideas socialistas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987), and for the writings of Colombia's

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

most durable Communist leader, Gilberto Vieira, *Escritos políticos* (Bogotá, 1975).

Opposition parties and movements are studied in Medófilo Medina, *Historia del Partido Comunista de Colombia,* vol. I (Bogotá, 1980); Daniel Premo, 'Alianza Nacional Popular: Populism and the politics of social class in Colombia, 1961–70' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1972); and Richard M. Mellman, 'Populist mass mobilization in Latin America: ANAPO' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978). On the debate about the role of the opposition, see Patricia Pinzón de Lewin, *La oposición en Colombia: Algunas bases para su discusión* (Bogotá, 1986). Urban protest is examined further in Jaime Carrillo Bedoya, *Los paros cívicos en Colombia* (Medellín, 1981), Alvaro Cabrera et al., *Los movimientos cívicos* (Bogotá, 1986), Gustavo Gallon Giraldo (comp.), *Entre movimientos y caudillos – 50 años de bipartidismo, izquierda y alternativas populares en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1989) and Pedro Santana R., *Los movimientos sociales en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1989). See also Marco Palacios, *El populismo en Colombia* (Medellín, 1971).

Long periods of civilian rule have made possible a growth of electoral studies. A most valuable compilation of electoral statistics is found in *Colombia política: Estadísticas, 1935–1970* (Bogotá, 1972). An early example of quantitative analysis is provided by Anita Weiss, *Tendencias de la participación electoral en Colombia, 1935–1966* (Bogotá, 1970). Subsequent psephological studies of increasing technical virtuosity include Rodrigo Losada and Miles Williams, 'El voto presidencial en Bogotá', *Boletín Mensual de Estadística,* 229 (August 1970); Judith De Campos and John F. McCamant, 'Colombia política, 1971', *Boletín Mensual de Estadística,* Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE), 242 (September 1971), 69–128; Rodrigo Losada and Gabriel Murillo, *Análisis de las elecciones de 1972 en Bogotá* (Bogotá, 1973); Fernando Cepeda Ulloa and Claudia González de Lecaros, *Comportamiento del voto urbano en Colombia: Una aproximación* (Bogotá, 1976); Judith De Campos and José Martin, *El compartamiento electoral en 1978* (Cali, 1980); Mario Latorre, *Política y elecciones* (Bogotá, 1980); and Rodrigo Losada et al., *Clientelismo y elecciones* (Bogotá, 1984). See also Oscar Delgado (comp.), *La campaña por la presidencia, 1978–1982* (Bogotá, 1978); Monica Lanzetti et al., *Colombia en las urnas: Qué pasó en 1986?* (Bogotá, 1986); and Patricia Pinzón de Lewin, *Pueblos, regiones y partidos: La regionalización electoral: Atlas electoral colombiano* (Bogotá, 1989). For a more descriptive account of electoral practices, consult Mario Latorre, *Elecciones y partidos políticos en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1974).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Several scholars based in the early 1960s at the newly established Department of Sociology at the Universidad Nacional considered a re-evaluation and de-mythologization of the political violence of the previous two decades to be a moral imperative. See Germán Guzmán Campos et al., *La violencia en Colombia: Estudio de un proceso: Parte descriptiva,* 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1962–4). Also valuable in dispelling influential myths is the work of a political scientist, Paul Oquist, *Violencia, conflicto y política en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978; Eng. trans., *Violence, Conflict and Politics in Colombia* (New York, 1980). Outstanding among works on the *Violencia* is a monograph by Carlos Miguel Ortiz Sarmiento, *Estado y subversión en Colombia: La violencia en el Quindío años 50* (Bogotá, 1985). Also useful are Gonzalo Sánchez, 'La violencia in Colombia: New research, new questions', *HAHR,* 65/4 (1985), 789–807; Sánchez and Donny Meertens, *Bandoleros, gamonales y campesinos: El caso de la violencia en Colombia,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1985); Sánchez and Ricardo Peñaranda (comps.), *Pasado y presente de la violencia en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1986); Centro Gaitán, various authors, *Once ensayos sobre la violencia* (Bogotá, 1985); Jaime Arocha, 'La violencia in Monteverde, Colombia: Environmental and economic determinants of homicide in a coffee-growing municipio' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1975); Mary Roldán, 'Guerrillas, contrachusma y caudillos en Antioquia, 1949–1953', *Estudios Sociales* (Medellín), 4 (1989), 55–86; and James D. Henderson, *When Colombia Bled: A History of the 'Violencia' in Tolima* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1985). Participant accounts include J. Casas Aguilar, *La violencia en los llanos orientales* (Bogotá, 1987) and Eduardo Fonseca G., *Los combatientes del llano* (Bogotá, 1987).

The violence of the late 1970s and 1980s is considered in two valuable works by journalists, Enrique Santos Calderón, *La guerra por la paz* (Bogotá, 1985); Germán Hernández, *La justicia en llamas* (Bogotá, 1985); Malcolm Deas, 'The troubled course of Colombian peacemaking', *Third World Quarterly,* 8 (April 1986), 639–57; and, especially, in Gonzalo Sánchez (coord.), *Colombia: Violencia y democracia – Informe presentado al Ministerio de Gobierno* (Bogotá, 1987); and Socorro Ramírez and Luis Alberto Restrepo, *Actores en conflicto por la paz* (Bogotá, 1989). Other writings on the politics of the 1980s include, from committed left-wing standpoints, Nicolás Buenaventura, *Tregua y Unión Patriótica* (Bogotá, 1985); Luis C. Pérez, *La guerrilla ante los jueces militares* (Bogotá, 1987); Arturo Alape, *La paz, la violencia: Testigos de excepción: Documento,* 3rd ed. (Bogotá, 1987); and Medófilo Medina, 'Algunos factores de violencia en el sistema político colombiano, 1930–1986', *Anuario Colombiano de Historia*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Social y de la Cultura (Bogotá), 13–14 (1985–6), 281–97. Right-wing perspectives on the politics of the 1980s are best approached from the writings of General Fernando Landazábal, for example, *Páginas de controversia* (Bogotá, 1983) and *El desafío* (Bogotá, 1988). On drugs and urban violence, see especially Alvaro Camacho Guizado, *Droga y sociedad en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1988), and Dario Betancourt and Martha L. García, *Matones y cuadrilleros: Orígenes y evolución de la violencia en el occidente colombiano* (Bogotá, 1990).

Certain aspects of the military are examined in Francisco Leal Buitrago, *Política e intervención militar en Colombia* (Bogotá, n.d.) and Richard Maullin, *Soldiers, Guerrillas and Politics in Colombia* (Lexington, Mass., 1973). On the human rights record of the military in the 1970s and 1980s, see Amnesty International, *Recomendaciones al gobierno colombiano de una misión de Amnesty International a la República de Colombia* (London, 1980); Comité Permanente por la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, *Represíon y tortura en Colombia: Informes internacionales y testimonios nacionales* (Bogotá, 1980); Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC), *Diez años de lucha: Historia y documentos* (Medellín, 1981); *Documentos del III Foro de los Derechos Humanos* (Bogotá, 1983); an Americas Watch Report, *Human Rights in Colombia as President Barco Begins* (Washington, D.C., 1986); and Jaime Torres Sánchez and Fabio Barrera Tellez et al. (eds.), *Colombia represión 1970–1981*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1982). Official responses can be found in presidential messages and *memorias* of the War Ministry in the same period.

The Catholic church of the 1930s and 1940s is considered in Ana Maria Bidegain de Urán, *Iglesia, pueblo y política, 1930–55* (Bogotá, 1985). Daniel H. Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America: The Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), provides an introduction to the post–Vatican II church, which fruitfully pursues a particular line of comparative enquiry but does not fully supersede earlier writings by sociologists of religion like Gustavo Pérez, *El problema sacerdotal en Colombia* (Fribourg, 1963), and Benjamin E. Haddox, *Sociedad y religíon en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1965). The writings of Camilo Torres are conveniently assembled in Camilo Torres Restrepo, *Cristianismo y revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1970). His life is explored in Francisco Trujillo, *Camilo y el Frente Unido* (Bogotá, 1987). For a contrasting example of *franquista* Catholicism in Colombia, see Miguel Angel Builes, *Cartas pastorales*, 3 vols. (Medellín and Bogotá, 1939–57).

The history and sociology of urban labour have been less thoroughly

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

diagnosed in Colombia than elsewhere on the continent. The three principal studies of the 1960s and 1970s are Miguel Urrutia Montoya, *Development of the Colombian Labor Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1969), which views National Front politics towards organized labour in a broadly favourable light, Daniel Pécaut, *Política y sindicalismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1973) and Edgar Caicedo, *Historia de las luchas sindicales en Colombia,* 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1974), which embody dissenting interpretations embracing some Marxist influences. Valuable too, but addressing an earlier period, is Mauricio Archila Neira, *Ni amos ni siervos: Memoria obrera de Bogotá y Medellín (1910–1945)* (Bogotá, 1990). See also Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Guillermo Perry Rubio, Hernando Gómez Buendía and Rocio Londoño Botero, 'Sindicalismo y política económica', *Coyuntura Economica,* 12/4 (1982), 174–200 and *Sindicalismo y política económica* (Bogotá, 1986); and Fernando López-Alves, 'Explaining Confederation: Colombian unions in the 1980s', *LARR,* 25/2 (1990), 115–33. These should be complemented by two valuable essays, Jaime Tenjo, 'Aspectos cuantitativos del movimiento sindical colombiano', *Cuadernos Colombianos,* no. 5 (1975), 1–40, and Fernán E. González, 'Pasado y presente del sindicalismo colombiano', *Controversia* (Bogotá), nos. 35–6 (1975), and on a related topic, R. Albert Berry, *Real Wage Trends in Colombian Manufacturing and Construction during the Twentieth Century* (London, Ont., 1974), and H. Sanin et al., 'El salario real en la industria manufacturera colombiana, 1970–1980', *Boletín Mensual de Estadística,* 360 (1981), 35–73.

The media have received little scholarly attention, but see Reynaldo Pareja, *Historia de la radio en Colombia, 1929–1980* (Bogotá, 1984); and Hernando Martínez Pardo, *Historia del cine colombiano* (Bogotá, 1978). The history of primary and secondary education is explored by Aline Helg, *Civiliser le peuple et former les élites: L'éducation en Colombie, 1918–1957* (Paris, 1984) and Humberto Quiceño C., *Pedagogía católica y escuela activa en Colombia, 1900–35* (Bogotá, 1988). Meanwhile, Frank Safford, *The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite* (Austin, Tex., 1976), broaches some questions regarding technical education but addresses, for the most part, an earlier period.

Numerous regional and local-level studies clarify political (and related) issues. Perhaps still the most powerful single work by social anthropologists is Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff and Alicia Reichel-Dolmatoff, *The People of Aritama* (London, 1961), which examines a settlement in the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Sierra Nevada in the north of Colombia. Other studies by scholars from different disciplines and ideological positions include Darío Fajardo, *Luchas sociales y transformaciones en tres regiones del Tolima, 1936–1970* (Medellín, 1977); Michael Taussig, 'The evolution of rural wage labour in the Cauca Valley of Colombia, 1700–1970', in Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge (eds.), *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); Rolf Knight, *Sugar Plantations and Labour Patterns in the Cauca Valley* (Toronto, 1972); Roberto Pineda Giraldo, *El impacto de la violencia en el Tolima* (Bogotá, 1966); Norman E. Whitten, *Black Frontiersmen: A South American Case* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); Keith Christie, 'Oligarchy and politics in Caldas, Colombia' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1974); Shirley Harkness, 'The elite and the regional urban system of Valle, Colombia as a reflection of dependency' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1973); Nola Reinhardt, *Our Daily Bread: The Peasant Question and Family Farming in the Colombian Andes* (Berkeley, 1988); and Margarita Jiménez and Sandro Sideri, *Historia del desarrollo regional en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1985). To these should be added further works addressing the agrarian sector and peasantry (see below). Local-level politics are cogently diagnosed as well in novels and short stories, most strikingly in Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad* (Buenos Aires, 1970); English trans., *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (New York, 1970), and his *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (Buenos Aires, 1976), but also in several writings of another novelist, well known within Colombia but less so outside, Eduardo Caballero Calderón, especially *El cristo de espaldas* (Bogotá, 1962).

Relationships between Colombia and the United States are illuminated by German Cavalier, *La política internacional de Colombia,* especially vol. 3 (Bogotá, 1959); Stephen Randall, *The Diplomacy of Modernization: Colombian–American Relations, 1920–1940* (Toronto, 1977); and David Bushnell, *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938–1942* (Gainesville, Fla., 1967). The impact of the Spanish Civil War, a rewarding subject of study, is reviewed by David Bushnell, 'Colombia', in Mark Falcoff and Fredrick Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982), 159–202. Aspects of U.S.–Colombian relations are examined in U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Survey of the Alliance for Progress – Colombia: A Case Study* (Washington, D.C., 1969), and U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee, South American Study Mission, August 9–23, 1977, *Report of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control,* 95th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1977). Both domestic and foreign policy aspects of the growth of drug-trafficking after 1978 are examined in Bruce M. Bagley, 'Colombia and the war on drugs', *Foreign Affairs*, 67/1 (1988), 70–92; Jaime Jaramillo, Leonidas Mora and Fernando Cubides, *Colonización, coca y guerrilla* (Bogotá, 1986); *JIAS*, 30/2–3 (1988), special issue (ed. Bruce M. Bagley); Juan Gabriel Tokatlián, 'National security and drugs: Their impact on Colombian–U.S. Relations', *JIAS*, 20/1 (1988), 133–60; and Juan G. Tokatlián and Bruce M. Bagley (eds.), *Economía y política del narcotráfico* (Bogotá, 1990). On other aspects of recent foreign policy, see Marco Palacios (comp.), *Colombia no alienada* (Bogotá, 1983); Bruce M. Bagley and Juan Gabriel Tokatlián, 'Colombian foreign policy in the 1980s: The search for leverage', *JIAS*, 27/3 (1985), 27–62; and Malcolm Deas, 'The Colombian peace process, 1982–5, and its implications for Central America' in Giuseppe Di Palma and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *The Central American Impasse* (London, 1986), 91–110. Colombian relationships with the multilateral agencies are best approached through Richard Maullin, *The Colombian–IMF Disagreement of November–December 1966: The Interpretation of Its Place in Colombian Politics* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1967), and two essays of Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, 'Colombia and the World Bank', and 'Colombia and the International Labour Organization', in International Legal Center, *The Impact of International Organizations on Legal and Institutional Change in the Developing Countries* (New York, 1977), 81–120 and 221–54. On relations with Venezuela, see Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, *Colombia y Venezuela, una historia atormentada* (Bogotá, 1987) and Cristina Barrera (comp.), *Crisis y fronteras: Relaciones fronterizas binacionales de Colombia con Venezuela y Ecuador* (Bogotá, 1989). On the Andean Pact, see Alicia Puyana de Palacios, *Integración económica entre socios desiguales: El Grupo Andino* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), Carlos Díaz Alejandro, *The Andean Group in the Integration Process of Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), and Roberto Junguito, *Situación y perspectivas de la economía colombiana en relación con el proceso de integración andina* (Bogotá, 1974).

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

The outstanding work of economic history remains the pioneering investigation by Luis Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia, 1810–1930* (Medellín, 1955), which goes beyond 1930. See also Alvaro Tirado Mejía, *Introducción a la historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1971), William P. McGreevey, *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Eng., 1971), which also contains material on the post-1930 period and which aroused much adverse criticism owing to its heavy reliance on counterfactual statements, and José A. Ocampo (ed.), *Historia económica de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1987). Other writing includes the useful synthesis of Salomón Kalmanowitz, *Economía y nación: Una breve historia de Colombia*, 3rd ed. (Bogotá, 1988); Carlos Caballero A., *50 años de economía colombiana* (Bogotá, 1987); and Jesús Antonio Bejarano, *La economía colombiana en la década del 70* (Bogotá, 1984). For statistical data, see Miguel Urrutia Montoya and Mario Arrubla (eds.), *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970).

The most convenient introduction to Colombian development policy since the late 1950s is Bruce M. Bagley, 'Colombia: National Front and economic development' in Robert Wesson (ed.), *Politics, Policies and Economic Development in Latin America* (Stanford, Calif., 1984). Major development issues are raised in Carlos Díaz Alejandro, *Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development: Colombia* (New York, 1976); Fedesarrollo, *Lecturas sobre el desarrollo económico* (Bogotá, 1974) and *Lecturas sobre moneda y banca en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1976); and R. Nelson, T. Schultz and R. Slighton, *Structural Change in a Developing Economy: Colombia's Problems and Prospects* (Princeton, N.J., 1971). For a socialist view, see Mario Arrubla, *Estudios sobre el subdesarrollo colombiano*, 5th ed. (Bogotá, 1971).

Since 1949 Colombia has been the subject of a series of reports by international advisory missions. Amongst the most important are International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia* (Washington, D.C., 1950); Louis Lebret, *Estudio sobre las condiciones del desarrollo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1958); ECLA, *Analyses and Projections of Economic Development*, vol. 3: *The Economic Development of Colombia* (1957); International Labour Office, *Toward Full Employment* (Geneva, 1970); *Las cuatro estrategias* (Bogotá, 1972); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Economic Growth of Colombia: Problems and Prospects* (Bogotá, 1976); and José Antonio Ocampo and Manuel Ramírez (eds.), *El problema laboral colombiano: Informes de la Misión Chenery*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1987). Valuable light is cast on these reports by Guillermo Perry, *Introducción al estudio de los planes de desarrollo para Colombia* (Bogotá, 1972) and Lauchlin Currie, *Evaluación de la asesoría económica a los países en desarrollo – el caso colombiano* (Bogotá, 1984). Among various case studies, see, for example, Eduardo Wiesner Durán, *Paz de Río: Un estudio sobre sus orígenes, su financiación, su experiencia y sus relaciones con el Banco Internacional para la Reconstrucción y Fomento* (Bogotá, 1963); F. Posada and J. de Antonio, *CVC: Un reto al subdesarrollo y al tradicionalismo*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Bogotá, 1966), and Harvey F. Kline, *The Coal of El Cerrejón: Dependent Bargaining and Colombian Policy-Making* (London, 1987), which should be read in conjunction with Roberto Forero Báez, Liliana Jaramillo de Lozano and Cecilia Vélez de Sierra (comps.), *Documentos sobre El Cerrejón* (Bogotá, 1985). See also Hugo Palacios Mejía, *La economía en el derecho constitucional colombiano* (Bogotá, 1975), and projections for the 1980s from data of the 1970s by such specialists as Miguel Urrutia and Guillermo E. Perry R. in Fedesarrollo, *La economía colombiana en la década de los ochenta* (Bogotá, 1979). The impact of the debt crisis is best approached through José Antonio Ocampo, 'Colombia', in Rosemary Thorp and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Latin American Debt and the Adjustment Crisis* (London, 1987), and José Antonio Ocampo and Eduardo Lora, *Colombia y la deuda externa: De la moratoria de los treintas a la encrucijada de los ochentas* (Bogotá, 1988).

The enlargement of the role of the state in the economy is reflected in diverse monographs and articles. Banking is examined in Banco de la República, *Historia del Banco de la República* (Bogotá, 1990) and Salomón Kalmanowitz and Fernando Tenjo Galarza, *La crisis financiera en Colombia: Anatomía de su evolución* (Bogotá, 1986); and monetary policy is broached in Mauricio Avella Gomez, *Pensamiento y política monetaria en Colombia, 1886–1945* (Bogotá, 1987). Taxation is approached in R. Bird, *Taxation and Development: Lessons from Colombia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), and more recently, Guillermo Perry, 'Las reformas tributarias de 1974 y 1975 en Colombia', *Coyuntura Económica*, 7/3 (1977). The analysis and recommendations contained in R. A. Musgrave and M. Gillis, *Fiscal Reform for Colombia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), merit attention. The role of the state in invigilating foreign investment is addressed in both Fernando Cepeda Ulloa and Mauricio Solaún, 'Political and legal challenges to foreign direct investment in Colombia', *JIAS*, 15/1 (1973), 77–101, and François J. Lombard, *The Foreign Investment Screening Process in LDCs: The Case of Colombia, 1967–1975* (Boulder, Colo., 1979). Exchange-rate policy and related matters are unravelled in two works by Eduardo Wiesner Durán, *Política monetaria y cambiaria en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978) and *Devaluación y mecanismo de ajuste en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1980). On government expenditure, M. Selowsky, *Who Benefits from Government Expenditures? A Case-Study of Colombia* (Fairlawn, N.J., 1979), should be consulted. See also Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *La estadística nacional – su organización – sus problemas* (Bogotá, 1938), a pioneering work from an earlier decade that advocated substantive improvements in parts of the state apparatus.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Income distribution is analysed in R. Albert Berry and Miguel Urrutia, *Income Distribution in Colombia* (New Haven, Conn., 1976) and R. Albert Berry and Ronald Soligo (eds.), *Economic Policy and Income Distribution in Colombia* (Boulder, Colo., 1980). Closely linked questions of urban policy are explored by Harold Lubell and Douglas McCallum, *Bogotá: Urban Development and Employment* (Geneva, 1968); Edgar Reveíz Roldán et al., *Poder e información: El proceso decisorio en tres casos de política regional y urbana en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1977); Gabriel Murillo C. and Elizabeth B. Ungar, *Política, vivienda popular y el proceso de toma de decisiones en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978); Bruce M. Bagley, 'Political power, public policy and the state in Colombia: Case studies of the urban and agrarian reforms during the National Front, 1958–1974' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979); and William Cartier, *Urban Processes and Economic Recession: Bogotá in the 1980s* (London, 1988). See also a Marxist view of urban social structure, J. F. Ocampo, *Dominio de clase en la ciudad colombiana* (Medellín, 1972), and Alan Gilbert and Peter M. Ward, *Housing, the State and the Poor: Policy and Practice in Three Latin American Cities* (Cambridge, 1985), a study by two geographers which contains valuable material on Bogotá.

On industrialization, see Albert Berry (ed.), *Essays on Industrialization in Colombia* (Tempe, Ariz., 1983); Gabriel Poveda Ramos, *ANDI y la industria en Colombia, 1944–1984: 40 años* (Medellín, 1984); Miguel Urrutia and Clara Elsa Villalba, 'El sector artesanal en el desarrollo económico colombiano', in Miguel Urrutia, *Cincuenta años de desarrollo colombiano* (Bogotá, 1979), 220–330; Albert Berry, 'The limited role of rural small-scale manufacturing for late-comers: Some hypotheses on the Colombian experience', *JLAS*, 19/2 (1987), 295–322; David Chu, *The Great Depression and Industrialization in Colombia* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1977); G. Ranis, *Challenges and Opportunities Posed by Asia's Super-exporters: Implications for Manufactured Exports from Latin America,* Yale University Center Papers 303 (New Haven, Conn., 1981); and Rhys O. Jenkins, 'Latin America and the new international division of labour: A critique of some recent views', in Christopher Abel and Colin M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State* (London, 1985).

On trade, see Yesid Castro et al., *El sector comercio en Colombia: Estudio actual y perspectivas* (Bogotá, 1979); and Eduardo Lora and José Antonio Ocampo (coords.), *El sector comercial en Colombia: Estructura y comportamiento* (Bogotá, 1988). Two 'traditional' areas of foreign investment are reviewed in Jorge Villegas, *Petróleo, oligarquía e imperio* (Bogotá, 1969), and Judy

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

White, *Historia de una ignominia: La United Fruit Company en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978). See also Daniel Chudnovsky, *Empresas multinacionales y ganancias monopólicas en una economía latinoamericana*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1978). For tendencies towards merger and consolidation of national enterprises, Superintendencia de sociedades, *Conglomerados de sociedades en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1978), is highly recommended; and for the participation of interest groups in decision-making, see John J. Bailey, 'Pluralist and corporatist dimensions of interest representation in Colombia', in James M. Malloy (ed.), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977).

Agrarian history, politics and sociology can be tackled profitably by reading Mario Arrubla (comp.), *La agricultura colombiana en el siglo XX* (Bogotá, 1976), in conjunction with a volume from the 1930s that reflects a tradition of social criticism, Alejandro López, *Problemas colombianos* (Bogotá, n.d.). More recent trends in the social sciences are manifest in Santiago Perry, *La crisis agraria en Colombia, 1950–1980*, 2nd ed. (Bogotá, 1985); Absalon Machado C., *Políticas agrícolas en Colombia, 1900–1960* (Bogotá, 1986); Jesús Antonio Bejarano A., *Economía y poder: La SAC y el desarrollo agropecuario colombiano, 1971–1984* (Bogotá, 1985); Dario Fajardo M., *Haciendas, campesinos y políticas agrarias en Colombia, 1920–1980* (Bogotá, 1983); Darío Mesa et al., *Colombia: Estructura política y agraria* (Medellín, 1971); Pierre Gilhòdes, *Politique et violence: La question agraire en Colombie, 1958–1971* (Paris, 1974); and Gonzalo Cataño (ed.), *Colombia: Estructura política y agraria* (Medellín, 1975). Catherine LeGrand has made a substantial contribution in *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1850–1936* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), 'Labour acquisition and social conflict on the Colombian frontier, 1850–1936', *JLAS*, 16/1 (1984), 27–49, and 'Perspectives for the historical study of rural politics and the Colombian case: An overview', *LARR*, 12/1 (1977), 7–37.

Marco Palacios, *Coffee in Colombia, 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980; trans. from Spanish, Bogotá, 1979), provides a general introduction to coffee history that can be read profitably in conjunction with ECLA/FAO, *Coffee in Latin America: Productivity Problems and Future Prospects*, vol. 1: *Colombia and El Salvador* (1958); Maria C. Errazuriz, *Cafeteros y cafetales del Líbano* (Bogotá, 1986); Mariano Arango, Rafael Aubad and Jaime Piedrahita, *Bonanza de precios y transformaciones en la industria cafetera: Antioquia, 1975–1980* (Medellín, 1983); Michael F. Jimenez, 'Travelling far in grandfather's car: The life-cycle of coffee estates in Central Colombia: The case of Viotá, Cundinamarca,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1900–1930', *HAHR*, 69/2 (1989), 185–200; Robert Beyer, 'The coffee industry in Colombia: Origins and major trends, 1740–1940' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1947); and B. E. Koffman, 'The National Federation of Coffee-growers of Colombia' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, 1969). See also Roberto Junguito, *Un modelo de respuesta en la oferta de café en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1974), and, for the stimulating recollections of an active participant in coffee policy-making, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *Política cafetera, 1937–1978* (Bogotá, 1980).

An early study in agrarian reform policies is available in Albert O. Hirschman, *Journeys towards Progress: Studies of Economic Policy-Making in Latin America* (New York, 1963). On peasant farming, see Sutti Ortiz, *Uncertainties in Peasant Farming: A Colombian Case* (London, 1973). Various features of peasant organization receive attention in Hermes Tovar, *El movimiento campesino en Colombia durante los siglos XIX y XX* (Bogotá, 1972); Ronald Lee Hart, 'The Colombian Acción Comunal program: A political evaluation' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974); and Orlando Fals Borda, *Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucío* (Gainesville, Fla., 1957; Spanish trans., Bogotá, 1967). Essential for an understanding of peasant organization in the 1970s is León Zamosc, *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association, 1967–1981* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). On questions of colonization in the 1970s and 1980s, see Catherine Le Grand, 'Colonization and violence in Colombia: Perspectives and debates', *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 14/28 (1989), 5–29; and Alfredo Molano, *Siguendo el corte* (Bogotá, 1989) and *Sierra adentro: Una historia oral de la colonización del Guaviare* (Bogotá, 1987).

The study of Amerindians in Colombia is best approached through Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, *Introducción a la Colombia Amerindia* (Bogotá, 1987); Universidad Nacional de Colombia, *Colombia Amazónica* (Bogotá, 1987), especially the essays by Myriam Jimeno Santoyo, Elizabeth Reichel Dussan and Pablo Leyva; and Myriam Jimeno and Adolfo Triana Antorveza, *Estado y minorías étnicas en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1985). An early interest in Colombian Indians among national *indigenistas* is observed in Juan Friede, *El indio en la lucha por la tierra* (Bogotá, 1944), and Antonio García, *El problema indígena en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1944). A contentious study of the treatment by missionaries of Sibundoy Indians is Victor Daniel Bonilla, *Siervos de Dios y amos de indios* (Bogotá, 1968; trans.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

into English, London, 1972 from trans. into French, Paris, 1972). One example of anthropological writing that sees the study of Indian tribal societies as an urgent necessity before their final disappearance is G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Desana: Simbolismo de los indios Tukano del Vaupés* (Bogotá, 1968). Also valuable is Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990). On Afro-Colombians, see Aquiles Escalante, *El negro en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1964); Nina S. de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha, *De sol a sol: Génesis, transformación y presencia de los negros en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1986); and Nina Friedemann, *Criele criele* (Bogotá, 1989). One work that has received insufficient scholarly attention in spite of having significance for non-musicologists as well as specialists is George List, *Music and Poetry in a Colombian Village: A Tri-Cultural Heritage* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), which examines the fusion of Hispanic, Amerindian and African influences in music and dance.

Demographic issues were fruitfully explored in Juan Luis de Lannoy and Gustavo Pérez, *Estructuras demográficas y sociales de Colombia* (Fribourg, 1961) and Thomas Merrick, *Recent Fertility Declines in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico* (Baltimore, 1985). On internal migration, see Centro de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo Económico, *Empleo y desempleo en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1968); and two books by T. P. Shultz, *Population Growth and Internal Migration in Colombia* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1969) and *Rural–Urban Migration in Colombia* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1970). Colombian migrations to Venezuela receive sensitive journalistic appraisal in Gonzalo Guillén Jiménez, *Los que nunca volvieron: Colombianos en Venezuela* (Bogotá, 1980) and Alcides Gómez Jiménez and Luz Marina Díaz Mesa, *La moderna esclavitud: Los indocumentados en Venezuela* (Bogotá, 1983), as well as scholarly attention in Ramiro Cardona G. (ed.), *El éxodo de colombianos: Un estudio de la corriente migratoria a los Estados Unidos y un intento para propiciar su retorno* (Bogotá, 1980) and Gabriel Murillo Cataño, *Migrant Workers in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Migration between Colombia and Venezuela and between Mexico and the United States,* Monograph Series 13, Center for U.S.–Mexican studies, University of California (San Diego, 1984).

The study of kinship, gender, family and oral culture is no longer in its infancy in Colombia. Notable contributions to the subject include Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia: Tipologías, funciones y dinámica de la familia* (Bogotá, 1977); Magdalena León de Leal, *Mujer y capitalismo agrario* (Bogotá, 1980); Elssy Bonilla C. (comp.), *Mujer y familia en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1985); Magdalena León, 'Política agraria en Colombia y debate sobre políticas para la mujer rural', in Carmen Diana

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Deere and Magdalena León (eds.), *La mujer y la política agraria en América Latina* (Bogotá, 1986), 43–64; Diana Medrano et al., *Mujer campesina* (Bogotá, 1985); and Cecilia Muñoz V. and Martha Palacios V., *El niño trabajador* (Bogotá, 1980).

41. ECUADOR

Even though in recent years there has been great progress in social and historical studies in Ecuador, there is still no new general history of the republic in the twentieth century. Best of the older histories written between the 1930s and the 1950s are Oscar Efrén Reyes, *Breve historia general del Ecuador,* 6th ed. (Quito, 1957), and Alfredo Pareja Diezcanseco, *Historia del Ecuador* (Quito, 1954). To these must be added an essay of general historical interpretation by Leopoldo Benitez Vinueza, *Ecuador: Drama y paradoja* (Mexico, D.F., 1950). A collective publication prepared in 1980 which groups short essays on diverse aspects of life in republican Ecuador is *Libro del sesquicentenario,* 4 vols. (Quito, 1980–2). For a general overview of contemporary Ecuador, see David W. Schodt, *Ecuador, an Andean Enigma* (Boulder, Colo., and London, 1987). Among the works by the new generation of social scientists, special mention should be made of Augustín Cueva, *El proceso de dominación política en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1982; rev. ed., 1988), an essay of interpretation on political and social development in the country in the twentieth century. See also A. Cueva, 'Ecuador, 1925–1975', in *América Latina, historia de medio siglo,* ed. Pablo González Casanova (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Also widely distributed is a reader published by the Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas of the Universidad Central, three articles of which are about the twentieth century: Leonardo Mejía et al., *Ecuador: Pasado y presente* (Quito, 1975). Osvaldo Hurtado, *El poder político en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1977); Eng. trans., *Political Power in Ecuador* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1980), emphasizes the socio-political process since 1950. The book also contains an exhaustive bibliography on Ecuador. In English, George Maier, 'Presidential succession in Ecuador, 1830–1970', *JIAS,* 13/3–4 (1971), 479–509 is very informative. Finally, a collective work in fifteen volumes, *Nueva historia del Ecuador* (Quito, 1988–90), general editor Enrique Ayala Mora, deserves attention. Vol. 10, *El Ecuador entre los veinte y los sesenta,* and vol. 11, *El Ecuador en el último período,* are relevant here. Vols. 12 and 13 contain essays of general inter-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

pretation, some with emphasis on the republican epoch. The two final volumes contain a chronology and a documentary appendix.

Electoral studies have recently started to attract the attention of scholars. See, for example, Vjekoslav Darlic Mardesic, *Estadísticas electorales del Ecuador, 1978–1987* (Quito, 1987); Juan Bernardo León, *Elecciones, votos y partidos: Evolución y geografía de las preferencias electorales en el Ecuador, 1978–1986* (Quito, 1987); and Amparo Menéndez Carrión, *La conquista del voto en el Ecuador de Velasco a Roldós: El suburbio guayaquileño en las elecciones presidenciales del Ecuador, 1952–1978: Análisis del comportamiento electoral a nivel local en un contexto de control social* (Quito, 1986).

There is very little new literature on politics in the 1930s, but the origins and nature of *velasquismo* in the 1940s have awakened considerable debate and generated several publications. In addition to the work of Augustín Cueva already mentioned, Rafael Quintero, *El mito del populismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1980), deserves attention. George I. Blanksten, *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley, 1951), tackles a similar theme. A valuable contemporary account is *El 28 de mayo, balance de una revolución popular* (Quito, 1946). See also *El 28 de mayo de 1944: Testimonio* (Guayaquil, 1984) and Silvia Vega Ugalde, *'La Gloriosa'* (Quito, 1987).

There is little worthy of mention on the politics of the 1950s and 1960s except an unpublished but frequently cited master's thesis by Gonzalo Abad, 'El proceso de lucha por el poder en el Ecuador' (UNAM, 1970); John Fitch, *The Military Coup d'État as a Political Process: Ecuador, 1948–1966* (Baltimore, 1977); and a series of articles by Peter Pyne: 'The politics of instability in Ecuador: The overthrow of the president, 1961', *JLAS*, 7/1 (1975), 109–33; 'Presidential caesarism in Latin America: Myth or reality? A case study of the Ecuadorian executive during the presidency of José María Velasco Ibarra, 1960–1', *Comparative Politics*, 9 (1977), 281–304; and 'Legislatures and development: The case of Ecuador, 1960–61', *Comparative Political Studies* 9 (1976), 69–72. The lack of literature on the period confers even more importance on a book that caused a worldwide commotion when it was published: *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975), in which Philip Agee makes revealing statements about his period as a CIA agent in Ecuador.

On the 1970s, a publication that achieved wide distribution was a reader that brought together a number of articles on economics, society, and politics: Gerhard Drekonja et al. (eds.), *Ecuador hoy* (Bogotá, 1978). See also another collection of essays, Alberto Acosta et al. (eds.), *Ecuador: El mito del desarrollo* (Quito, 1982). A valuable study on the period of the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

military dictatorship is Francisco R. Dávila Aldás, *Las luchas por la hegemonía y la consolidación política de la burguesía en el Ecuador* (Mexico, D.F., 1984). Nelson Argones, *El juego del poder: De Rodríguez Lara a Febres Cordero* (Quito, 1985), focusses with great clarity on the changes in the political scene during a period of more than a decade. Nick D. Mills, *Crisis, conflicto y consenso: Ecuador (1979–1984)* (Quito, 1984), is an assessment of the first constitutional governments after the dictatorship. See also Marcelo Ortiz Villacis, *El control del poder: Ecuador 1966–1984* (Quito, 1984) and Anita Isaacs, *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972-1992* (Oxford, 1993).

The 1980s saw a proliferation of books on the most notable political events of the decade. The military movement led by General Vargas Pazzos against the government of Febres Cordero was, in particular, the topic of a dozen books. Especially worthy of mention are *La hora del general* (Quito, 1986), and *Operación Taura* (Quito, 1987), both by Gonzalo Ortiz Crespo, and John Maldonado, *Taura: Lo que no se ha dicho* (Quito, 1988). A highly publicized polemic between two presidents is Blasco Peñaherrera Padilla, *El viernes negro* (Quito, 1988), and León Febres Cordero, *Autopsia de una traición* (Quito, 1989). Marco Zalamea, *El régimen febrescorderista* (Cuenca, Ecu., 1988), presents a balanced analytical view of the Febres Cordero administration. Enrique Ayala, *Los partidos políticos en el Ecuador: Síntesis histórica* (Quito, 1986) is a brief overview. Finally, Patricio Moncayo, *Ecuador, grietas en la dominación* (Quito, 1977), H. Handelman, *Ecuador: A New Political Direction* (Hanover, N.H., 1979), D. P. Hanson, 'Political decision making in Ecuador: The influence of business groups' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1971), Adrián Carrasco et al., *Estado, política y democracia en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1988), and the brief essay by David Corkill, 'Democratic politics in Ecuador, 1979–1984', *BLAR*, 4/2 (1985), 63–74 are worthy of note.

There has been no important demographic study of Ecuador apart from Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo/UNFP, *Población y cambios sociales: Diagnóstico sociodemográfico del Ecuador, 1950–1982* (Quito, 1987). Jean Paul Deler, *Ecuador del espacio al estado nacional* (Quito, 1987), contains important work on the spatial and geographical development of the country. See also Lucas Achig, *El proceso urbano de Quito* (Quito, n.d.), and R. F. Bromley, *Development and Planning in Ecuador* (London, 1977).

There is no general economic history of Ecuador, but a work by Fernando Velasco Abad, *Ecuador: Capitalismo y dependencia* (Quito, 1981), originally a thesis, is a notable effort to outline and analyse the different

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

stages in the socio-economic life of the country. It has become a classic. See also José Moncada, *Capitalismo y subdesarollo ecuatoriano en el siglo XX* (Quito, 1982), and *Capitalismo y neoliberalismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1985). Luis A. Carbo, *Historia monetaria y cambiaria del Ecuador* (Quito, 1941; reprinted in 1953 and 1978), contains abundant information and documentation. On the period immediately before the depression of the 1930s, see Banco Central del Ecuador, *Crisis y cambios de la economía ecuatoriana en los años veinte* (Quito, 1987). On public finance in the 1930s, Linda A. Rodríguez, *The Search for Public Policy: Regional Politics and Public Finance in Ecuador, 1930–1940* (Berkeley, 1985), is an important work. See also Paul W. Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923–1933* (Durham, N.C., 1989), chap. 4. José Samaniego, *Crisis económica del Ecuador* (Quito, 1988) and Rosemary Thorp et al., *Los crisis en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1991) treat the periods 1929–33 and 1980–4 in comparative terms. On the economic situation in the late 1980s there has been a great proliferation of books: for example, Pablo Estrella et al., *La crisis de la economía ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1986); Louis Lafeber (ed.), *Economía política del Ecuador: Campo, región, nación* (Quito, 1985); and Eduardo Santos and Mariana Mora, *Ecuador: La década de los ochenta* (Quito, 1987).

The principal export products of the country have been the topic of specific studies. Particularly worthy of mention is Carlos Larrea et al., *El banano en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1987). In the abundant literature produced on the petroleum question, special notice should be taken of Jaime Galarza, *El festín del petróleo* (Cuenca, 1979), a denunciation; Arnaldo Bocco, *Auge petrolero, modernización y subdesarrollo: El Ecuador de los años sesenta* (Quito, 1987); Alberto Acosta et al., *Ecuador: Petróleo y crisis* (Quito, 1986); a study by CEPAL, *Ecuador: Desafíos y logros de la política económica en la fase de expansión petrolera* (Santiago, Chile, 1978); and John D. Martz, *Politics and Petroleum in Ecuador* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987). Leonardo Vicuña, *Economía ecuatoriana: Problemas, tendencias y proyecciones* (Guayaquil, 1980), analyses the economy of Ecuador from various perspectives.

Several works focus on the topic of industrialization: A. Bottomley, 'Imperfect competition in the industrialization of Ecuador', *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 29 (1965); Sabine Fisher, *Estado, clase e industria* (Quito, 1987); and G. Montaño and E. Wygard, *Visión sobre la industria ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1975). For a comparative study of the reformist policies of the 1970s and early 1980s, see Catherine M. Conaghan, *Restructuring Domination: Industrialists and the State in Ecuador* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1988).

The agrarian sector has seen the most extensive bibliographic produc-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tion in the past thirty years. A pioneer study is R. Baraona's CIDA (Comité Inter-Americano de Desarrollo Agrícola) report, *Tenencia de la tierra y desarrollo socio-económico del sector agrícola, Ecuador* (Washington, D.C., 1965). Osvaldo Barsky published several works on the agrarian question in the country, which were later synthesized into one book that soon became a basic reference text: *La reforma agraria ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1984). Also worthy of mention are Gustavo Cosse, *Estado y agro en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1984); Andrés Guerrero, *Haciendas, capital y lucha de clases andina* (Quito, 1983); Miguel Murmis (ed.), *Clase y región en el agro ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1986); Luciano Martínez, *La descomposición del campesinado en la sierra ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1980); and C. Quishpe and V. Piedra, *El proceso de consolidación de la hacienda en el Ecuador* (Cuenca, Ecu., 1977). FLASCO/CEPLAES, *Ecuador: Cambios en el agro serrano* (Quito, 1980) was the stimulus for a debate on several agrarian topics. Finally, an important recent study is Fausto Jordán, *El minifundio* (Quito, 1988).

Some foreign studies worthy of mention are John Brandl (ed.), *Chimborazo: Life on the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador* (London, 1976); Charles S. Blankstein and Clarence Zuvekas, 'Agrarian reform in Ecuador: An evaluation of past efforts and the development of a new approach', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), 73–94; Howard Handelman, *Ecuadorian Agrarian Reform: The Politics of Limited Change* (Hanover, N.H., 1980); David Lehmann, *Share-Cropping and the Capitalist Transition in Agriculture: Some Evidence from Highland Ecuador* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); Miguel Mirmis, *Size of Units, Control of Land and Participation in Production: Some Contextual Material for the Study of the Process of Capitalization of Small Producers in Carchi, Ecuador* (Toronto, 1983), and Leon Zamosc, *Peasant Struggles and Agrarian Reform: The Ecuadorian Sierra and the Colombian Atlantic Coast in Comparative Perspective* (San Diego, Calif., 1990).

Alongside the agrarian studies, there is a body of work on the indigenous peasant movement and its organization. Fernando Velasco, *Reforma agraria y movimiento campesino indígena en la sierra* (Quito, 1979), is a valuable study. See also *La movilización campesina antes de la reforma agraria* (Quito, 1979), by Hernán Ibarra, who is also the author of *Bibliografía analítica agraria, 1900–1982* (Quito, 1982). The Ecuadorian Amazon has begun to receive attention. See, for example, James F. Hick et al., *Ecuador's Amazon Region: Development Issues and Options* (Washington, D.C., 1990); Blanca Muratorio, *Rucucaya y la historia social y económica del Alto Negro, 1850–1950* (Quito, 1987); Dorothea S. Whitten and Norman E.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Whitten, Jr., *From Myth to Creation: Art from Amazonian Ecuador* (Urbana-Champaign, Ill., 1988).

There has been a substantial development of studies on the indigenous peoples: for example, Oswaldo Albornoz, *Las luchas indígenas en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1971); Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, *Los indios ecuatorianos: Evolución histórica y política indigenistas* (Quito, 1987); Alicia Ibarra, *Los indígenas y el estado en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1987); Norman E. Whitten, Jr., *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua* (Urbana, Ill., 1976); and José Sánchez Parga, *La trama del poder en la comunidad andina* (Quito, 1986).

On the birth and development of the labour movement, see Pedro Saad, *La CTE y su papel histórico* (Guayaquil, 1974); Patricio Ycaza, *Historia del movimiento obrero ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1983); Iván J. Paz and Miño Cepeda, *La CEDOC en la historia del movimiento obrero ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1988); Lucas Achig and Tatiana Neira, 'Movimiento obrero ecuatoriano y proceso sindical: Los orígenes: 1880–1930', *Revista IDIS* (May 1989); and Isabel Robalino Bolle, *El sindicalismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, n.d.). A more general approach is taken in Hernán Ibarra, *La formación del movimiento popular (1925–1936)* (Quito, 1984). But it is a strike and massacre that took place before 1930, on 15 November 1922, that have attracted most attention: Elías Muñoz Vicuña, *El 15 de noviembre de 1922, su importancia y sus proyecciones* (Guayaquil, 1973); INFOC, *El 15 de noviembre de 1922 y la fundación del socialismo relatados por sus protagonistas,* 2 vols. (Quito, 1982); and Patricio Martínez, *Guayaquil, noviembre de 1922* (Quito, 1988).

Another bloody event in labour history which occurred in 1977 is the topic of Víctor Granda, *La masacre de Aztra* (Cuenca, 1979). A general work worthy of mention is Marco Velasco, *Insubordinación y conciencia de clase* (Quito, 1983). There are also several publications in which popular history is discussed in relation to leftist organizations: Manuel Agustín Aguirre, 'El marxismo, la revolución y los partidos socialista y comunista en el Ecuador', in *Carlos Marx Homenaje* (Cuenca, Ecu., 1983); Alexei Páez, *El anarquismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1986); and Leonardo Muñoz, *Testimonio de lucha: Memorias sobre la historia del socialismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1988). There is a large quantity of information, although much of it now out of date, in Osvaldo Hurtado and Joachim Herudek, *La organización popular en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1974).

On Ecuadorian culture, especially literature, there are various texts: Benjamín Carrión, *El nuevo relato ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1958); Angel F. Rojas, *La novela ecuatoriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1950); Augusto Arias, *Panorama de le literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1956); Antonio Sacoto, *La nueva*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

novela ecuatoriana (Quito, 1981); Agustín Cueva, *Lecturas y rupturas* (Quito, 1986), and Fernando Tinajero, *De la evasión al desencanto* (Quito, 1987). The richly illustrated *Historia del arte ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1978) offers a broad view of the subject. A general overview of the most recent period can be found in Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, *1969–1979: Diez años de la cultura en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1980). The country's problems of cultural, ethnic and national definition are addressed in Ruth Moya, *Ecuador: Cultura, conflicto y utopía* (Quito, 1987), and *Ecuador multinacional: Conciencia y cultura* (Quito, 1989). For an interesting account by a foreign visitor who resided in the country during the 1930s and 1940s, see Albert B. Franklin, *Ecuador: Retrato de un pueblo* (1943; Buenos Aires, 1984). The basic reference in the field of the philosophy and history of ideas is a book by Arturo Andrés Roig, *Esquemas para una historia de la filosofía ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1977).

Finally, three bibliographical and research guides should be mentioned: John J. Tepaske (ed.), *Research Guide to Andean History: Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1981), in which the section on Ecuador has an introduction by Jaime E. Rodríguez; Robert E. Norris, *Guía bibliográfica para el estudio de la historia ecuatoriana* (Austin, Tex., 1978), complete and well organized; and a recent volume in the World Bibliographical Series, *Ecuador* (Oxford, 1989), compiled by David Corkill, which contains a large bibliography in English, classified by topics, but very few titles in Spanish. See also Rodolfo Agoglia (ed.), *Historiografía ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1985).

42. VENEZUELA

The best bibliographical guide is John Lombardi et al., *Venezuelan History: A Comprehensive Working Bibliography* (Boston, 1977). Since 1970, the Biblioteca Nacional has irregularly issued the series *Bibliografía venezolana* and *Anuario bibliográfico venezolano*. For historiography, see Germán Carrera Damas, *Historia de la historiografía venezolana: Textos para su estudio* (Caracas, 1961), *Cuestiones de historiografía venezolana* (Caracas, 1964) and *Historiografía marxista venezolana y otros temas* (Caracas, 1967). A useful chronological guide is A. Arellano Moreno, *Guía de historia de Venezuela*, 3rd ed. (Caracas, 1977). The *Diccionario de historia de Venezuela*, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1990), edited by Manuel Pérez Vila and published by the Fundación Polar, is invaluable.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Several collections of printed source material have appeared. The most impressive general series is Ramón J. Velásquez, *El pensamiento político venezolano del siglo XX: Documentos para su estudio,* 15 vols. to date (Caracas, 1983–). See also Naudy Suárez Figureroa's *Programas políticos venezolanos de la primera mitad del siglo XX,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1977). Allan R. Brewer-Carías, *Las constituciones de Venezuela* (Madrid, 1985), discusses and reproduces the texts of all constitutions. José Augustín Catalá has edited and reprinted documents relating to the dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez and the clandestine resistance of the Acción Democrática (AD) – frequently taken from the 1960s trials of *perezjimenistas.* See *Libro negro 1952* (Caracas, 1974); *Documentos para la historia de la resistencia,* 4 vols. (Caracas, 1969); *Los crímenes de Pérez Jiménez* (various subtitles and volumes, Caracas, 1971); and *Los jerarcas impunes del perezjimenismo* (various subtitles and volumes, Caracas, 1971). José Rivas Rivas has compiled and reproduced newspaper clippings which cover the period from 1936 to 1958 in *Historia gráfica de Venezuela,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1961). Economic and statistical sources may be found in the Banco Central de Venezuela, *La economía venezolana en los últimos treinta y cinco años* (Caracas, 1978); Miguel Izard, *Series estadísticas para la historia de Venezuela* (Mérida, Ven., 1970); and the official *Anuario Estadístico,* published since 1877 with some interruptions.

Two collections of interviews with public figures provide valuable source material for recent history. Alfredo Peña conducted several lengthy interviews at the time of the 1978 election: *Conversaciones con Douglas Bravo* (Caracas, 1978); *Conversaciones con Luis Herrera Campíns* (Caracas, 1978); *Conversaciones con Américo Martín* (Caracas, 1978); *Conversaciones con José Vincente Rangel* (Caracas, 1978); *Conversaciones con Uslar Pietri* (Caracas, 1978); *Conversaciones con Luis Beltrán Prieto* (Caracas, 1979); and *Conversaciones con Carlo Andrés Pérez,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1979). Augustín Blanco Muñoz's series, *Testimonios violentos,* 10 vols. (Caracas, 1980–90), includes the following titles: *El 23 de enero: Habla la conspiración; La lucha armada: Hablan 5 jefes; La lucha armada: Hablan 6 comandantes; La conspiración cívico–militar: Guairazo, Barcelonazo, Carupanazo, y Porteñazo; La los izquierda revolucionaria insurge; La lucha armada: Hablan 3 comandantes de la izquierda revolucionaria; Pedro Estrada habló; Habla el General; Venezuela: Historia de una frustración; Habla D. F. Maza Zavala; Acción Democrática, Memorias de una contradicción: Habla Gumersindo Rodríguez.*

The following general works treat all of Venezuelan history or the period since independence: John V. Lombardi, *Venezuela: The Search for Order, the Dream of Progress* (New York, 1982); Guillermo Morón, *A History*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

of Venezuela (London, 1976); J. L. Salcedo-Bastardo, *Historia fundamental de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1979); and Mariano Picón Salas, Augusto Mijares and Ramón Díaz Sánchez, *Venezuela independiente: Evolución política y social, 1810–1960* (Caracas, 1975). The most ambitious effort to cover the twentieth century is that of Juan Bautista Fuenmayor, *Historia de la Venezuela política contemporánea, 1899–1960,* 10 vols. to date (1978–). Fuenmayor has written a one-volume survey entitled *1928–1948: Veinte años de política* (Caracas, 1979). Judith Ewell, *Venezuela: A Century of Change* (London, 1984), and Ramón J. Velásquez et al., *Venezuela moderna: Medio siglo de historia, 1926–1976,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1979), concentrate on the post-Gómez period.

For economic history, see Federico Brito Figueroa, *Historia económica y social de Venezuela,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1966); Domingo Alberto Rangel, *Capital y desarrollo,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1969); Loring Allen, *Venezuelan Economic Development: A Politico-Economic Analysis* (Greenwich, Conn., 1977); and Sergio Aranda, *La economía venezolana* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). More specialized studies include M. Ignacio Purroy, *Estado e industrialización en Venezuela* (Valencia, Ven., 1982); Clemy Machado de Acedo, Elena Plaza and Emilio Pacheco, *Estado y grupos económicos en Venezuela (su análisis a través de la tierra, construcción y banca)* (Caracas, 1981); Janet Kelly de Escobar, *Empresas del estado en América Latina* (Caracas, 1985); Louis E. Heaton, *The Agricultural Development of Venezuela* (New York, 1969); and Gastón Carvallo, *El hato venezolano, 1900–1980* (Caracas, 1985).

For petroleum, see William Sullivan and Winfield J. Burggraaff, *El petróleo en Venezuela: Una bibliografía* (Caracas, 1977). Sullivan and Brian S. McBeth have updated and annotated the guide for the English-speaking audience: *Petroleum in Venezuela: A Partially Annotated Bibliography to 1980* (Boston, 1985). The classic work is still Rómulo Betancourt, *Venezuela: Política y petróleo* (Mexico, D.F., 1956); see also the compilation of Betancourt's essays in *El petróleo de Venezuela* (Barcelona, 1978). Other good studies include Edwin Lieuwen, *Petroleum in Venezuela: A History* (Berkeley, 1954), and 'The politics of energy in Venezuela', in John D. Wirth (ed.), *Latin American Oil Companies and the Politics of Energy* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1985), 189–225; Franklin Tugwell, *The Politics of Oil in Venezuela* (Stanford, Calif., 1975); B. S. McBeth, *Juan Vincente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); George Philip, *Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); James F. Petras et al., *The Nationalization of Venezuelan Oil* (New York, 1977); Jorge Salazar Carrillo, *Oil in the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Economic Development of Venezuela (New York, 1976); Luis Vallenilla, *Oil: The Making of a New Economic Order – Venezuelan Oil and OPEC* (New York, 1975); and Comisión Ideológica de RUPTURA, *El imperialismo petrolero y la revolución venezolana,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1977–9). Aníbal Martínez has several useful introductions to the topic, including *Gumersindo Torres* (Caracas, 1980), *Historia petrolera venezolana en 20 jornadas* (Caracas, 1973) and *Cronología del petróleo venezolano* (Caracas, 1970). Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonzo's writings provide a guide to government policy and his criticisms of it: *Hundiéndonos en el excremento del diablo,* 3rd ed. (Caracas, 1976), *El pentágono petrolero* (Caracas, 1976), *Petróleo y dependencia* (Caracas, 1971) and *Política petrolera* (Caracas, 1962).

The literature on the Gómez dictatorship (1908–35) is growing, but little useful material has yet been published on the López and Medina administrations (1936–45). On Gómez, in addition to the old but still useful works of Thomas Rourke (Daniel J. Clinton), *Gómez, Tyrant of the Andes* (New York, 1937), and John Lavin, *A Halo for Gómez* (New York, 1954), see Luis Cipriano Rodríguez, *Gómez: Agricultura, petróleo y dependencia* (Caracas, 1983); Yolanda Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen de Juan Vicente Gómez* (Caracas, 1982); Domingo Alberto Rangel, *Gómez el amo del poder* (Caracas, 1975); Ramón J. Velásquez's fictionalized account, *Confidencias imaginarias de Juan Vicente Gómez* (Caracas, 1979); Elías Pino Iturrieta, *Positivismo y gomecismo* (Caracas, 1978); and Arturo Sosa A., *Ensayos sobre el pensamiento político positivista venezolano* (Caracas, 1985). On the Gómez dictatorship, see also essay VI:27. On the López Contreras years, see E. López Contreras, *Proceso político social, 1928–1936* (Caracas, 1935), *Páginas para la historia militar de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1945) and *El triunfo de la verdad* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), among his other works; Alfredo Tarre Murzi, *López Contreras: De la tiranía a la libertad,* 3rd ed. (Caracas, 1982), a fictionalized account; and Silvia Mijares, *Organizaciones políticas de 1936* (Caracas, 1980). On the Medina years, see Isaías Medina Angarita, *Cuatro años de democracia* (Caracas, 1963); Luis Cordero Velázquez, *Betancourt y la conjura militar del 45* (Caracas, 1978); and Domingo Alberto Rangel, *Los andinos en el poder* (Caracas, 1975).

Scholars have directed some attention to the democratic *trienio* (1945–8) and the dictatorship of 1948–58. See, for example, Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945–59* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1974); Glen L. Kolb, *Democracy and Dictatorship in Venezuela, 1945–1958* (Hamden, Conn., 1974); and Judith Ewell, *The Indictment of a Dictator: The Extradition and Trial of*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Marcos Pérez Jiménez (College Station, Tex., 1981). Pérez Jiménez's minister of the interior, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, provides the most interesting of his apologies: *Escrito de memoria* (Caracas, 1967), and *Razones de proscrito* (Caracas, 1967). Andrés Stambouli, *Crisis política: Venezuela, 1945–1958* (Caracas, 1980), is a balanced account, as is Manuel Rodríguez Campos, *Venezuela, 1948–1958: El proceso económico y social de la dictadura* (Caracas, 1983). Three studies chronicle Pérez's downfall: Helena Plaza, *El 23 de enero de 1958 y el proceso de consolidación de la democracia representativa en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1978); Philip B. Taylor, Jr., *The Venezuelan Golpe de Estado of 1958: The Fall of Marcos Pérez Jiménez* (Washington, D.C., 1968); and Joseph Doyle, 'Venezuela 1958: Transition from dictatorship to democracy (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Washington University, 1967).

Most modern political histories have lauded the development of a viable democracy since 1958 and the role of AD in particular. See, for example, John Martz, *Acción Democrática: Evolution of a Modern Political Party in Venezuela* (Princeton, N.J., 1966); with Enrique Baloyra, *Political Attitudes in Venezuela: Societal Cleavages and Political Opinion* (Austin, Tex., 1979); and with David J. Myers (eds.), *Venezuela, the Democratic Experience* (New York, 1977; rev. ed., 1986). Other standard works are Robert Alexander, *The Venezuelan Democratic Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964); Daniel Levine, *Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela* (Princeton, N.J., 1973) and 'Venezuela since 1958: The consolidation of democratic politics', in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, 1978), 82–109; David Blank, *Politics in Venezuela* (Boston, 1973) and *Venezuela: Politics in a Petroleum Republic* (New York, 1984); José Antonio Gil Yepes, *The Challenge of Venezuelan Democracy* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1981); Harrison Sabin Howard, *Rómulo Gallegos y la revolución burguesa en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1976); and Clemy Machado de Acedo, *El positivismo en las ideas políticas de Rómulo Gallegos* (Caracas, 1982). John A. Peeler compares Venezuelan political development with that of two other countries in *Latin American Democracies: Colombia, Costa Rica, Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985).

A number of studies are more critical both of AD and of Venezuelan democracy. See Moisés Moleiro, *El partido del pueblo: Crónica de un fraude*, 2nd ed. (Valencia, Ven., 1979); José Silva Michelena, *The Illusion of Democracy in Dependent Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971) and, with Frank Bonilla, *The Failure of Elites* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Carlos Rangel, *Del buen salvaje al buen revolucionario* (Caracas, 1976); Daniel Hellinger,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'Populism and nationalism in Venezuela: New perspectives on Acción Democrática', *LAP*, 11/4 (1984), 33–59; Terry Karl, 'The political economy of petrodollars: Oil and democracy in Venezuela' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1982); Aníbal Romero, *Miseria del populismo: Mitos y realidades de la democracia en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1986); Margarita López Maya et al., *De punto fijo al pacto social: Desarrollo y hegemonía en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1989); and the various works of Domingo Alberto Rangel.

On Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente (COPEI), Rafael Caldera's writings and speeches are valuable; see, for example, *Idearío: La democracia cristiana en América Latina* (Barcelona, 1970) and *Habla el presidente* (Caracas, 1969). See also Donald Herman, *Christian Democracy in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980). On other parties, see Robert Alexander, *The Communist Party of Venezuela* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); Steve Ellner, 'The MAS Party in Venezuela', *LAP*, 13/2 (1986), 81–107 and *Venezuela's Movimiento al Socialismo: From Guerrilla Defeat to Innovative Politics* (Durham, N.C., 1988). Manuel Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986), contains some information on the early history of the Venezuelan Communist Party. Manuel Vicente Magallanes, *Los partidos políticos en la evolución histórica venezolana*, 5th ed. (Caracas, 1983), is indispensable in tracing the rise and fall of many minor parties, as well as the major ones.

The quinquennial elections since 1958 have inspired considerable national self-examination; see, for example, the following compilations from *El Nacional's* anniversary issues: *Venezuela 1979: Examen y futuro* (Caracas, 1980), and *1984: A dónde va Venezuela?* (Caracas, 1984). The excellent *El caso Venezuela: Una ilusión de armonía* (Caracas, 1985), edited by Moisés Naím and Ramón Piñango, does much the same thing from a scholarly perspective.

Rómulo Betancourt is the only major political figure who has received extensive attention from biographers. In addition to Betancourt's own voluminous writings, see Robert Alexander, *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982); Alejandro Gómez, *Rómulo Betancourt y el Partido Comunista de Costa Rica: 1931–1935* (Caracas, 1985); Arturo Sosa A. and Eloi Lengrand in *Del garibaldismo estudiantil a la izquierda criolla: Los orígenes marxistas del proyecto de AD (1928–1935)* (Caracas, 1981); Manuel Caballero, *Rómulo Betancourt* (Caracas, 1979); Ramón J. Velásquez, J. F. Sucre Figarella and Blas Bruni Celli, *Betancourt en la historia de Venezuela del siglo XX* (Caracas, 1980); and the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

fictionalized biography by Alfredo Tarre Murzi [Sanin], *Rómulo* (Valencia, Ven., 1984).

Little has been written on women in politics (or on women in general), and the women who spoke to Fania Petzoldt and Jacinta Bevilacqua for the book *Nosotras también nos jugamos la vida: Testimonios de la mujer venezolana en la lucha clandestina, 1948–1958* (Caracas, 1979) show some bitterness at being overlooked. Angela Zago writes an engaging memoir of her days with the guerrillas in the mid-1960s, *Aquí no ha pasado nada* (Caracas, 1972), and the acrid essays of Elisa Lerner – such as *Crónicas ginecológicas* (Caracas, 1984) – discuss women's roles.

Studies of interest groups and pressure groups have enriched the political literature. See Robert F. Arnove, *Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Study* (New York, 1971); Robert D. Bond, 'Business associations and interest politics in Venezuela: The FEDECAMARAS and the determination of national economic policies' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1975); Samuel Moncada, *Los huevos de la serpiente: FEDECAMARAS por dentro* (Caracas, 1985); John Duncan Powell, *Political Mobilization of the Venezuelan Peasant* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and Talton F. Ray, *The Politics of the Barrios of Venezuela* (Berkeley, 1969). On the military, see Winfield J. Burggraaff, *The Venezuelan Armed Forces in Politics, 1935–1959* (Columbia, Mo., 1972); Angel Ziems, *El gomecismo y la formación del ejército nacional* (Caracas, 1979). And on the church, see Daniel Levine, *Religion in Latin America: The Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia* (Princeton, N.J., 1981).

The history of the labour movement has received considerable attention. See Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Steve Ellner, *Los partidos políticos y su disputa por el control del movimiento sindical en Venezuela, 1936–1948* (Caracas, 1980); Julio Godio, *El movimiento obrero venezolano, 1850–1980*, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1980); Paul Nehru Tennassee, *Venezuela, los obreros petroleros y la lucha por la democracia* (Caracas, 1979); Mostafa Hassan, *Economic Growth and Employment Problems in Venezuela: An Analysis of an Oil-Based Economy* (New York, 1975); Alberto J. Pla et al., *Clase obrera, partidos y sindicatos en Venezuela, 1936–1950* (Caracas, 1982); and Héctor Lucena, *El movimiento obrero y las relaciones laborales* (Carabobo, Ven., 1981).

Some good studies of social problems have appeared. The best general study of the Venezuelan population is by Chi-Yi Chen and Michel Picouet, *Dinámica de la población: Caso de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1979). See also Chi-Yi

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chen, *Movimientos migratorios en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1968); and Susan Berglund and Humberto Hernández Calimán, *Los de afuera: Un estudio analítico del proceso migratorio en Venezuela, 1936–1985* (Caracas, 1985). On national nutritional deficiencies, see George Schuyler, *Hunger in a Land of Plenty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Paulina Dehollain and Irene Pérez Schael, *Venezuela desnutrida* (Caracas, 1978); and Eleanor Witte Wright, 'The political economy of Venezuelan food policy, 1958–1978' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Maryland, 1982). Jeannette Abouhamad provides a profile of Venezuelans in *Los hombres de Venezuela: Sus necesidades, sus aspiraciones* (Caracas, 1970). Agustín Blanco Muñoz deals with class conflict in *Clases sociales y violencia en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1976). See Esteban Emilio Mosonyi, *Identidad nacional y culturas populares* (Caracas, 1982), and Maritza Montero, *Ideología, alienación e identidad nacional* (Caracas, 1984), for a discussion of national psychology and identity. Finally, Winthrop R. Wright offers a perceptive overview of Venezuelans' views of race over the years in *Café con Leche: Race, Class and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin, Tex., 1990).

The multi-volume study undertaken by the Universidad Central de Venezuela, *Estudio de Caracas,* 15 vols. (1967–72), is useful for Caracas's urban problems, and Lloyd Rodman et al., *Planning Urban Growth: The Experience of the Guayana Program of Venezuela* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), depicts the new city of Ciudad Guayana. People of the *barrios* receive special attention in Luise Margolies (ed.), *The Venezuelan Peasant in Country and City* (Caracas, 1979); Kenneth Karst, Murray Schwartz and Audrey Schwartz, *The Evolution of Law in the Barrios of Caracas* (Los Angeles, 1973); and Lisa Redfield Peattie, *The View from the Barrio* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970). For regional issues, see John Friedman, *Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); and Allan R. Brewer-Carías and Norma Izquierdo Corser, *Estudios sobre la regionalización de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1977).

Administrative history has been dominated by the voluminous works of Allan R. Brewer-Carías – for example, *Estudios sobre la reforma administrativa* (Caracas, 1980), *Cambio político y reforma del estado en Venezuela* (Madrid, 1975), and *El estado, crisis y reforma* (Caracas, 1984). Roderick Groves, 'Administrative reform in Venezuela, 1958–1963' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1965), examines the early efforts to streamline the government bureaucracy, and E. Mark Hanson discusses educational administration in *Educational Reform and Administrative Development: The Cases of Colombia and Venezuela* (Stanford, Calif., 1986).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Venezuela's expansionist foreign policy in the 1970s awakened more scholarly interest in this field. See Robert Bond (ed.), *Contemporary Venezuela and Its Role in International Affairs* (New York, 1977); Stephen G. Rabe, *The Road to OPEC: United States Relations with Venezuela, 1919–1976* (Austin, Tex., 1982); Demetrio Boersner, *Venezuela y el Caribe: Presencia cambiante* (Caracas, 1978); Sheldon Liss, *Diplomacy and Dependency: Venezuela, the United States, and the Americas* (Salisbury, N.C., 1978); Fermín Toro Jiménez, *La política de Venezuela en la conferencia inter-americana de consolidación de la paz: Buenos Aires, 1936* (Caracas, 1977); Freddy Vivas Gallardo, *Venezuela en la sociedad de las naciones, 1920–1939: Descripción y análisis de una actuación diplomática* (Caracas, 1981); Aníbal Romero (ed.), *Seguridad, defensa y democracia en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1980); Andres Serbín (ed.), *Geopolítica de las relaciones de Venezuela con el Caribe* (Caracas, 1983); Julio Portillo, *Venezuela–Cuba, 1902–1980* (Caracas, 1981); Clemy Machado de Acedo and Marisela Padrón Quero, *La diplomacia de López Contreras y el tratado de reciprocidad comercial con Estados Unidos* (Caracas, 1987); and Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Universidad Central de Venezuela, *La agenda de la política exterior de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1983). Francisco J. Parra, *Doctrinas de la cancillería venezolana: Digesto,* 6 vols. (New York, 1952–64), provides a useful guide to Venezuelan foreign policy since independence.

43. BRAZIL

GENERAL

There is no satisfactory general history of Brazil from 1930 to the present day. Israel Beloch and Alzira Alves de Abreu (eds.), *Dicionário histórico-bibliográfico brasileiro, 1930–1983,* 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1984) is an indispensable guide. It is the most ambitious and substantial of a large number of important contributions from the Centro de Pesquisas e Documentação em História Contemporânea (CPDOC) of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) in Rio de Janeiro, the creation of which in 1973 transformed the study of contemporary Brazilian history. For the period from the revolution of 1930 to the *golpe* of 1964 Boris Fausto (ed.), *História geral da civilização brasileira,* III: *0 Brasil republicano,* 3. *Sociedade e política (1930–64),* 4. *Economia e cultura (1930–64)* (São Paulo, 1981, 1984) is an outstanding collaborative history. Chapters that treat the entire period include Aspásia de Alcântara Camargo, 'A questão agrária: Crise de poder

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

e reformas de base (1930–1964)', Décio Saes, 'Classe média e política no Brasil (1930–1964)', Sérgio Miceli, 'Carne e osso da elite política brasileira pós-1930', Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, 'O PCB: Os dirigentes e a organização' and 'Sindicalismo e classe operária (1930–1964)' in vol. 3; and Tamás Szmrecsányi, 'O Desenvolvimento da produção agropecuária (1930–1970)' in vol. 4. See also a series of informative books by Edgard Carone: *A Segunda república (1930–1937)* (São Paulo, 1973), *A República nova (1930–37)* (São Paulo, 1974), *A Terceira república* (São Paulo, 1976), *O Estado Novo (1937–45)* (São Paulo, 1976), *A Quarta república (1945–64)* (São Paulo, 1980), and *A República liberal*, I: *Instituições e classes sociais, 1945–64*, II *Evolução política, 1945–64* (São Paulo, 1985). Thomas E. Skidmore, 'The historiography of Brazil, 1889–1964', part 1, *HAHR*, 55/4 (1975), 716–49, part 2, *HAHR*, 56/1 (1976), 81–109, remains valuable but takes account of publications to *c.* 1972 only. Robert M. Levine, *Brazil since 1930: An Annotated Bibliography for Social Historians* (New York, 1980) includes publications to *c.* 1979.

Outstanding among general economic histories of Brazil since 1930 is Marcelo de Paiva Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso: Cem anos de política econômica republicana, 1889–1989* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990); individual essays, all by leading Brazilian economists and economic historians, will be cited below. See also Werner Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1989) and Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, *Development and Crisis in Brazil, 1930–1983* (Boulder, Colo., 1984). And on financial issues, see Raymond W. Goldsmith, *Brasil, 1850–1984: Desenvolvimento financeiro sob um século de inflação* (São Paulo, 1986); on the economic role of the state, Sônia Draibe, *Rumos e metamorfoses: Estado e industrialização no Brasil, 1930–1960* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985), O. Ianni, *Estado e planejamento econômico do Brasil (1930–1970)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971) and Gustavo Maia Gomes, *The Roots of State Intervention in the Brazilian Economy* (New York, 1986); on the land question and the frontier, Joe Foweraker, *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981); and on demographic aspects of development, Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979).

General political histories include Peter Flynn, *Brazil: A Political Analysis* (London, 1978); Ronald M. Schneider, *'Order and Progress': A Political History of Brazil* (Boulder, Colo., 1991); and, taken together, two works by Thomas E. Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930–1964: An Experiment in*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Democracy (New York, 1967) and *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–85* (New York, 1988). On the historical fragility of democracy in Brazil, Bolivar Lamounier, 'Brazil: Inequality against democracy' in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries,* vol. 4 (Boulder, Colo. 1989) is a thoughtful essay by one of Brazil's leading (and most productive) political scientists. On political participation, see Joseph L. Love, 'Political participation in Brazil, 1881–1969', *L-BR,* 20/1 (1983), 65–92. On political parties, see David V. Fleischer (ed.), *Os Partidos políticos no Brasil,* 2 vols. (Brasília, 1981).

On the military, Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J., 1971) is fundamental. See also Edmundo Campos Coelho, *Em busca de identidade: O exército e a política na sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976); Alexandre de Souza Costa Barros, 'The Brazilian military: Professional specialization, political performance and state building' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1978); Frederick M. Nunn, 'Military professionalism and professional militarism in Brazil, 1870–1970', *JLAS,* 4/1 (1972), 29–54; and Frank D. McCann, *A Nação armada: Ensaios sobre a história do exército brasileiro* (Petrópolis, 1982) and 'The military' in Michael L. Conniff and Frank D. McCann (eds.), *Modern Brazil, Elites and Masses in Historical Perspective* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1989). On labour, see Timothy Harding, 'A political history of organized labor in Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1973); Michael Hall and Marco Aurélio Garcia, 'Urban labor', in Conniff and McCann (eds.), *Modern Brazil;* Kenneth P. Erickson, *The Brazilian Corporative State and Working Class Politics* (Berkeley, 1977); and, less convincing, Youssef Cohen, *The Manipulation of Consent: The State and Working Class Consciousness in Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1989).

On the history of social welfare policy, see James M. Malloy, *The Politics of Social Security in Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1979). There are many general histories of the Brazilian Communist party; see, for example, Ronald H. Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party: Conflict and Integration, 1922–1972* (New York, 1974) and Moisés Vinhas, *O Partidão: Uma luta por um partido de massas, 1922–1974* (São Paulo, 1982).

The Catholic church is well served: see Ralph Della Cava, 'Catholicism and Society in 20th century Brazil', *LARR,* 11/2 (1976), 7–50; T. C. Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church* (New York, 1974) and *The Church in Brazil: The Politics of Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1982); and Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916–85* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Ideologia da*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cultura brasileira (1933–1974) (São Paulo, 1977) and Daniel Pecaut, *Entre le peuple et la nation: Les intellectuels et la politique au Brésil* (Paris, 1989; Portuguese trans., São Paulo, 1990), are interesting contributions to intellectual history. Amado Luiz Cervo and Clodoaldo Bueno, *História da política exterior do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992), chaps. 10–16, represents a useful survey of Brazil's international relations.

1930–1945

Boris Fausto, *A revolução de 1930: Historiografia e história* (São Paulo, 1970) remains the best guide to the 1930 revolution which brought an end to the First Republic (1889–1930) and brought to power Getúlio Vargas. See also Fausto's essay, 'A Revolução de 1930' in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *Brasil em perspectiva* (São Paulo, 1968). Alexandre J. Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *A Verdade sobre a revolução de outubro de 1930* (1933; 2nd ed. 1975) still has interest. Two volumes from CPDOC-FGV to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution are indispensable: *A Revolução de 30: simpósio internacional* (Brasília, 1982) (see, in particular, the essays by Luciano Martins, 'A Revolução de 1930 e seu significado político' and Aspásia Camargo, 'A Revolução dos elites: Conflitos regionais e centralização') and *A Revolução de 30: Textos e documentos,* 2 vols. (Brasília, 1982). CPDOC, *A Revolução de 1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) is a valuable collection of photographs. Lucia Lippi Oliveira (ed.), *Elite intelectual e debate político nos anos 30: Uma bibliografia comentada da revolução de 30* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), explores the political and social thought of the period immediately after the Revolution through an analysis of 143 books published between 1929 and 1936. Other contributions worthy of mention include Jordan M. Young, *The Revolution of 1930 and the Aftermath* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967); Helio Silva, *1930: A Revolução traída* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966); and an interpretive essay by Sílvio R. Duncan Baretta and John Markoff, 'The limits of the Brazilian Revolution of 1930', *Review,* 9/3 (1986), 413–52.

On the *gaúcho* background and origins of the Revolution, see Joseph L. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1971), chap. 10; Joan L. Bak, 'Cartels, cooperatives and corporatism: Getúlio Vargas in Rio Grande do Sul on the eve of Brazil's 1930 Revolution', *HAHR,* 63/2 (1983), 255–75; and Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca, *Vargas: O Capitalismo em construção* (São Paulo, 1987), chaps. 2 and 3. On São Paulo and the Revolution, see Vavy Pacheco Borges, *Getúlio*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Vargas e a oligarquia paulista (São Paulo, 1979), Maria Lígia Prado, *A Democracia ilustrada: O Partido Democrático em São Paulo, 1926–1934* (São Paulo, 1986) and Mauricio A. Font, *Coffee, Contention and Change in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

On the role of the *tenentes* in the Revolution of 1930 and their early influence over Vargas's provisional government there is a vast literature. See, in particular, Peter Flynn, 'The Revolutionary Legion and the Brazilian Revolution of 1930', in Raymond Carr (ed.), *Latin American Affairs: St. Antony's Papers no. 22* (Oxford, 1970); Edgard Carone, *O Tenentismo* (São Paulo, 1975); Maria Cecília Spina Forjaz, *Tenentismo e Aliança Liberal (1927–1930)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); *Tenentismo e política: Tenentes e camadas medias urbanas na crise de Primeira República* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982) and *Tenentismo e forças armadas na revolução de 1930* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989); Octavio Malta, *Os Tenentes na revolução brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969); Vavy Pacheco Borges, *Tenentismo e revolução brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1992); John Wirth, *'Tenentismo* in the Brazilian Revolution of 1930', *HAHR*, 44/2 (1964), 162–79; Helio Silva, *1931: Os Tenentes no poder* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966); Michael L. Conniff, 'The *tenentes* in power: A new perspective on the Brazilian Revolution of 1930', *JLAS*, 10/1 (1978); 61–82; and especially José Augusto Drummond, *O Movimento tenentista: intervenção militar e conflito hierárquico (1922–1935)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986).

On the military itself, see Eurico de Lima Figueiredo (ed.), *Os Militares e a revolução de 30* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). José Murilo de Carvalho explores the internal reorganization of the military following the Revolution (and the role of the military in politics during the Vargas regime) in 'Armed forces and politics in Brazil, 1930–45', *HAHR*, 62/2 (1982), 193–223. See also Campos Coelho, *Em busca da identidade*, cited above. On the role of General Góes Monteiro, the key military figure of the period, see Lourival Coutinho, *O General Góes depõe* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956).

Biographies of Vargas include Affonso Henriques, *Ascenção e queda de Getúlio Vargas*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), John W. F. Dulles, *Vargas of Brazil: A Political Biography* (Austin, Tex., 1967), Richard Bourne, *Getúlio Vargas of Brazil, 1883–1954* (London, 1974), and Paulo Brandi, *Vargas, da vida para a história* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). See also Valentina de Rocha Lima (ed.), *Getúlio: Uma história oral* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986). Robert M. Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934–38* (New York, 1970), remains the best account of those years. Ana Lígia Medeiros and Mónica Hirst (eds.), *Bibliografia histórica: 1930–45* (Brasília, 1982) is an invaluable guide to the literature on all aspects of the Vargas era.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

For state politics and the relationship of state to federal politics in the period between the Revolution of 1930 and the establishment of the Estado Novo in 1937, see, in particular, Angela Maria de Castro Gomes et al., *Regionalismo, centralização política, partidos e Constituinte nos anos 30* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), which has chapters by Helena Maria Bousquet Bomeny on Minas Gerais, Maria Helena de Magalhães Castro on Rio Grande do Sul, Angela Castro Gomes and others on São Paulo and Dulci Chaves Pandolfi on the North; Carlos E. Cortés, *Gaúcho Politics in Brazil: The Politics of Rio Grande do Sul, 1930–1964* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1974) and Joan L. Bak, 'Political centralisation and the building of the interventionist state in Brazil: Corporatism, regionalism and interest group politics in Rio Grande do Sul, 1930–1937', *L-BR*, 22/1 (1985), 9–25; Michael L. Conniff, *Urban Politics in Brazil: The Rise of Populism, 1928–1945* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1981) on Rio de Janeiro; the concluding chapters of John Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1977); Robert M. Levine, *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978); Eul-Soo Pang, *Bahia in the First Republic: Coronelismo and Oligarchies, 1889–1934* (Gainesville, Fla., 1979); and Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1980).

On the 1932 Civil War, see Helio Silva, *1932: A Guerra paulista* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967), Paulo Nogueira Filho, *A Guerra cívica, 1932*, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1965–71) and, a useful synthesis, Stanley Hilton, *1932: A Guerra civil brasileira (História da revolução constitucional de 1932)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982). On the 1933 Constituent Assembly, the 1934 Constitution and the restoration of constitutional rule in 1934, see Angela Maria de Castro Gomes, 'Confronto e compromiso no proceso da constitucionalização (1930–1935)', in *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 3 and 'A Representação de classes na Constituinte de 1934', in Castro Gomes et al., *Regionalismo, centralização política, partidos e Constituinte nos anos 30*, cited above. June Hahner, *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850–1940* (Durham, N.C., 1991) deals with, among other things, the securing of female suffrage in 1932. On the working class in politics in the early 1930s, see Ricardo Antunes, *Classe operária, sindicatos e partido no Brasil: Um estudo sobre a consciência de classe da revolução de 30 até a ANL* (São Paulo, 1982), and on the ANL, Lélia M. G. Hernandez, *Aliança Nacional Libertadora: Ideologia e ação* (Porto Alegre, 1985).

A great deal has been written on the attempted Communist putsch of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

November 1935. Two scholarly accounts are Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, *Estratégias da ilusão: A Revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922–1935* (São Paulo, 1991) and Marly de Almeida Gomes Vianna, *Revolucionarios de 35: Sonho e realidade* (São Paulo, 1992). See also on communism in Brazil before and after 1935, as well as Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party* and Rodrigues in *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 3 cited above, John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–35* (Austin, Tex., 1973) and *Brazilian Communism, 1935–1945: Repression during World Upheaval* (Austin, Tex., 1983), and Stanley Hilton, *Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917–1947* (Austin, Tex., 1991). On Brazilian fascism in the form of the *integralistas,* the leading authority is Hélgio Trindade: *Integralismo (o fascismo brasileiro na década de 30)* (São Paulo, 1974) and 'Integralismo: Teoria e práxis política nos anos 30', *História geral da civilização brasileira,* III, vol. 3. See also Jarbas Medeiros, *Ideologia autoritária no Brasil, 1930–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978).

The classic account of the impact of the 1929 Depression on the Brazilian economy and the economic policy of the Vargas governments during the 1930s remains Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959); Eng. trans. *The Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1963). Among the economists and economic historians of the following generation who have studied the period 1930–45, Marcelo de Paiva Abreu has made the most substantial contribution: see, in particular, 'Brazil and the world economy, 1930–1945: Aspects of foreign economic policies and international economic relations under Vargas' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1977); 'O Brasil e a economia mundial (1929–1945)', in *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 4; 'Argentina and Brazil during the 1930s: The impact of British and American international economic policies', in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1984); 'Anglo-Brazilian economic relations and the consolidation of American pre-eminence in Brazil, 1930–45', in C. Abel and C. M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State* (London, 1985), as well as 'Crise, crescimento e modernização autoritária: 1930–1945', in Abreu, *A Ordem do progresso,* cited above. Apart from Abreu, the best study of Brazil's international economic relations remains Stanley E. Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers, 1930–1939: The Politics of Trade Rivalry* (Austin, Tex., 1978).

Other notable contributions include A. Villela and W. Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), Eng. trans. *Government Policy and Economic Growth of Brazil, 1889–*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1945 (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); Simão Silber, 'Análise da política econômica e do comportamento da economia brasileira durante o período 1929–1939', in F. Versiani and J. R. Mendonça de Barros (eds.), *Formação econômica do Brasil: A experiência da industrialização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); Luciano Martins, *Pouvoir et développement economique: Formation et évolution des structures politiques au Brésil* (Paris, 1976) (especially chap. 5, 'La Siderurgie et l'étatisme'); Fonseca, *Vargas: O capitalismo em construção,* chap. 4; Eli Diniz, *Empresário, estado e capitalismo no Brasil, 1930–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); and, by Carlos Manuel Peláez, 'The state, the Great Depression and the industrialisation of Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1968), 'A Balança comercial, grande depressão e a industrialização brasileira', *RBE,* 22/1 (1968), 'As Consequências econômicas de ortodoxia monetária cambial e fiscal no Brasil entre 1889 e 1945', *RBE,* 25/3 (1971), and 'Análise econômica do programa brasileiro de sustentação do café, 1906–45: Teoria, política e medição', *RBE,* 25/4 (1971). See also Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969); John D. Wirth, *The Politics of Brazilian Development, 1930–1954* (Stanford, Calif., 1970); A. Fishlow, 'Origins and consequences of import substitution in Brazil', in L. E. di Marco (ed.), *International Economics and Development* (New York, 1972); and Stanley E. Hilton, 'Military influence on Brazilian economic policy, 1930–1945', *HAHR,* 53/1 (1973), 71–94, and 'Vargas and Brazilian economic development, 1930–45: A reappraisal of his attitudes towards industry and planning', *Journal of Economic History,* 35/4 (1975), 754–78.

The most valuable work on the coup of November 1937 which led to the establishment of the Estado Novo is Aspásia Camargo et al., *O Golpe silencioso: As orígens da república corporativa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989). See also Lourdes Sola, 'O Golpe de 37 e o Estado Novo', in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *Brasil em perspectiva,* cited above, and Helio Silva, *1937: Todos os golpes se parecem* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970).

On the Estado Novo (1937–1945), see Carone, *O Estado Novo,* cited above; Eli Diniz, 'O Estado Novo: Estructura de poder e relações de classes', in *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 3; Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, Monica Pimenta Velloso and Angela Maria de Castro Gomes, *Estado Novo: Ideologia e poder* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Simon Schwartzman (ed.), *Estado Novo: Auto-retrato (arquivo Gustavo Capanema)* (Brasília, 1983) and Simon Schwartzman, Helena Maria Bousquet Bomeny and Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, *Tempos de Capanema* (São Paulo, 1984), on the work of Vargas's Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema; Sérgio Miceli,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil (1920–1946) (São Paulo, 1979), on the cooptation of the intellectuals; Silvana Goulart, *Sob a verdade oficial: Ideologia, propaganda e censura no Estado Novo* (São Paulo, 1990); and Reynaldo Pompeu de Campos, *Repressão judicial no Estado Novo: Esquerda e direita no banco nos réus* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), and Nelson Jahr Garcia, *O Estado Novo, ideologia e propaganda política: A legitimação do estado autoritário perante as classes subalternas* (São Paulo, 1982), on propaganda, censorship and repression. A classic contemporary analysis of the Estado Novo is Karl Lowenstein, *Brazil under Vargas* (New York, 1942). José Luis Werneck da Silva (ed.), *O Feixe e o prisma: Uma revisão do Estado Novo,* Vol. 1, *O Feixe: O autoritarismo como questão teórica e historiográfica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991) is a recent collection of revisionist essays.

Most of the works on the economic history of the 1930s cited above include discussion of the economy during the Estado Novo (and the Second World War). See also Marcelo de P. Abreu, 'A Economia brasileira e a segunda guerra mundial: O setor external', in P. Neuhaus (ed.), *Economia brasileira: Uma visão histórica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980); Werner Baer, *The Development of the Brazilian Steel Industry* (Nashville, Tenn., 1969); Fonseca, *Vargas: O capitalismo em construção,* chap. 5; and Pedro S. Malan, Regis Bonelli, Marcelo de P. Abreu, and José Eduardo de C. Pereira, *Política econômica externa e industrialização no Brasil, 1939–1952* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977). On the dispute over the future of Brazilian industrialization at the end of the Second World War, including the role of the state and of foreign capital, and over Brazil's place in the postwar international economic order, see Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social (IPEA), *A Controvérsia de planejamento na economia brasileira: Coletânea da polêmica Simonsen x Gudin* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978).

The relationship of the state to organized labour during the Vargas period has received a great deal of scholarly attention. See, in particular, Rosa Maria Barbosa de Araujo, *O Batismo do trabalho: A experiência de Lindolfo Collor* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); John D. French, 'The origins of corporatist state intervention in Brazilian industrial relations, 1930–34', *L-BR,* 28/2 (1991), 13–26; Angela Maria de Castro Gomes, *Burguesia e trabalho: Política e legislação social no Brasil, 1917–37* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979); Robert Rowland, 'Classe operária e estado de compromiso', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 8 (1974), 1–40; José Albertino Rodrigues, *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1968); Aziz Simão, *Sindicato e estado: Suas relações na formação do proletariado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1966); Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, *Conflito industrial e sindicalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1966); Luis Werneck Vianna, *Liberalismo e sindicato no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976); Antônio Carlos Bernardo, *Tutela e autonomia sindical: Brasil, 1930–1945* (São Paulo, 1982); Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, 'Estado e classes trabalhadores no Brasil (1930–45)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1978); Boris Fausto, 'Estado, classe trabalhadora e burguesia industrial (1920–1945): Uma revisão', *Novos Estudos* CEBRAP, 20 (1988), 6–37; and Maria Celia Pinheiro-Machado Paoli, 'Labour, law and the state in Brazil, 1930–1950' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988). Two outstanding contributions are Angela de Castro Gomes, *A Invenção do trabalhismo* (São Paulo, 1988) and John D. French, *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), part 1.

On the church during the period 1930–1945, see José Oscar Beozzo, 'A Igreja entre a revolução de 1930, o Estado Novo e a redemocratização', in *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 4, and Margaret Patricia Todaro Williams, 'Pastors, prophets and politicians: A study of the political development of the Brazilian Catholic church, 1916–1945' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1971).

On Brazil's foreign relations culminating in the decision to enter the Second World War on the side of the Allies in 1942, see Stanley Hilton, *O Brasil e a crise internacional, 1930–45* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); Ricardo A. Seitenfus, *O Brasil de Getúlio Vargas e a formação dos blocos: Processo de envolvimento brasileiro na II guerra mundial, 1930–1942* (São Paulo, 1985); Roberto Gambini, *O Duplo jogo de Getúlio Vargas: influência americana e alemão no Estado Novo* (São Paulo, 1977); Gerson Moura, *Autonomia na dependência: A política externa brasileira de 1935 a 1942* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) and 'Brazilian foreign relations, 1939–50: The changing nature of Brazil–U.S. relations during and after the Second World War' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1982); Frank D. McCann, *The Brazilian–American Alliance, 1937–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1973) and 'Brazil, the United States and World War II: A commentary', *Diplomatic History,* 3/1 (1979), 59–76; Stanley E. Hilton, 'Brazilian diplomacy and the Washington–Rio de Janeiro "Axis" during the World War II era', *HAHR,* 59/2 (1979), 201–31, and 'Critique' by McCann, *HAHR,* 59/4 (1979), 691–700; Mónica Hirst, 'O Proceso de alinhamento nas relações Brasil–Estados Unidos, 1942–45' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1982); and R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War,* vol. 2, *1942–5* (London, 1982), chaps. 3 and 8.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

An early and famous exchange of views on the fall of the Estado Novo (and Vargas), and the 'democratisation' of Brazil at the end of the Second World War was between Franciso Weffort, 'Orígens do sindicalismo populista no Brasil (A conjuntura do após-guerra)', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 4 (April–June 1973) and Carlos Estevam Martins and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, 'Modus in rebus: Partidos e classes na queda do Estado Novo', unpublished paper, Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP) (1973). See also Hélio Silva, *1945: Por que depuseram Vargas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976) and Stanley Hilton, 'The overthrow of Getúlio Vargas in 1945: Diplomatic intervention, defense of democracy, or political retribution?', *HAHR,* 67/1 (1987), 1–37. On the role of the PCB, see Dulles, *Brazilian Communism, 1935–1945* and Hilton, *Brazil and the Soviet Challenge,* cited above, and Arnaldo Spindel, *O Partido Comunista na gênese do populismo: Análise da conjuntura de redemocratização no após-guerra* (São Paulo, 1980); on the Liberal opposition to Vargas, see John W. F. Dulles, *The São Paulo Law School and the Anti-Vargas Resistance (1938–45)* (Austin, Tex., 1986) and Maria Victoria Benevides, *UDN e Udenismo: Ambiguidades de liberalismo brasileiro, 1945–1965* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981). On organized labour, see many of the works cited above on the period 1930–45 but in particular Castro Gomes, *A Invenção do trabalhismo,* chap. 8; Vianna, *Liberalismo e sindicato,* chap. 6, and French, *Brazilian Workers' ABC,* part 2 (on São Paulo workers), together with Sílvio Frank Alem, 'Os Trabalhadores e a 'redemocratização': Estudo sobre o estado, partidos e a participação dos trabalhadores assalariados urbanos na conjunctura da guerra e do pósguerra imediato, 1946–1948' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Universidad Estadual de Campinas, 1981). On the role of U.S. Ambassador Adolf Berle, see C. Neale Ronning, 'Adolf Berle in Brazil: 1945–6', in Ronning and Albert P. Vannucci (eds.), *Ambassadors in Foreign Policy: The Influence of Individuals on U.S. Latin American Policy* (New York, 1987); Jordan A. Schwarz, *Liberal: Adolf A. Berle and the Vision of an American Era* (New York, 1987); Stanley Hilton, *O Ditador e o embaixador: Getúlio Vargas, Adolf Berle Jr. e a queda do Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987); and Berle's own published diaries and correspondence: B. B. Berle and T. B. Jacobs (eds.), *Navigating the Rapids, 1918–71: From the Papers of Adolf A. Berle* (New York, 1973). On Góes Monteiro and the military, see Coutinho, *O General Góes depõe;* on General Dutra, who was elected president in December 1945, see Osvaldo Trigueiro do Vale, *O General Dutra e a redemocratização de 1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). On the constituent assembly of 1946, see João Almino, *Os Democratas autoritários: Liberdades individuais, de associação política e sindical*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

na Constituinte de 1946 (São Paulo, 1980). Leslie Bethell, 'Brazil', in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–48* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992) is a recent analysis and synthesis of the post–Second World War conjuncture in Brazil.

1945–1964

On the economic history of Brazil during the years following the Second World War, besides Baer, *The Brazilian Economy;* Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso,* chaps. 4–8, Goldsmith, *Brasil 1850–1984,* chap. 5, Wirth, *Politics of Brazilian Development,* and Draibe, *Rumos e metamorfoses,* cited above, the following are important: Pedro Malan, 'Relações econômicas internacionais do Brasil, 1945–64', *História geral da civilização brasileira* III, vol. 4; Pedro Malan and Regis Bonelli, 'The success of growth policies in Brazil [1950–80]' in Simón Teitel (ed.), *Towards a New Development Strategy for Latin America* (Washington, D.C., 1992); Maria de Conceição Tavares, 'Growth and decline of the process of import substitution in Brazil', ECLA, *Economic Bulletin for Latin America,* 1 (March 1964); Carlos Lessa, 'Fifteen years of economic policy in Brazil', *Economic Bulletin for Latin America,* 2 (December 1964); Eugênio Gudin, 'The chief characteristics of the postwar economic development in Brazil', in H. Ellis, (ed.) *The Economy of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1969); Werner Baer, *Industrialisation and Economic Development in Brazil* (Homewood, Ill., 1965); Nathaniel H. Leff, *Economic Policy-Making and Development in Brazil, 1947–64* (New York, 1968) and *The Brazilian Capital Goods Industry, 1929–1964* (Cambridge, Eng., 1968); Joel Bergsman, *Brazil, Industrialisation and Trade Policies* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970); Raouf Kahil, *Inflation and Economic Development in Brazil, 1946–63* (Oxford, 1973); and Robert T. Daland, *Brazilian Planning: Development Policies and Administration* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967). On the economic problems of the north-east, see S. H. Robock, *Brazil's Developing North East: A Study of Regional Planning and Foreign Aid* (Washington, D.C., 1963); Riordan Roett, *The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Brazilian Northeast* (Nashville, Tenn., 1972); and Albert O. Hirschman, 'Brazil's northeast', in his *Journeys towards Progress: Studies in Economic Policy Making in Latin America* (New York, 1973).

The postwar period is rich in economic ideas and ideologies, with varying impact on economic policy and performance. See, for example, Miriam Limoeiro Cardoso, *Ideologia do desenvolvimento, Brasil: JK–JQ* (Rio

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de Janeiro, 1978); Lourdes Sola, 'The political and ideological constraints on economic management in Brazil, 1945–1963' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1982); Ricardo Bielschowsky, *Pensamento econômico brasileiro: O ciclo ideológico do desenvolvimentismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988) and 'Ideología y desarrollo: Brasil, 1930–1964', *Revista de la CEPAL,* 45 (1991), 155–77; and Kathryn Sikkink, *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

On the political history of Brazil in the postwar period, besides Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil,* Flynn, *Brazil: A Political Analysis,* and Schneider, *'Order and Progress': A Political History of Brazil,* cited above, see, in particular, Maria do Carmo Campello de Souza, *Estado e partidos políticos no Brasil (1930 à 1964)* (São Paulo, 1976) and 'A democracia populista (1945–64): Bases e limites', in Alain Rouquié et al., *Como renascem as democracias* (São Paulo, 1985); Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares, *Sociedade e política no Brasil: Desenvolvimento, classe, e política durante a segunda república* (São Paulo, 1973); Francisco Weffort, *O Populismo na política brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978) and 'Democracia e movimento operário: Algumas questões para a história do período 1945–1964', *Revista de Cultura Contemporânea,* 11 (July 1978), 12 (January 1979); Phyllis J. Peterson, 'Brazilian political parties: Formation, organisation and leadership, 1945–1959' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1962), and 'Brazil, institutionalized confusion', in M. Needler (ed.), *Political Systems of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1964); David V. Fleischer (ed.), *Os Partidos políticos no Brasil,* 2 vols., cited above; Olavo Brasil de Lima, *Os Partidos políticos brasileiros: A experiência federal e regional, 1945–1964* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983); and Antonio Lavareda, *A Democracia nas urnas: O processo partidário eleitoral brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991).

There are excellent histories of the three major political parties of the period: Maria Victoria Benevides, *UDN e udenismo;* Lúcia Hippolito, *De raposas e reformistas: O PSD e a experiência democrática brasileira (1945–64)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); and Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado, *PTB: Do getulismo ao reformismo, 1945–64* (São Paulo, 1989). On the UDN, see also Izabel Fontenelle Picaluga, *Partidos, política e classes sociais: A UDN na Guanabara* (Petrópolis, 1980) and Octavio Soares Dulci, *A UDN e o anti-populismo no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte, 1986). On the PTB, see also Maria Victoria Benevides, *O PTB e o trabalhismo: Partido e sindicato em São Paulo, 1945–64* (São Paulo, 1989); Maria Andrea Loyola, *Os Sindicatos e o PTB: Estudo de um caso em Minas Gerais* (Petrópolis, 1980); and Maria Celina Soares D'Araújo, 'A Ilusão trabalhista: O PTB de 1945 a 1964' (unpub-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

lished Ph.D. thesis, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1989). On the Partido Social Progressista, see Regina Sampaio, *Adhemar de Barros e o PSP* (São Paulo, 1982), and on the Frente do Recife, José Arlindo Soares, *A Frente do Recife e o governo do Arraes: Nacionalismo em crise: 1955–1964* (São Paulo, 1982).

On the relationship between the state, the political parties and organized labour in the postwar period, besides Harding, 'Political history of organized labor in Brazil', Erickson, *Brazilian Corporative State and Working Class Politics,* and other works cited above, Jover Telles, *O Movimento sindical no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962), and Heloisa Helena Teixeira de Souza Martins, *O Estado e a burocratização do sindicato no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1979) deserve mention. On interest groups, see Philippe Schmitter, *Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1971). On the military, see Stepan, *The Military in Politics,* part 2; Campos Coelho, *Em busca de identitade;* and Frank D. McCann, 'The Brazilian army and the problem of mission, 1939–1964', *JLAS,* 12/1 (1980), 107–26.

Brazil's relations with the United States in the period after 1945 have received close attention from U.S. historians: see, for example, Stanley E. Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil and the Cold War, 1945–1960: End of the special relationship', *Journal of American History,* 68/3 (1981), 599–624; Gerald K. Haines, *The Americanization of Brazil: A Study of United States Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945–54* (Wilmington, Del., 1989); Elizabeth A. Cobbs, *The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller and Kaiser in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); and W. Michael Weis, *Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian–American Relations, 1945–1964* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1993). John W. F. Dulles, *Carlos Lacerda: Brazilian Crusader,* Vol. I, *The Years 1914–1960* (Austin, Tex., 1991) is the first of a projected two-volume biography of one of the period's most controversial political figures.

There is no general study of the Dutra administration (1946–51) nor scholarly biography of Dutra, but see Mauro R. Leite and Novelli Júnior, *Marechal Eurico Dutra: O dever da verdade* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). On the economy, Malan et al., *Política econômica externa e industrialização no Brasil, 1939–1952,* Sérgio Besserman Vianna, 'Política econômica externa e industrialização: 1946–1951', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso,* and Fausto Saretta, 'O Elo perdido: Uma estudo da política econômica do governo Dutra (1946–1950)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1990) are important contributions. On urban labour in São Paulo, see French, *The Brazilian Workers' ABC,* part 3. John

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

French, 'Workers and the rise of Adhemarista populism in São Paulo, Brazil', *HAHR*, 68/1 (1988), 1–43 is an important article.

On the Vargas administration (1951–4), besides the biographies of Vargas cited above, see Maria Celina Soares D'Araújo, *O Segundo governo Vargas, 1951–4: Democracia, partidos e crise política* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Adelina Maria Alves Novais e Cruz et al. (eds.), *Impasse na democracia brasileira, 1951–55: Coletânea de documentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983); and Ana Ligia Silva Medeiros and Maria Celina Soares D'Araújo (eds.), *Vargas e os anos cinqüenta: Bibliografia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983) are invaluable. On the economy, see S. Besserman Vianna, *A Política econômica no segundo governo Vargas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987) and 'Duas tentativas de estabilização: 1951–1954', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso;* and Fonesca, *Vargas: O capitalismo em construção,* chap. 6. On the oil question and the creation of Petrobrás, see John Wirth, *Politics of Brazilian Development* and 'Setting the Brazilian agenda, 1936–53', in Wirth (ed.), *Latin American Oil Companies and the Politics of Energy* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1985); Peter S. Smith, *Oil and Politics in Modern Brazil* (Toronto, 1976); George Philip, *Oil and Politics in Latin America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982), chap. 11; Gabriel Cohn, *Petróleo e nacionalismo* (São Paulo, 1968); and Martins, *Pouvoir et développement economique,* chap. 6, 'La politique du petrole et la nationalisme'. See also Martins, chap. 7, 'La creation de la BNDE et la "cooperation internationale".' José Alvaro Moisés, *Greve de massa e crise política: Estudo da greve dos 300 mil em São Paulo 1953–54* (São Paulo, 1978) analyses the labour militancy of 1953–4. On Brazil's international relations in this period, see Mónica Hirst, 'Ação e pensamento de política externa brasileira: O Segundo governo Vargas', mimeo (Rio de Janeiro, 1982). On the crisis leading to the suicide of Getúlio Vargas in August 1954, see J. V. D. Saunders, 'A revolution of agreement among friends: The end of the Vargas era', *HAHR*, 44/2 (1964), 197–213; Helio Silva, *1954: Um tiro no coração* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); and Armando Boito Junior, *O golpe de 1954: A burgesia contra o populismo* (São Paulo, 1982).

On the Kubitscheck administration (1956–61), see Maria Victoria Benevides, *O Governo Kubitschek: Desenvolvimento econômico e estabilidade política, 1956–61* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976), Angela de Castro Gomes (ed.), *O Brasil de JK* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991), and Robert J. Alexander, *Juscelino Kubitschek and the Development of Brazil* (Athens, Ohio, 1991). Specifically on the economy, see also Celso Lafer, 'The planning process and the political system in Brazil: A study of Kubitschek's target plan' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1970); Luiz Orenstein and Antô-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

nio Claudio Sochaczewski, 'Democracia com desenvolvimento: 1956–61' in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem de progresso;* and Martins, *Pouvoir et developpement economique,* chap. 8, 'L'industrie automobile et le "desenvolvimentismo".' Edward Anthony Reidinger, *Como se faz um presidente: A campanha de JK* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988) examines Kubitsheck's election in 1955 and Sheldon Maram, 'Juscelino Kubitscheck and the 1960 presidential election', *JLAS,* 24/1 (1992), 123–45, his role in the elections that gave victory to Jânio Quadros five years later.

On the Quadros administration (1961), see Maria Vitoria Benevides, *O governo Jânio Quadros* (São Paulo, 1981). Vera Chaia, *A liderança política de Jânio Quadros* (São Paulo, 1991) is an interesting study of Quadros's political career as a whole; chap. 5 deals with the Quadros presidency. Keith Larry Storrs, 'Brazil's independent foreign policy, 1961–64' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1973), is a valuable account of the shift in Brazilian foreign policy in the early 1960s initiated by Quadros. The resignation of Quadros in August 1961 remains to be adequately explained. But see Hélio Jaguaribe, 'A Renúncia de Jânio Quadros e a crise política brasileira', *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais,* 1/1 (1961), a classic contemporary account which has stood the test of time. On the immediate consequences of the resignation, see Amir Labaki, *1961: A crise da renúncia e a solução parliamentarista* (São Paulo, 1986).

There is no satisfactory general account of the prolonged political crisis which began with the resignation of Quadros and culminated in the overthrow of his constitutional successor by military coup in April 1964, that is to say, of the Goulart administration (1961–64). Alfred Stepan, 'Political leadership and regime breakdown: Brazil', in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore, 1978) offers an excellent, brief analysis. Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos, 'The calculus of conflict: Impasse in Brazilian politics and the crisis of 1964' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1974); Port. trans. *Sessenta e quatro: Anatomia da crise* (São Paulo, 1986), and Argelina Maria Cheibub Figueiredo, 'Political coalitions in Brazil, 1961–1964: Democratic alternatives to the political crisis' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1987); Port. trans., *Democracia ou reformas? Alternativas democráticas à crise política, 1961–1964* (São Paulo, 1993) are fundamental, as is Stepan, *Military in Politics,* part 3. René Dreifuss, *1964: A Conquista do estado: Ação política, poder e golpe de classe* (Petrópolis, 1981) is based on prodigious but somewhat undisciplined research. Also valuable is John W. F. Dulles, *Unrest in Brazil: Civil–Military Conflict, 1955–1964* (Austin,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Tex., 1970). See also Luis Alberto Moniz Bandeira, *O Governo João Goulart: As lutas sociais no Brasil, 1961–1964* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); Carlos Castello Branco, *Introdução à revolução de 1964*, vol. 1, *Agonia do poder civil*, vol. 2, *A Queda de João Goulart* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); and Helio Silva, *1964: Golpe ou contragolpe?* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975).

On the congressional elections of 1962, see T. Cavalcanti and R. Dubnic (eds.), *Comportamento eleitoral no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964) and a special issue of the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, 16 (1964). On the economic problems of the early sixties and their contribution to the political crisis, see Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, 'Inflação, estagnação e ruptura: 1961–64', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do Progresso* and Michael Wallerstein, 'The collapse of democracy in Brazil: Its economic determinants', *LARR*, 15/3 (1980), 3–40. On the militancy of organized labour, see Sérgio Amad Costa, *O CGT e as lutas sindicais brasileiras (1960–64)* (São Paulo, 1981) and Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado, *O Comando geral dos trabalhadores no Brasil, 1961–4* (Belo Horizonte, 1981). On the role of the church, besides the works of Bruneau and Mainwaring cited above, see Emanuel de Kadt, *Catholic Radicals in Brazil* (London, 1970). On peasant leagues and rural unions in the Northeast, see Clodomiro Moraes, 'Peasant Leagues in Brazil', in R. Stavenhagen (ed.), *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America* (Garden City, N.Y., 1970); Cynthia Hewitt, 'An analysis of the peasant movement in Pernambuco, Brazil: 1961–1964', in Henry Landsberger (ed.), *Latin American Peasant Movements* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969); Shepard Forman, 'Disunity and discontent: A study of peasant political movements in Brazil', in R. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil* (Berkeley, 1972); Joseph A. Page, *The Revolution That Never Was: Northeast Brazil, 1955–1964* (New York, 1972); Florencia E. Mallon, 'Peasants and rural laborers in Pernambuco, 1955–1964', *LAP*, 5/4 (1978), 49–70; Fernando Antonio F. Azevedo, *As Ligas camponeses: Campesinato e política, 1955–64* (Recife, 1982); and Elide Rugai Bastos, *As Ligas camponesas* (Petrópolis, 1984). On the coup in the north-east, see Manuel Corrêia de Andrade, *1964 e o Nordeste: Golpe, revolução ou contrarevolução?* (São Paulo, 1989).

John W. F. Dulles, *Castelo Branco: The Making of a Brazilian President* (College Station, Tex., 1978) is the first of a two-volume biography of one of the key figures in the organisation of the coup who became president on the overthrow of Goulart. The role of the United States in the coup has been discussed in Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil*, Appendix; Phyllis Parker, *Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964* (Austin, Tex., 1979); and Ruth

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Leacock, *Requiem for Revolution: The United States and Brazil, 1961–9* (Kent, Ohio, 1990).

1964–1990

On Brazil under military rule (1964–85), Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil,* and Schneider, *'Order and Progress' A Political History of Brazil,* chaps. 7 and 8, are the best guides (and have the most comprehensive bibliographical endnotes). Both are essentially political analyses, with Skidmore stronger than Schneider on the economic and social aspects of the period. On the politics of presidential succession, Carlos Chagas, *A Guerra das estrelas (1964–84): Os bastidores das sucessões presidenciais* (Porto Alegre, 1985) has a good deal to offer. On relations between the federal government and state governments, Antonio Medeiros, *Politics and Intergovernmental Relations in Brazil* (New York, 1986) is instructive.

Politics in the years immediately after the coup – the presidencies of Castelo Branco (1964–7) and Costa e Silva (1967–9) – can be studied in John W. F. Dulles, *President Castelo Branco, Brazilian Reformer* (College Station, Tex., 1980); Luís Viana Filho, *O Governo Castelo Branco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975), the best account by an insider; Stepan, *Military in Politics,* part 4; Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira, *As Forças armadas: Política e ideologia no Brasil, 1964–69* (Petrópolis, 1976); Ronald M. Schneider, *The Political System of Brazil: Emergence of a 'Modernizing' Authoritarian Regime, 1964–1970* (New York, 1971); Georges-André Feichter, *Le régime modernisateur du Brésil, 1964–72* (Geneva, 1972), Eng. trans. *Brazil since 1964: Modernisation under a Military Regime* (New York, 1975); and an important collection of essays on various aspects of military rule, Alfred Stepan (ed.), *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policy and Future* (New Haven, Conn., 1973).

On the first ten to fifteen years of military government – including the repressive Medici administration (1969–74) and at least the beginning of the Geisel administration (1974–9) – the following could be added: Barry Ames, *Rhetoric and Reality in a Military Regime: Brazil since 1964* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1975); Lúcia Klein and Marcus Figueiredo, *Legitimidade e coação no Brasil pós 64* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); Flynn, *Brazil: A Political Analysis;* Alain Rouquié (ed.), *Les partis militaires au Brésil* (Paris, 1980) (see in particular the essay by Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira, 'Conflits militaires et decisions sous le presidence du General Geisel (1974–1979)'; Philippe Faucher, *Le Brésil des militaires* (Montreal, 1981); and Peter McDonough,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Power and Ideology in Brazil (Princeton, N.J., 1981) and 'Mapping an authoritarian power structure: Brazilian elites during the Medici regime', *LARR*, 16/1 (1981), 79–106.

The question of labour control can be approached through Kenneth S. Mericle, 'Corporatist control of the working class: Authoritarian Brazil since 1964', in James M. Malloy (ed.), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976) and John Humphrey, *Capitalist Control and Workers' Struggle in the Brazilian Auto Industry* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). On the opposition to the military and the repression it suffered, Maria Helena Moreira Alves, *Estado e oposição no Brasil, 1964–1984* (Petrópolis, 1984), Eng. trans. *State and Opposition in Military Brazil* (Austin, Tex., 1985), remains the most comprehensive account. On the principal (from 1966 to 1979 the only) opposition party, the MDB/PMDB, Maria D'Alva Gil Kinzo, *Legal Opposition Politics under Authoritarian Rule in Brazil: The MDB, 1966–79* (Oxford, 1988) is excellent. See also Margaret Sarles Jenks, 'Political parties in authoritarian Brazil' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1979) and 'Maintaining control through political parties: The Brazilian strategy', *Comparative Politics*, 15/1 (1982), 41–72. On the church under an authoritarian regime, see Bruneau and Mainwaring cited above.

On political parties and congressional elections under military rule, the literature is extensive: see Raimundo Pereira et al., *Eleições no Brasil pós 64* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984); David V. Fleischer, *Os Partidos políticos*, cited above, and 'Constitutional and electoral engineering in Brazil: A double edged sword, 1964–1982', *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 37/4 (1984); Bolivar Lamounier and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (eds.), *Os Partidos e as eleições no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); Fundação Milton Campos, *As Eleições nacionais de 1978*, 2 vols. (Brasília, 1979); Bolivar Lamounier (ed.), *Voto de desconfiança: Eleições e mundança política no Brasil, 1970–1979* (Petrópolis, 1980); David Fleischer (ed.), *Da distensão a abertura: as eleições de 1982* (Brasília, 1988); Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos, *Crise e castigo: Partidos e generais na política brasileira* (São Paulo, 1987); and special issues of the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos:* 23/24 (1967–8) on the 1966 elections; 43 (1976) on the 1974 elections; 51 (1980) on the 1978 elections; and 57 (1983) on the 1982 elections. And on the municipal elections of 1976, Fabio Wanderley Reis (ed.), *Os Partidos e o regime: A lógica de processo eleitoral brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1978) is a useful study.

The state and especially the economic role of the state during the period of military rule has attracted a good deal of attention. See, in particular,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Peter Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J., 1979); Luciano Martins, *Estado capitalista e burocracia no Brasil pós 64* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); Christian Anglade, 'Brazil', in C. Anglade and C. Fortín (eds.), *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America,* vol. I, *Brazil, Chile, Mexico* (London, 1985); Thomas J. Trebat, *Brazil's State-Owned Enterprises: A Case Study of the State as Entrepreneur* (New York, 1983); and Ben Ross Schneider, *Politics within the State: Elite Bureaucrats and Industrialization Policy in Authoritarian Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1992).

Economic policy and performance is best approached through Baer, *The Brazilian Economy* and Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso.* But see also Malan and Bonelli, 'The success of growth policies in Brazil' in Teitel (ed.), *Towards a New Development Strategy for Latin America.* On economic stabilisation in the aftermath of the 1964 coup, see André Lara Rezende, 'Estabilização e reforma, 1964–7', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso* and 'A Política brasileira de estabilização, 1963–8', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 12/3 (1982); Howard S. Ellis (ed.), *The Economy of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1969); Donald E. Syvrud, *Foundations of Brazilian Economic Growth* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); Werner Baer and Isaac Kerstenetzky, 'The Brazilian economy in the 1960s', in Riordan Roett (ed.), *Brazil in the 1960s* (Nashville, Tenn., 1972); and Albert Fishlow, 'Some reflections on post-1964 Brazilian economic policy', in Stepan (ed.), *Authoritarian Brazil.* On the 'economic miracle' associated in particular with the Medici administration (1969–74), see Luiz Aranha Corrêa do Lago, 'A Retomada do crescimento e as distorções do "milagre", 1967–73' in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso;* José Roberto Mendonça de Barros and Douglas H. Graham, 'The Brazilian economic miracle revisited: Private and public sector initiative in a market economy', *LARR,* 13/2 (1978), 5–38; Edmar Bacha, *Os Mitos de uma década: Ensaios de economia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). On the Brazilian economy between the oil shocks (that is to say, during the Geisel administration, 1974–9), see Dionísio Dias Carneiro, 'Crise e esperança, 1974–80', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso;* Sebastião C. Velasco e Cruz, 'Estado e planejamento no Brasil, 1974–76', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 27 (1980); and, most important, Antônio Barros de Castro and Francisco Pires de Souza, *A Economia brasileira em marcha forçada* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985). Also see Edmar Bacha, 'Choques externas e perspectivas de crescimento: O caso do Brasil, 1973–79', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico,* 14/3 (1984); and Albert Fishlow, 'A Economia política de ajustamento brasileiro aos choques do petróleo: Uma nota sobre o período 1974–84', *Pesquisa e Planejamento Eco-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

nômico, 16/3 (1986) and 'A tale of two presidents: The political economy of crisis management', in A. Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation* (New York, 1989).

On the growth of the external debt leading to the debt crisis, see Sérgio Goldenstein, *A Dívida externa brasileira, 1964–1982. Evolução e crise* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986); Dionísio Dias Carneiro and Eduardo Modiano, 'Ajuste externa e disequilibrio interno, 1980–84', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem do progresso;* Jeffry Frieden, 'The Brazilian borrowing experience from miracle to debacle and back', *LARR,* 22/1 (1978), 95–131; and Edmar L. Bacha and Pedro S. Malan, 'Brazil's debt: From the miracle to the Fund', in Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil.*

The literature on the opening up of Amazonia, principally during the period of military rule, is extensive. Besides Foweraker, *The Struggle for Land,* cited above, see, for example, Denis J. Mahar, *Frontier Development Policy in Brazil: A Study of Amazonia* (New York, 1979); Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (New York, 1977); Emilio Moran, 'An assessment of a decade of colonisation in the Amazon Basin', in J. Hemming (ed.), *The Frontier after a Decade of Colonisation* (Manchester, Eng., 1985); Marianne Schmink and Charles H. Wood (eds.), *Frontier Expansion in Amazonia* (Gainesville, Fla., 1984) and Schmink and Wood, *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia* (New York, 1992); Stephen G. Bunker, *Underdeveloping the Amazon* (Urbana, Ill., 1985); and Sue Branford and O. Glock, *The Last Frontier: Fighting over Land in the Amazon* (London, 1985). A number of works by José de Souza Martins examine the land question more broadly: *Expropriação e violencia: A questão política no campo* (São Paulo, 1980); *Os Camponeses e a política no Brasil: As lutas sociais no campo e seu lugar no processo político* (Petrópolis, 1981); and *A Militarização da questão agrária no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1984).

The most comprehensive analysis of social change during the years 1964–85 can be found in Edmar L. Bacha and Herbert S. Klein (eds.), *A transição incompleta: Brasil desde 1945,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), Eng. trans. *Social Change in Brazil, 1945–85: The Incomplete Transition* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1989); particularly valuable are chapters by José Pastore on inequality, Helga Hoffmann on poverty, Cláudio de Moura Castro on education, William P. McGreevey and others on health, Thomas W. Merrick on population, Vilmar Faria on social stratification, David Goodman on rural society, and Martin T. Katzman on urban growth. See also Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos, 'A Pós-revolução brasileira' in Helio Jaguaribe et al., *Brasil, sociedade democrática* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985); Vilmar

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Faria, 'Desenvolvimento, urbanização e mudanças na estructura do emprego: A experiência brasileira dos últimos trinta anos', in Bernardo Sorj and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida (eds.), *Sociedade e política no Brasil pós 64* (São Paulo, 1983); Samuel A. Morley, *Labor Markets and Inequitable Growth: The Case of Authoritarian Capitalism in Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); and Charles H. Wood and José Alberto Magno de Carvalho, *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988). On the question of race in Brazilian society and politics, see Pierre-Michel Fontaine (ed.), *Race, Class and Power in Brazil* (Los Angeles, 1985) and the concluding chapters of George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison, Wis., 1991).

On relations between the military regime and the United States, see Robert Wesson, *The United States and Brazil: Limits of Influence* (New York, 1981) and Andrew J. Hurrell, 'The quest for autonomy: The evolution of Brazil's role in the international system, 1964–1985' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1986). See also Wayne A. Selcher, *Brazil in the International System: The Rise of a Middle Power* (Boulder, Colo., 1981).

The liberalisation of the military regime under Presidents Geisel and Figueiredo (1979–85) and the transition first to civilian rule (1985) then to democracy (1990) is the subject of a large number of books and articles: see, for example, Thomas E. Skidmore, 'Brazil's slow road to democratisation, 1974–1985' in Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil;* Sebastião C. Velasco e Cruz and Carlos Estevam Martins, 'De Castelo a Figueiredo: Uma incursão na pré-história de "abertura" ', in Sorj and Tavares de Almeida (eds.), *Sociedade e política no Brasil pós 64;* M. F. Figueiredo and J. A. B. Cheibub, 'A Abertura política de 1973 a 1981: Quem disse o quê, quando – inventário de um debate', *Boletim Informativo e Bibliográfico de Ciências Sociais,* 14 (1982); Bolivar Lamounier and Alkimar R. Moura, 'Economic policy and political opening in Brazil', in J. Hartlyn and Samuel A. Morley (eds.), *Latin American Political Economy: Financial Crisis and Political Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); Luciano Martins, 'The "liberalisation" of authoritarian rule in Brazil', in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* (Baltimore, 1986); Alfred Stepan, *Os Militares: Da abertura à Nova República* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986) and *Rethinking Military Politics. Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Wayne A. Selcher (ed.), *Political Liberalization in Brazil: Dynamics, Dilemmas and Future Prospects* (Boulder, Colo., 1986); David Fleischer (ed.), *Da distensão à abertura,* cited above; Fleischer, 'Brazil at the crossroads: The elections of

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1982 and 1985' and Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares, 'Elections and the redemocratisation of Brazil', in Paul W. Drake and Eduardo Silva (eds.), *Elections and Democratization in Latin America, 1980–1985* (San Diego, Calif., 1986); William C. Smith, 'The political transition in Brazil: From authoritarian liberalisation and elite conciliation to democratisation', in E. Baloyra (ed.), *Comparing New Democracies: Dilemmas of Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (Boulder, Colo., 1987); and Silvio R. Duncan Baretta and John Markoff, 'Brazil's abertura: A transition from what to what?', in James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.), *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transitions in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987).

On the role of the Partido dos Trabalhadores, see Rachel Meneguello, *PT: A formação de um partido, 1979–1982* (São Paulo, 1989) and Margaret E. Keck, *The Workers Party and Democratization in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); on that of the new unions, see Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, '*Novo sindicalismo* and politics in Brazil', in John D. Wirth, Edson de Oliveira Nunes and Thomas E. Bogenschild (eds.), *State and Society in Brazil: Continuity and Change* (Boulder, Colo., 1987) and Margaret E. Keck, 'The new unionism in the Brazilian transition', in Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brasil;* on that of women's movements, see Sonia E. Alvarez, 'Women's movements and gender politics in the Brazilian transition', in Jane S. Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy* (Boston, 1989) and *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

On the early years of the Nova República (1985–), its economic problems and the consolidation of democracy leading to the election of Fernando Collor de Mello in 1989, it is too early for considered judgment. But see Eduardo Modiano, 'A Opera das tres cruzados, 1985–9', in Abreu (ed.), *A Ordem de progresso;* Werner Baer and Paul Beckerman, 'The decline and fall of Brazil's cruzado', *LARR,* 24/1 (1989), 35–64; Lourdes Sola (ed.), *O Estado da transição: Política e economia na Nova República* (São Paulo, 1988) and 'Heterodox shock in Brazil: Tecnicos, politicians and democracy', *JLAS,* 23/1 (1991), 163–95; G. O'Donnell and Fabio Wanderley Reis (eds.), *A Democracia no Brasil: Dilemas e perspectivas* (São Paulo, 1988); J. A. Moisés and J. A. Guilhon Albuquerque (eds.), *Dilemas da consolidação da democracia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989); Eli Diniz, Renato Boschi and Renato Lessa (eds.), *Democracia no Brasil: Dilemas da Nova República* (São Paulo, 1989); Stepan (ed.), *Democratizing Brazil;* and Bolivar Lamounier (ed.), *De Geisel a Collor: O balanço da transição* (São Paulo, 1990).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

VIII

IDEAS IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IDEAS, 1830–1930

The principal sources for the study of political and social ideas in Latin America in the century after independence are the writings of the *pensadores*, those Latin American intellectual leaders who were in part men of letters, in part journalists, in part social or political theorists, and most often also politicians or bureaucrats. They were rarely professional academic scholars, in the present-day sense, and they lacked the leisure, the library resources and the training to engage in extensive empirical research. Thus, the *pensadores* were not isolated thinkers; they were usually respected and influential public figures. Though spokesmen for the establishment received most attention in the chapter by Frank Safford, 'Politics, ideology and society in postindependence Spanish America,' in CHLA III and in the chapter by Charles Hale, 'Political and social ideas in Latin America, 1870–1930,' in CHLA IV, dissenters, both inside and outside the governing group, were also treated. Moreover, since Latin American thought cannot be considered in isolation from Europe, frequent reference was made to European intellectual and political currents. Limitations of space dictate that only the secondary literature on Latin America be discussed in this essay. See also, for the period *c.* 1820 to *c.* 1870, essay V:2.

Three principal bibliographical problems were encountered in preparing this essay. The first is the paucity of general, and particularly comparative, studies which go beyond national boundaries and/or which treat the years 1830 to 1930 as a whole. Especially scarce are studies that compare ideas in Spanish America and Brazil. The second problem is the lack of bio-bibliographical studies, even on major figures. To analyse ideas in context, it is essential to establish the genesis and publication history of specific

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

texts, which can be complex. Books usually appeared first as articles or speeches and often reappeared several times in slightly revised form. One welcomes such painstaking works as José Ignacio Mantecón Navasal et al., *Bibliografía general de don Justo Sierra* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), Peter J. Sehlinger, 'El desarrollo intelectual y la influencia de Valentín Letelier: Un estudio bibliográfico', *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía,* 136 (1968), 250–84, and Guillermo Rouillon, *Bio-bibliografía de José Carlos Mariátegui* (Lima, 1963), just as one laments the lack of similar works for other figures, such as Ingenieros, Molina Enríquez, or Oliveira Vianna.

The third bibliographical problem is that the analysis of political and social ideas does not fall into an established category of scholarship. It must draw on both the study of the literary and philosophic essay by humanists, and of political elites, social movements and ideologies by social-science-oriented historians. Not only do the two groups often emphasize different intellectuals, but the former tend to be less concerned with political and social context and the latter less concerned with the analysis of ideas themselves. Moreover, their respective inquiries are often guided by distinct questions and methodological assumptions.

Probably the two best general studies of ideas, both by humanists who *do* have a sense of historical context, are Alberto Zum Felde, *Índice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana: Los ensayistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), and Martin S. Stabb, *In Quest of Identity: Patterns in the Spanish American Essay of Ideas, 1890–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967). It is lamentable that neither work has been reprinted. For the nineteenth century, Leopoldo Zea, *Dos etapas del pensamiento en hispanoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), Eng. trans., *The Latin American Mind* (Norman, Okla., 1963), is valuable, despite the author's philosophical opposition to historical detachment. The only general synthesis that treats Brazil and Spanish America is Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist,* 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1970). François Bourricaud, 'The adventures of Ariel', *Daedalus,* 101 (1972), 109–36 offers numerous insights. The standard manual of *pensadores* is William R. Crawford, *A Century of Latin American Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961; rev. ed., New York, 1966); also useful is Harold E. Davis, *Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction* (Baton Rouge, La., 1972; 2nd ed., New York, 1974). A superb, comprehensive essay treating educational ideas from the sixteenth to the twentieth century is Mario Góngora, 'Origin and philosophy of the Spanish American university', in Joseph Maier and Richard W. Weatherhead (eds.), *The Latin American University* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1979), 17–64. Several

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

penetrating essays by Tulio Halperín Donghi that treat ideas are reprinted in *El espejo de la historia: Problemas argentino y perspectivas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires, 1987). No student of ideas can overlook the challenging essay by Benedict Anderson, which touches occasionally on Latin America, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

Other comparative studies that touch tangentially on ideas include Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism in Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914* (Austin, Tex., 1970), Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., *Organized Labor in Latin America* (New York, 1977), and Thomas E. Skidmore, 'Workers and soldiers: Urban labor movements and elite responses in twentieth-century Latin America', in Virginia Bernhard (ed.), *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850–1930* (Austin, Tex., 1979). Though not explicitly comparative, J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934), remains a standard guide. The work of Claudio Véliz, most recently *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), has proved valuable despite his one-dimensional view of liberalism. On corporatism, see the essays by Philippe C. Schmitter and Ronald C. Newton in Fredrick B. Pike and Thomas Stritch (eds.), *The New Corporatism* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1974), and James M. Malloy's introduction to Malloy (ed.), *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977).

Substantive national coverage in this essay is limited to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Peru. Among the few national studies that are general in scope, see, for Argentina, José Luis Romero, *Las ideas políticas en Argentina*, 3rd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1959), Eng. trans. *Argentine Political Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1963), and more particularly *El desarrollo de las ideas en la sociedad argentina del siglo xx* (Mexico, D.F., 1965). Alejandro Korn, *Influencias filosóficas en la evolución nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1936) is a primary source that can also be used as an authority. Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Historia argentina contemporánea, 1862–1930*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1963) is a valuable reference work for the non-specialist. David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975) is fundamental. Since most Argentine intellectual expression took place in the capital, James R. Scobie, *Buenos Aires: From Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York, 1974) is invaluable. On Brazil, see T. E. Skidmore's *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974), João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil* (Berkeley, 1964), Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modern-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ization in Brazil, 1850–1914 (Cambridge, Eng., 1968), and more recently Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985). For Chile, Fredrick B. Pike, *Chile and the United States* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963) treats ideas and politics comprehensively and includes prolific notes for further study. Also an essential work is Mario Góngora, *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de estado en Chile en los siglos xix y xx* (Santiago, Chile, 1986). On Peru, *La literatura política de González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre* (Mexico, D.F., 1957) by Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez is a thorough study of ideas. F. B. Pike, *The Modern History of Peru* (New York, 1967) is a good reference, as is Jorge Basadre's monumental *Historia de la república del Perú,* 5th ed., 6 vols. (Lima, 1961–2).

More specific works that are useful include, for Argentina, the studies of university reform by Richard J. Walter, *Student Politics in Argentina* (New York, 1968) and 'The intellectual background of the 1918 university reform in Argentina', *HAHR,* 49/2 (1969), 233–53. H. Spalding's brief 'Sociology in Argentina', in Ralph L. Woodward (ed.), *Positivism in Latin America, 1850–1900* (Boston, 1971), makes some interesting points. Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900–1932: The Argentine Patriotic League* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1986) breaks new ground in treating the political Right of the 1920s. For the Uruguayan José E. Rodó, Gordon Brotherston's introduction to his edition of *Ariel* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967) is excellent.

On Brazil Fernando Azevedo, *Brazilian Culture* (New York, 1950) is valuable for positivist educational thought. See also Robert G. Nachman, 'Positivism, modernization, and the middle class in Brazil', *HAHR,* 57/1 (1977), 1–23. Robert Conrad's English edition of, and commentary on, Joaquim Nabuco, *Abolitionism* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), is a boon to the non-expert. Richard Graham, 'Landowners and the overthrow of the empire', *L-BR,* 1 (1970), 44–56, places abolitionist ideas in social and political context, and his 'Joaquim Nabuco, conservative historian', *L-BR,* 17 (1980), 1–16 is valuable, despite some doubts about his use of the label 'conservative'. W. Douglas McLain, Jr., 'Alberto Torres, ad hoc nationalist', *L-BR,* 4 (1967), 17–34, is a useful précis of ideas, though the best study is now Adalberto Marson, *A ideologia nacionalista em Alberto Torres* (São Paulo, 1979). Joseph L. Love illuminates the political system of the Old Republic in *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1971).

Chilean sources are varied. Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón, *Lastarria y su tiempo* (Santiago, Chile, 1893) and Luis Galdames, *Valentín Letelier y su*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

obra (Santiago, Chile, 1937) are intellectual biographies by disciples. Ricardo Donoso, *Las ideas políticas en Chile* (Mexico, D. F., 1946) covers the pre-1891 period. Simon Collier, 'The historiography of the "Portalian" period (1830–1891) in Chile', *HAHR*, 57/4 (1977), 660–90, is an excellent guide. Allen Woll treats several facets of the change in ideas in *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), and Iván Jaksič, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (Albany, N.Y., 1989) focuses on the special significance of formal philosophy. A good reference for political events of the pre-1891 era is Francisco A. Encina, *Historia de Chile*, 20 vols. (Santiago, Chile, 1941–52). Harold Blakemore, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886–1896: Balmaceda and North* (London, 1974) is indispensable for its period, as is Julio Heise González, *Historia de Chile: El período parlamentario, 1861–1925*, 1 (Santiago, Chile, 1974), for the twentieth century. On the important topic of German influence in Chile, see Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les Allemands au Chile 1816–1945* (Cologne, 1974) and William W. Sywak, 'Values in nineteenth-century Chilean education: The Germanic reform of Chilean public education, 1885–1910' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977). Arnold J. Bauer provides a valuable characterization of the Chilean elite around 1910 in *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975). Brian Loveman's *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York, 1979), gives the non-specialist a good sense of the social bases of politics in the twentieth century. Frederick M. Nunn properly stresses the role of the military in *Chilean Politics, 1920–1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1970). Julio César Jobet, *Luis Emilio Recabarren* (Santiago, 1955) is a sympathetic treatment. James O. Morris, *Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus. A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile* (Ithaca, 1966), is an authoritative study of the Labour Code of 1924.

For late-nineteenth-century ideas in Mexico, see Charles A. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth–Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1989). Leopoldo Zea, *El positivismo en México*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1968) is a standard work, but should be complemented by W. Dirk Raat, *El positivismo durante el Porfiriato* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Moisés González Navarro, *Sociología e historia en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1970) is a ready summary of the ideas of several leading intellectual figures. On Justo Sierra, see Claude Dumas, *Justo Sierra et le Mexique de son temps*, 3 vols. (Lille, 1975). M. S. Stabb, 'Indigenism and racism in Mexican thought:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1857–1911', *JIAS*, 1 (1959), 405–23 elucidates the subject. Daniel Cosío Villegas et al., *Historia moderna de México* (9 vols. in 10; Mexico, D.F., 1955–72) is an indispensable reference. Among the many essential works of Alan Knight, one particularly relevant to this essay is 'El liberalismo mexicano desde la reforma hasta la revolución (una interpretación),' *HM*, 35 (1985), 59–91. Several important essays on Mexican political culture can be found in David Brading, *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984), and approached quite differently in the major work by François-Xavier Guerra, *Le Mexique de l'ancien régime à la révolution*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985; Spanish ed., 2 vols., Mexico, D.F., 1988). On the Ateneo group, Juan Hernández Luna's introduction to *Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud* (Mexico, D.F., 1962) and Patrick Romanell's philosophical *The Making of the Mexican Mind*, 2nd ed. (South Bend, Ind., 1967) are useful. Enrique Krauze, *Caudillos culturales en la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) illuminates the intellectual generation of 1915, and Henry C. Schmitt, *The Roots of Lo Mexicano: Self and Society in Mexican Thought, 1900–1934* (College Station, Tex., 1978) highlights the ambiguous relation between social reform and humanism. John Womack's *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1969) is unsurpassed. James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1913* (Austin, Tex., 1968) and John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860–1931* (Austin, Tex., 1978), are complementary works on anarchism and the PLM. Ramón E. Ruíz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries: Mexico, 1911–1923* (Baltimore, 1976) elucidates government policy, as does Barry Carr, 'The Casa del Obrero Mundial, Constitucionalismo and the Pact of February 1915', in *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico, D.F., and Tucson, Ariz., 1979), 603–32. On the development of social thought after 1910, see Alan Knight, 'Racism, revolution, and *indigenismo:* Mexico, 1910–1940,' in Richard Graham (ed.), *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1990), 71–113; David Brading, 'Manuel Gamio and official indigenismo in Mexico,' *BLAR*, 7 (1988), 75–89; and Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, *Anthropological Perspectives on Rural Mexico* (London, 1984). Jean Meyer revises much of the history of the 1910–30 era in *La révolution mexicaine* (Paris, 1973), emphasizing the growth of the revolutionary state. Arnaldo Córdova, *La ideología de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) is a stimulating interpretation from the Left. Another approach to the authoritarian state is Peter H. Smith, *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1979).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Besides the general works on Peru, J. Basadre's essay on Francisco García Calderón in the anthology *En torno al Perú y América* (Lima, 1954) is superb. Jesús Chavarría, *José Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890–1930* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1979), illuminates the national context for Mariátegui's thought; John M. Baines, *Revolution in Peru: Mariátegui and the Myth* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1972), the European sources. Peter F. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870–1932* (Austin, Tex., 1973) is a model study, emphasizing Aprismo's tie with the Trujillo region. Thomas M. Davies, Jr., 'The indigenismo of the Peruvian Aprista party: A reinterpretation', *HAHR*, 51/4 (1971), 626–45, is a critical analysis, as is François Chevalier, 'Official *indigenismo* in Peru in 1920', in Magnus Mörner (ed.), *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1970), 184–96. Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison, Wis., 1980) provides excellent context for understanding Haya de la Torre. Robert J. Alexander (ed.), *Aprismo: The Ideas and Doctrines of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre* (Kent, Ohio, 1973) is a useful English version of the key texts, together with an uncritical study of Haya. On the ideas of the Latin American Left in the first decades of the twentieth century, see essay VII:9.

2. THE MULTIVERSE OF LATIN AMERICAN IDENTITY, *c.* 1920–*c.* 1970

A deeply imaginative reflection on the character of cultural expression in the Americas, presented by historical eras, is *La expresión americana* by the noted Cuban writer José Lezama Lima, first published in Havana in 1957. The sole critical edition is the Portuguese version, *A expressão americana* (São Paulo, 1988), translated with a highly competent introduction and notes by Irlemar Chiampi. In his essays 'Visión de América' and 'Conciencia e identidade de América' in *La novela latinoamericana en vísperas de un nuevo siglo* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), 59–158, Alejo Carpentier addressed continental Americanism. Leopoldo Zea expands the barbarism-civilization theme to global proportions in *Discurso desde la marginación y la barbarie* (Barcelona, 1988). See also his *Filosofía de la historia americana* (Mexico, D.F., 1978). The role of intellectuals is examined in Juan F. Marsal (ed.), *El intelectual latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1970).

Studies of Latin American thought include two classics by the Spanish philosopher José Gaos, *El pensamiento hispanoamericano* (Mexico, D.F.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1944) and *Pensamiento de lengua española* (Mexico, D.F., 1945). Gaos's Mexican disciple Leopoldo Zea produced a volume which, although controversial, remains seminal for the nineteenth century: *The Latin-American Mind,* trans. J. H. Abbott and L. Dunham (Norman, Okla., 1963). See also Harold Eugene Davis, *Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1974); and W. Rex Crawford, *A Century of Latin-American Thought,* rev. ed. (New York, 1966).

Historical analyses of culture include Germán Arciniegas, *Latin America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1967) and Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist,* rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, 1970). Two well-illustrated studies of art since independence emphasize historical context: Stanton L. Catlin and Terence Grieder, *Art of Latin America since Independence* (New Haven, Conn., 1966) and Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820–1980* (New Haven, Conn., 1989). *La nueva novela hispanoamericana,* 6th ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1980) by the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes is a concise study of how modern narrative fiction can 'give form, fix goals, set priorities, and elaborate criticism for a determinate style of life: to say all that cannot otherwise be said.' A study of how language itself yields clues to social experience is the essay 'Language in America' in Richard M. Morse, *New World Soundings* (Baltimore, 1989), 11–60.

Useful for the background of modernism (i.e., Spanish-American vanguardism) are: José Ortega y Gasset, *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Writings on Art and Culture* (New York, 1956); Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-garde,* trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Frederick R. Karl, *Modern and Modernism: The Sovereignty of the Artist, 1885–1925* (New York, 1985); R. P. Blackmur, 'Anni Mirabile, 1921–1925: Reason in the madness of letters', in *A Primer of Ignorance* (New York, 1967), 1–80; Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane (eds.), *Modernism, 1890–1930* (Harmondsworth, 1976); Richard Kostelanetz (ed.), *The Avant-garde Tradition in Literature* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1982), which acknowledges Brazilian poets; and Meyer Schapiro, *Modern Art, 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1978).

For broad perspectives on Latin American vanguardism, see Guillermo de Torre, *Historia de las literaturas de vanguarda,* 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Madrid, 1974); Oscar Collazos, *Los vanguardismos en la América Latina* (Barcelona, 1977); Saúl Yurkiévich, *A través de la trama: Sobre vanguardismos literarios y otras concomitancias* (Barcelona, 1984); Hugo J. Verani et al. (eds.), *Las vanguardas literarias en Hispano-américa* (Rome, 1986); Mário de Andrade,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

'O movimento modernista,' in *Aspectos da literatura brasileira,* 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1972), 231–55; and Raúl Antelo, *Na ilha de Marapatá (Mário de Andrade lê os hispano-americanos)* (São Paulo, 1986).

Earlier criticism held that the 'naturalist novels' or 'novels of the land' of the 1930s were derivative, that they fell into the realist or naturalist vein of previous European novels. Since the 1970s, critics have been more tolerant. They no longer draw a sharp line between the esthetically 'elegant' fiction of the 'boom' and the 'worn-out' naturalism and *costumbrismo* of the 1930s and 1940s. They now warn us of 'the dangers of a conception of literary history that perceives progress in literary developments, thereby sanctioning the relegation of certain texts to oblivion.' See Carlos J. Alonso, *The Spanish American Regional Novel, Modernity and Autochthony,* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990). For rehabilitation of the fiction of the 1930s, see also Roberto González Echevarría, *Voice of the Masters: Writing and Austerity in Modern Latin American Literature* (Austin, Tex., 1985), and Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions, the National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley, 1991). On the other hand, Flora Süssekind, *Tal Brasil, qual romance?* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984) traces naturalism as a recurrent authorial device of positivist origin from the 1890s to the 1970s, with deeper roots in the eyewitness 'natural history' of the early chroniclers; she makes no resolute attempt to link the Brazilian equivalent to the 'realistic' *novelas de la tierra* with the supposed 'magic' of the narratives that were to follow.

Books that shed light on the transition from the 1930s and 1940s to the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s include: Emir Rodríguez Monegal, *Narradores de esta América,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1969) and *El boom de la novela latinoamericana* (Caracas, 1972); José Donoso, *The Boom in Spanish American Literature* (New York, 1977); Angel Rama, *La novela latinoamericana, 1920–1980* (Bogotá, 1982); and Fernando de Ainsa, *Identidad cultural de Iberoamérica en su narrativa* (Madrid, 1986).

On more specialized subjects, see Antonio Cornejo Polar, *La novela indigenista* (Lima, 1981); Efraín Kristal, *The Andes Viewed from the City: Literal and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru, 1848–1930* (New York, 1987); Adalbert Dessau, *La novela de la Revolución Mexicana,* trans. Juan José Utrilla (Mexico, D.F., 1972); José Maurício Gomes de Almeida, *A tradição regionalista no romance brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); José Hildebrando Dacanal, *O romance de 30* (Porto Alegre, 1982).

General introductions to identity in Latin America include Martin S. Stabb, *In Quest of Identity: Patterns in the Spanish American Essay of Ideas, 1890–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967) and Dante Moreira Leite, *O caráter*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

nacional brasileiro, 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1983). The following may also be consulted for the national-character essayists: Alberto Zum Felde, *Indice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana, los ensayistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1954); Juan F. Marsal, *Los ensayistas socio-políticos de Argentina y México* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Peter Earle and Robert Mead, *Historia del ensayo hispanoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); Isaac J. Lévy and Juan Loveluck (eds.), *El ensayo hispánico* (Columbia, S.C., 1984); and Horacio Cerutti Guldberg (ed.), *El ensayo en nuestra América para una reconceptualización* (Mexico, D.F., 1993).

In the field of philosophy, the Peruvian philosopher Francisco Miró Quesada published two books that follow the technical development of the discipline in Latin America through four generations and stress the regional accents they gave it: *Despertar y proyecto del filosofar latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1974) and *Proyecto y realización del filosofar latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). Other broad treatments with distinctive emphases include Leopoldo Zea, *El pensamiento latinoamericano* (Barcelona, 1976); Francisco Larroyo, *La filosofía iberoamericana,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Abelardo Villegas, *Panorama de la filosofía iberoamericana actual* (Buenos Aires, 1963); and Arturo A. Roig, *Filosofía, universidad y filósofos en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). The Argentine Francisco Romero, one of the region's most distinguished twentieth-century philosophers, outlined his views on New World philosophizing in *Sobre la filosofía en América* (Buenos Aires, 1952). A collection of studies by foremost practitioners that have implications well beyond the book's restrictive title is Luis Recaséns Siches et al., *Latin American Legal Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948). For the important impact of exiled Spanish philosophers after 1936, see José Luis Abellán, *Filosofía española en América, 1936–66* (Madrid, 1967), and the chapter 'Filosofía' by Raúl Cardiel Reyes in Salvador Reyes Nevares (ed.), *El exilio español en México, 1939–1982* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), 205–34. A leading interpretation for Brazil is João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil,* trans. Suzette Macedo (Berkeley, 1964). For an important polemic on the identity question by two leading philosophers, see Augusto Salazar Bondy, *¿Existe una filosofía de nuestra América?* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), and Leopoldo Zea, *La filosofía americana como filosofía sin más* (Mexico, D.F., 1969). A highly competent book of both intellectual and practical interest is Horacio Cerutti Guldberg, *Filosofía de la liberación latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). Anthologies include Aníbal Sánchez Reulet, *La filosofía latinoamericana contemporánea* (Mexico, D.F., 1949); Jorge J. E. Gracia et al. (eds.), *Philosophical Analysis in Latin America* (Dordrecht, 1984); and Jorge

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

J. E. Gracia (ed.), *Latin American Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* (Buffalo, N.Y. 1986).

3. ECONOMIC IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES SINCE 1930

For general surveys of the development of economic thought in Latin America since the Second World War, see Albert Fishlow, 'The state of Latin American economics', in Inter-American Development Bank, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America: 1985 Report* (Washington, D. C., 1986), 123–48; republished in Christopher Mitchell (ed.), *Changing Perspectives in Latin American Studies: Insights from Six Disciplines* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). Fishlow covers the rise and decline of the several schools of thought, based on their policy outcomes. Also valuable is Cristóbal Kay, *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment* (London, 1989), which offers a sympathetic but critical review of structuralism and dependency and related works on marginality and internal colonialism. A briefer survey which gives particular attention to policy issues is Felipe Pazos, 'Cincuenta años de pensamiento económico en la América Latina', *TE*, 50/4 (1983), 1915–48. An old but still useful survey of Latin American adaptations of extra-continental ideas is Juan Noyola Vázquez, 'La evolución del pensamiento económico del último cuarto de siglo y su influencia en la América Latina', *TE*, 23/3 (1956), 269–83.

Three works may serve to indicate the impact of Latin American ideas on development theory at large. H. W. Arndt, *Economic Development: The History of an Idea* (Chicago, 1987), especially 119–30, places structuralism and dependency in broad historical context. Björn Hettne, *Development Theory and the Three Worlds* (Harlow, Eng., 1990), attempts to address underdevelopment and development in a non-Eurocentric and interdisciplinary framework, and in this context Latin American ideas play a prominent role. Dieter Senghaas, *The European Experience: A Historical Critique of Development Theory* (Dover, N.H., 1985), incorporates structuralist and dependency perspectives in a comparative treatment of European and non-European economic development, emphasizing 'selective de-linking' as a historically-proven development strategy.

On the 'pretheoretical' justifications of industrial development in Latin America, a documentary collection for Brazil, representative in many

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

respects of nations of the Southern Cone, is Edgard Carone (ed.), *O pensamento industrial no Brasil (1880–1945)* (São Paulo, 1971). A debate on the role of industrialization in the development process at the end of that period is Roberto Simonsen and Eugênio Gudin, *A controvérsia do planejamento na economia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977).

On the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA, and from 1985, ECLAC, to include the Caribbean), see the agency's anthology, *Development Problems in Latin America: An Analysis by the UN ECLA* (Austin, Tex., 1970). Fundamental structuralist statements include the ECLA documents, *The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems* (Lake Success, N.Y., 1950) and *Economic Survey of Latin America: 1949* (New York, 1951). Raúl Prebisch was the exclusive author of the first study, and the principal author of the second. Another important work was his *Towards a Dynamic Development Policy for Latin America* (New York, 1963). The classic statement of the structuralist thesis on inflation is Osvaldo Sunkel, 'Inflation in Chile: An unorthodox approach', *International Economic Papers,* 10 (1960), 107–31. In *La teoría del subdesarrollo de la CEPAL* (Spanish acronym for ECLA) (Mexico, D.F., 1980), Octavio Rodríguez, a former ECLA economist, surveys, evaluates and critiques the organization's doctrines. Joseph Hodara, *Prebisch y la CEPAL: Sustancia trayectoria y contexto internacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), is an exposition of ECLA's doctrines, largely in nontechnical terms, combined with an institutional history.

On the European antecedents of structuralism, see H. W. Arndt, 'The origins of structuralism', *World Development,* 13/2 (1985), 151–9. For more on the context of the formulation of Prebisch's first thesis in 1949, see Joseph L. Love, 'Raúl Prebisch and the origins of the doctrine of unequal exchange,' *LARR,* 15/3 (1980), 45–72.

On neostructuralism, a representative collection is Osvaldo Sunkel (ed.), *El desarrollo desde dentro: Un enfoque neoestructuralista para la América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1991; Eng. trans., 1993), containing essays by Sunkel, Joseph Ramos, Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, Winston Fritsch, José Antonio Ocampo, Víctor Tokman, Oscar Muñoz, Adolfo Figueroa, and others. A brief introduction to the doctrine, comparing it to neoliberalism, can be found in Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, 'An outline of a neostructuralist approach', *CEPAL Review,* 34 (April 1988), 37–44.

Structuralist and neostructuralist thought can be followed not only in *CEPAL Review* (since 1976), and its predecessor, the *Economic Bulletin for Latin America,* but also in *Pensamiento Iberoamericano,* published by ECLA and the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana in Madrid since 1982.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

A frequent commentator on Latin American structuralism whose own structuralist writings have often paralleled developments in the Latin American school is Albert O. Hirschman. A survey and critique of ECLA's theses through 1960 is Hirschman, 'Ideologies of economic development in Latin America', in Hirschman (ed.), *Latin American Issues: Essays and Comments* (New York, 1961), 3–42. On the structuralist interpretation of inflation in Chile, set in a historical context, see 'Inflation in Chile' in Hirschman, *Journeys toward Progress: Studies of Economic Policy-Making in Latin America* (New York, 1963), 161–223. An explanation of why the structuralist thesis on inflation lost out at the policy level is 'The social and political matrix of inflation: Elaborations of the Latin American experience' in Hirschman, *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), 177–207. On the crisis of import-substitution industrialization and its implications for structuralism, see 'The political economy of import substituting industrialization in Latin America' in Hirschman, *A Bias for Hope* (New Haven, Conn., 1971), 85–123; see also Werner Baer, 'Import substitution and industrialization in Latin America: Experiences and interpretations', *LARR*, 7/1 (1972), 95–122.

In the vanguard of the neoclassical counterattack on structuralism and dependency was the Chicago School, which was most influential in Chile. Juan Gabriel Valdés offers a scholarly but highly critical study of its ideology and practice in *La escuela de Chicago: Operación Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1989). See also Alejandro Foxley, *Latin American Experiments in Neo-Conservative Economics* (Berkeley, 1983), which deals principally with Chile.

On 'developmentalism' (*desarrollismo* in Spanish, *desenvolvimentismo* in Portuguese), an ideology and set of policies associated with structuralism in Argentina and Brazil, see Kathryn Sikkink, *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991). That Argentine *desarrollistas* ignored Prebisch himself, possibly because of his earlier role in forming government policies in Argentina, is shown in Julio G. Nosiglia, *El desarrollismo* (Buenos Aires, 1983). Ricardo Bielschowsky, *Pensamento econômico brasileiro: O ciclo ideológico do desenvolvimentismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988) not only considers in detail the relationship between developmentalism and structuralism, but surveys all other major schools of thought in Brazil from the end of the Second World War to the coup d'état of 1964.

A survey and a collection of readings of Marxist thought, including contributions by writers who emphasized relations of exchange rather than

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

relations of production and thereby influenced dependency analysis, is Michael Lowy, *Le marxisme en Amérique latine de 1909 à nos jours: Anthologie* (Paris, 1980; Eng. trans. 1992). On Marxism through the 1960s, also see Sheldon B. Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1984). For the influence of Antonio Gramsci, indirectly important in some versions of dependency through his notion of hegemony, consult José Aricó, *La cola del diablo: Itinerario de Gramsci en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1988).

A study of dependency analysis should begin with Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); Eng. trans., much revised, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, 1979); and André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York, 1967). Later works in the dependency tradition by the evolving structuralists Prebisch and Furtado are important and similar to one another, in their employment of the classical concept of surplus. See Raúl Prebisch, *Capitalismo periférico: Crisis y transformación* (Mexico, D.F., 1981) and Celso Furtado, *Accumulation and Development: The Logic of Industrial Civilization,* trans. Suzette Macedo (Port. orig., 1978; Oxford, 1983).

A review of the dependency literature through the mid-1970s can be found in two critical but sympathetic studies: José Gabriel Palma, 'Dependency: A formal theory of underdevelopment or a methodology for the analysis of concrete situations of underdevelopment?,' *World Development,* 6/7–8 (1978), 881–924; and Heraldo Muñoz, 'Cambio y continuidad en el debate sobre la dependencia y el imperialismo', *Estudios Internacionales,* 11/44 (1978), 88–138. For likenesses and differences in Latin American and Caribbean versions of dependency, see Norman Girvan, 'The development of dependency economics in the Caribbean and Latin America: Review and comparison', *Social and Economic Studies,* 22/1 (1973), 1–33. Jorge Larraín offers a defence of dependency as a legitimate Marxist enterprise in *Theories of Development: Capitalism, Colonialism and Dependency* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989). On the relationship between Marxism and dependency analysis, also see Ronald H. Chilcote (ed.), *Dependency and Marxism: Toward a Resolution of the Debate* (Boulder, Colo., 1982). For an assessment of the relative importance of Marxism and structuralism, the two traditions from which dependency drew, see Joseph L. Love, 'The origins of dependency analysis', *JLAS,* 22/1 (1991), 143–68. Robert A. Packenham, in *The Dependency Movement: Scholarship and Politics in Development Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), argues that dependency is non-scientific and ideological, including the much-praised work of F. H.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cardoso, though much of his criticism is directed against North American, rather than Latin American, dependency analysts. An extensively annotated bibliography chiefly concerned with dependency is Charles W. Bergquist (ed.), *Alternative Approaches to the Problem of Development: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (Durham, N.C., 1979). The volume also deals with structuralism and Third World Marxist contributions.

Though a critic of the dependency literature, one of the few writers on dependency who worked within the tradition of formal Marxist economics, as opposed to historical materialism, is the Colombian Salomón Kalmanovitz, who sketched a theory of dependent reproduction and accounted for the incomplete accumulation process in the periphery. See Kalmanovitz, *El desarrollo tardío del capitalismo: Un enfoque crítico de la teoría de la dependencia* (Bogotá, 1983).

For the flavor of the modes-of-production debate, see two collections: Carlos Sempat Assadourian (ed.), *Modos de producción en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1973); and Roger Bartra et al., *Modos de producción en América Latina* (Lima, 1976). On the articulation of pre-capitalist relations of production with capitalism in the informal economy, see Lúcio Kowarick, 'Capitalismo, dependência e marginalidade urbana na América Latina: Uma contribuição teórica', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 8 (1974), 79–96; and Francisco de Oliveira, 'A economia brasileira: Crítica à razão dualista', *Estudos CEBRAP,* 2 (1972), 3–82.

On individual writers, including biographical and autobiographical materials, the following may be consulted:

On Prebisch, see CEPAL, *Raúl Prebisch: Un aporte al estudio de su pensamiento* (Santiago, Chile, 1987), which contains the Spanish version of his 'Five Stages' and an annotated list of 466 of his publications from 1920 to 1986; Gerald M. Meier and Dudley Seers (eds.), *Pioneers in Development* (New York, 1984), which includes Prebisch's retrospective, 'Five stages in my thinking on development' (175–91) and Hans W. Singer's 'The terms of trade controversy and the evolution of soft financing: Early years in the UN' (275–303); Mateo Magariños, *Diálogos con Raúl Prebisch* (Mexico, D.F., 1991), which offers episodic reminiscences by Prebisch through the 1960s; and a brief survey of Prebisch's career in Joseph L. Love, 'Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986): His life and ideas,' in Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Latin American and Caribbean Record,* vol. 5: *1985–1986* (New York, 1988).

On Furtado, a wide-ranging anthology of his writings with a biographical sketch by the editor is Francisco de Oliveira (ed.), *Celso Furtado: Economia* (São Paulo, 1983). Furtado's memoirs (still in process) consist of three

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

volumes: *A fantasia organizada* (1985); *A fantasia desfeita* (1989); *Os ares do mundo* (1991), all published in Rio de Janeiro; and a brief autobiographical statement in English, 'Adventures of a Brazilian economist', *International Social Science Journal*, 25/1–2 (1973), 28–38. Furtado's and Singer's work on the implications of structuralism for the domestic economy is examined in Joseph L. Love, 'Modeling internal colonialism: History and prospect', *World Development*, 17/6 (1989), 905–22. Two studies that place Furtado's work in the context of postwar Brazilian economic thought are Guido Mantega, *A economia política brasileira* (São Paulo, 1984) and Ricardo Bielschowsky, *Pensamento econômico brasileiro*. The former also treats dependency.

On Noyola, see Carlos Bazdresch Parada, *El pensamiento de Juan F. Noyola* (Mexico, D.F., 1984), which reviews the work of the Mexican economist, one of the earliest structuralist writers, on industrialization, external disequilibrium, and inflation.

On Cardoso, see Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 'The consumption of dependency theory in the United States', *LARR*, 12/3 (1977), 7–24, which contains autobiographical elements, and Joseph L. Kahl, 'Fernando Henrique Cardoso', a biographical interview with critical commentary, in Kahl, *Modernization, Exploitation and Dependency in Latin America: Germani, González Casanova and Cardoso* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1976), 129–94.

On Frank, see André Gunder Frank, 'The underdevelopment of development', *Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives*, 10/3 (1991), 5–72, an autobiographical statement which treats his intellectual development before, during, and after his dependency period. An appendix contains a complete bibliography of Frank's works, 1955–90 (133–50).

This essay has offered English versions of relevant works where they exist. Original versions can be found in the footnotes to the chapter by Joseph L. Love, 'Economic ideas and ideologies in Latin America since 1930', in CHLA VI, Part 1, where the reader will also find citations of primary sources.

4. SCIENCE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

GENERAL WORKS

To synthesize the history of science in twentieth-century Latin America is to explore a largely uncharted territory. The first great generation of Latin

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

American historians of science, whose representative figures were Juan B. Lastres in Peru, Alfredo Bateman, Enrique Pérez Arbeláez and Guillermo Hernández de Alba in Colombia, and Enrique Beltrán and Germán Somolinos in Mexico, worked preeminently on the science of the Enlightenment, when scientific activity in Latin America reached a level of brilliance still unsurpassed. Another group of historians domiciled mainly in Argentina (Aldo Mieli, Cortés Plá, José Babini and Desiderio Papp) wrote on mainstream European science, although Babini provided a useful synthesis of science in Argentina, *Historia de la ciencia en la Argentina* (1949; Buenos Aires, 1986) The 1986 edition includes a perceptive historiographical introduction by Marcelo Montserrat.

Beside's Babini's primer, there are few other single-country histories of science. Of these, by far the most analytical is Simon Schwartzman, *Formação da comunidade científica no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1979), Eng. trans. *A Space for Science: The Development of the Scientific Community in Brazil* (University Park, Pa., 1991). Although the entire twentieth century is covered, the book's strength is its description of the *prise de conscience* by Brazilian scientists of the 1930s through the 1950s, based on interviews with 69 scientific leaders; their biographies are given in a companion volume, *História da ciência no Brasil: Acervo de depoimentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984). Marcos Cueto's study of high-altitude physiology in Peru, *Excelencia científica en la periferia: Actividades científicas e investigación biomédica en el Perú, 1890–1950* (Lima, 1989), is also a study of a nascent scientific elite. Much less useful are Ramiro Condarco Morales, *Historia del saber y la ciencia en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1978) which, like too much history of Latin American science, is little more than a list of people and institutions, and Eli de Gortari, *La ciencia en la historia de México,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1980), which devotes too much space to a defense of Aztec science and not enough on the achievements of the twentieth century.

In an attempt to cover nineteenth- and twentieth-century science in Argentina by disciplines, the Sociedad Científica Argentina published two series of studies, one in the 1920s, the other in the 1970s. Although the volumes vary in coverage and style, the earlier series is, on the whole, better. Among the most distinguished and interesting disciplinary histories are those of Ramón G. Loyarte, *La evolución de la física* (Buenos Aires, 1924) and Cristóbal M. Hicken, *Los estudios botánicos* (Buenos Aires, 1923). Less objective is Claro Cornelio Dassen, *Las matemáticas en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1924), which in part is a polemic against modern mathematics. The most recent series consists of multi-authored volumes,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in which sub-fields have been delegated to specialists (scientists, not historians) in those areas. As a result most of the volumes are chaotic compilations of names, dates and institutions with scant analysis or synthesis. However, some of the volumes may be mined for their rich lode of information; see, in particular, Luis A. Santaló (ed.), *Matemática* (1972), José Federico Westerkamp, *Física* (1975), Luis B. Mazoti and Juan H. Hunziker, *Genética* (1976), and Noemi G. Abiusso, *Química* (1981). A somewhat parallel treatment can be found for Brazil. First are two volumes published in the 1950s under the editorship of Fernando de Azevedo, *As ciências no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1955), characterized by chapters, again written mainly by scientists who had participated in the institutionalization of their own disciplines, of uniformly high quality. Of particular interest are the chapters on astronomy (Abraão de Morais), physics (J. Costa Ribeiro), geology and paleontology (Viktor Leinz) and chemistry (Heinrich Rheinboldt). A more recent work, Mário Guimarães Ferri and Shozo Motoyama (eds.), *História das ciências no Brasil,* 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1979–81), suffers by comparison. Most of its chapters are unenlightening lists of names and research projects, compiled by scientists in the various disciplines. The same can be said of multi-authored *Estudios de historia de la ciencia en el Perú,* 2 vols. (Lima, 1986). Possibly the best collection of disciplinary articles from a single country is Hebe M. C. Vessuri (ed.), *Ciencia académica en la Venezuela moderna* (Caracas, 1984), a collection of mature studies, mainly by social scientists, of discrete disciplines, always within the framework of larger issues of the institutionalization of academic science. In 1993 the Instituto Colombiano para el Desarrollo de la Ciencia (Bogotá) published a 9-volume *Historía social de la ciencia en Colombia,* with volumes on methodology (1), mathematics, astronomy and geology (2), natural history (3), engineering and history of technology (4 and 5), physics and chemistry (6), medicine (7 and 8) and social science (9).

The Sociedad Latinoamericana de Historia de las Ciencias y la Tecnología has published since 1984 a distinguished journal, *Quipu* (Mexico, D.F., 1984–), in which appear a variety of studies, by historians, of modern Latin American science. The Society also publishes an occasional series called *Cuadernos de Quipu,* of which two have appeared: *El perfil de la ciencia en América* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), and *Cross Cultural Diffusion of Science: Latin America* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). The acts of the Society's second congress, with many articles on twentieth-century science, were published as *Anais do Segundo Congresso Latino-Americano de História da Ciência e da Tecnologia* (São Paulo, 1989).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

INSTITUTIONS AND DISCIPLINES

Few Latin American scientific institutions have had proper histories. For Brazil, Nancy Stepan, *Beginnings of Brazilian Science* (New York, 1976) is a model account of the founding (in 1900) and early years of the Oswaldo Cruz Institute at Manguinhos, the country's most important biomedical institution. The more recent history of the Cruz Institute and its political problems under the military dictatorship in the 1960s is chronicled by Herman Lent, *O massacre de Manguinhos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). On scientific institutions in Rio de Janeiro, see Simon Schwartzman (ed.), *Universidades e instituções científicas no Rio de Janeiro* (Brasília, 1982). On botany, see João Conrado Niemeyer de Lavôr, *História do Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983) and F. C. Hoehne et al., *O Jardim Botânico de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1941).

For Mexico, Horacio García Fernández's account of the Faculty of Chemistry, *Historia de una facultad: Química, 1916–1983* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), is a model study of a university science department based in part on interviews with its own alumni. On the related Institute of Chemistry, see Alberto Sandoval L., 'Cinco lustros de existencia,' *Boletin del Instituto de Química,* 17 (1965), 83–121. On Mexican physics, there is Héctor Cruz Manjarrez, *Reseña histórica del Instituto de Física,* 2 vols. (mimeo) (Mexico, D.F., 1975–76), and Juan Manuel Lozano et al., 'Historia de la Sociedad Mexicana de Física', *Revista Mexicana de Física,* 28 (1982), 277–93. A broader study of university science, for Argentina, is Horacio H. Camacho, *Las ciencias naturales en la Universidad de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1971).

Astronomical institutions have fared better than most. For Brazil, Henrique Morize, *Observatório Astronômico: Um século de história (1827–1927),* rev. ed. (Rio de Janiero, 1987) deals mainly with the nineteenth century; the new edition includes two biographical articles about Morize. For Chile, see Philip C. Keenan et al., *The Chilean National Astronomical Observatory (1852–1965)* (Santiago, Chile, 1985). Marco Arturo Moreno Corral (ed.), *Historia de la astronomía en México* (Ensenada, Mex., 1983) has an institutional focus.

The few disciplinary histories written tend to be highly institutional in focus; see, for example, Jorge Grünwald Ramasso, *Historia de la química en el Uruguay (1830–1930)* (Montevideo, 1966). A thrilling institutional and political history of atomic physics in Argentina is Mario Mariscotti, *El secreto atómico de Huemul* (Buenos Aires, 1985).

Hebe Vessuri wrote two pioneering studies of the scientific press: 'La

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

revista científica periférica: El caso de *Acta Científica Venezolana,' Interciencia,* 12 (1987), 124–34, and 'Una estrategia de publicación científica para la fisiología latinoamericana: *Acta Physiológica Latinoamericana,* 1950–1971,' in *Anais do Segundo Congresso* (cited above), 232–40.

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

There is no tradition of biographical memoirs in Latin American science and, as a result, this kind of literature is scant. Of the great figures in biomedicine, see the commemorative volume, *Bernardo A. Houssay, su vida y su obra, 1887–1971* (Buenos Aires, 1981), and Ricardo Archila, *Luis Razetti, síntesis biográfica* (Caracas, 1973). For Brazil, see Miguel Osório de Almeida, *Carlos Chagas* (mimeo) (Rio de Janeiro, 1988); Ivone Freire de Mota and Amélia Império Hamburger, 'Retratos de Luiz de Barros Freire como pioneiro da ciência no Brasil,' *Ciência e Cultura,* 40 (1988), 875–81, and the biographical essays in M. Amoroso Costa, *As idéias fundamentais da matemática e outros ensaios* (São Paulo, 1981). An unusually informative autobiography is that of the Chilean agronomist Manuel Elgueta Guerin, *Memorias de una vida, 1902–1983* (Santiago, Chile, n.d.). See also Enrique Beltrán, *Medio siglo de recuerdos de un biólogo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1977). Interviews are perhaps the most distinctive form of scientific biography in Latin America, especially in Brazil. See, for example, Lourdes Cedran (ed.), *Diálogos com Mário Schenberg* (São Paulo, 1985) and another collection of interviews about Schenberg with his students and colleagues in Brazilian physics, Gita K. Guinsburg and José Luiz Goldfarb (eds.), *Mário Schenberg: Entre-vistas* (São Paulo, 1984).

THE FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION

There is a considerable literature on the contributions of foreigners to Latin American science. See, for example, Lewis Pyenson's discussion of the German contribution to physics, physical chemistry and astronomy in Argentina in *Cultural Imperialism and Exact Science: German Expansion Overseas, 1900–1930* (New York, 1985). See also Marcelo Montserrat, 'La influencia italiana de la actividad científica argentina del siglo XIX,' in Francis Korn (ed.), *Los italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, n.d.), 105–23; H. M. Nussenzveig, *Guido Beck* (mimeo) (Rio de Janeiro, 1989); and J. Leite Lopes, *Richard Feynman in Brazil: Recollections* (mimeo) (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). More analytical is Miguel J. C. de Asúa, 'Influencia de la

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Facultad de Medicina de París sobre la de Buenos Aires', *Quipu,* 3 (1986), 79–89, which raises the issue of European versus American disciplinary and institutional identities. There is a complementary literature on Latin American science students abroad; see, for example, Eddy Stols, 'Les étudiants brésiliens en Belgique,' *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 50 (1974), 653–91; and Humberto Ruiz Calderón, 'Una vieja historia: Los becarios de Venezuela en el exterior (1900–1954),' *Interciencia,* 15 (1990), 8–14.

There is a considerable literature on Spanish scientific exiles, particularly in México. See two articles by José Cueli in *El exilio español en México, 1939–1982* (Mexico, D.F., 1982): 'Ciencias médicas y biológicas', 495–528, and 'Matemáticas, física y química', 531–43. Biographies of Spanish figures can be culled from the chapters on exile, such as José Luis Barona Vilar and Maria Fernanda Mancebo, *José Puche Alvarez (1896–1979): Historia de un compromiso* (Valencia, Spain, 1989) ('El exilio mexicano [1939–1979]', 57–73); L. Valencia Gayá, *El doctor Lafora y su época* (Madrid, 1977) ('Nueve años de exilio de México', 145–60). On Lafora and Mexican criminology, see Raquel Alvarez Peláez and Rafael Huertas García-Alejo, *¿Criminales o locos? Dos peritajes psiquiátricas del Dr. Gonzalo R. Lafora* (Madrid, 1987). On Julio Rey Pastor and Latin American mathematics, see Sixto Ríos, et al., *Julio Rey Pastor, matemático* (Madrid, 1979) ('Rey Pastor y la matemática en la Argentina', 49–134); and Mario Otero, 'Las matemáticas uruguayas y Rey Pastor', in Luis Español González (ed.), *Estudios sobre Julio Rey Pastor* (Logroño, Spain, 1990), 181–93.

SCIENTIFIC IDEAS

Scientific culture has been thin enough in Latin America to discourage studies of the reception or development of specific ideas there. Those ideas that have had culture-wide repercussions have attracted the most attention. On Darwinism (mainly a nineteenth-century topic, but with tremendous repercussions on popular perceptions of science that extended well into the twentieth century) there are a number of national studies, for example, Eduardo L. Ortiz, 'La polémica del darwinismo y la inserción de la ciencia en Argentina,' in *Actas II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Historia de las Ciencias,* 3 vols. (Zaragoza, 1984), I, 89–108; Marcelo Montserrat, 'La presencia evolucionista en el positivismo argentino,' *Quipu,* 3 (1986), 91–101; Terezinha Alves Ferreira Collichio, *Miranda Azevedo e o darwinismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1988); Bernardo Márquez

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bretón, *Orígenes del darwinismo en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1982); Pedro M. Pruna and Armando García González, *Darwinismo y sociedad en Cuba* (Madrid, 1989); Roberto Moreno, *La polémica del darwinismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Rosaura Ruiz Gutiérrez, *Positivismo y evolución: Introducción del darwinismo en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); and Thomas F. Glick, *Darwin y el Darwinismo en el Uruguay y en América Latina* (Montevideo, 1989).

On eugenics, see Nancy Stepan, 'Eugenesia, genética y salud pública: El movimiento eugenésico brasileño y mundial,' *Quipu,* 2 (1985), 351–84, and the fuller treatment in her book, *The Hour of Eugenics: Latin America and the Movement for Racial Improvement, 1918–1940* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

On the reception of psychoanalysis, the Brazilian case is the best studied. See Gilberto S. Rocha, *Introdução ao nascimento da psicanálise no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989); Marialzira Perestrello, 'Primeiros encontros com a Psicanálise: Os precursores no Brasil (1899–1937),' in Sérvulo Figueira (ed.), *Efeito psi: A influência da psicanálise* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988), 151–81; Roberto Yutaka Sagawa, 'A Psicanálise pioneira e os pioneiros da psicanálise em São Paulo,' in Sérvulo Figueira (ed.), *Cultura da psicanálise* (São Paulo, 1985), 15–34; and Ana Cristina Figueiredo, 'O Movimento psicoanalítico no Rio de Janeiro na década de 70,' in Joel Birman (ed.), *Percursores na história da psicanálise* (Rio de Janeiro, 1998), 123–47. 'Precursors' in this literature refers to early commentators on Freud who were not canonically trained analysts. An important work on Peru is Honorio Delgado, *Freud y el psicoanálisis: Escritos y testimonios,* Javier Mariátegui, ed. (Lima, 1989). Germán García's *La entrada del psicoanálisis en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1978) is a perceptive 'intrahistory' from a Lacanian perspective. More balanced are Jorge Balán's sociologically perceptive *Cuéntame tu vida: Una biografía colectiva del psicoanálisis argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1991), and Hugo Vezzetti (ed.), *Freud en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1989), an anthology of texts.

RECENT POLEMICS

An excellent introduction to contemporary policy debates can be found in Hebe M. C. Vessuri, 'The social study of science in Latin America', *Social Studies of Science,* 17 (1987), 519–54. Two standard documents are Amílcar O. Herrera, *Ciencia y política en América Latina,* 9th ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1985), and J. Leite Lopes, *Ciência e libertação,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978). On the sociology of science in Mexico, see María Luisa

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rodríguez Sala-Gomezgil and Adrián Chavero González, *El científico en México: Su formación en el extranjero, su incorporación y adecuación al sistema ocupacional mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). For a survey of recent Brazilian science, see the special section on 'Science in Brazil', in *Nature,* 342 (1989), 355–74.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

IX

LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. ART AND LITERATURE, *c.* 1820–*c.* 1870

The study of artistic production in nineteenth-century Latin America remains in a disconcertingly incomplete state. To take the case of literature, for example, on which there is a vast, if widely scattered bibliography, many of the most elementary tasks remain to be completed. With the exception of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico and Peru, histories of Latin America's national literatures are incomplete, and the inter-relation of national and continental patterns has not been satisfactorily established. Paradoxically, the extraordinary expansion of interest in contemporary Latin America and its culture during the past two decades, when Latin American artists in a wide range of fields have come to international attention, threatens to obscure or even obliterate all that has gone before. Few scholars, since the mid-1960s, have set out to become specialists on colonial or nineteenth-century literature and culture. The historian of the nineteenth century must for the most part rely on many of the same textual and critical materials that would have been used a quarter of a century ago, albeit with a number of invaluable additions, above all in the bibliographical field.

Of general works on cultural history, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Historia de la cultura en la América hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1947); Eng. trans., with a supplementary chapter by G. Chase, *A Concise History of Spanish American Culture* (New York, 1947), although little more than an annotated checklist, remains perhaps the most useful. More exuberant, less balanced but also invaluable, is G. Arciniegas, *El continente de siete colores* (Buenos Aires, 1965); Eng. trans., *Latin America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1966). M. Picón Salas, *De la conquista a la independencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1958), Eng. trans., *A Cultural History of Spanish America from Con-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

quest to Independence (Berkeley, 1960), is as stimulating today as when it was written. Specifically on Brazil, F. de Azevedo, *A cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), English translation, *Brazilian Culture* (New York, 1950) remains indispensable. See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, *Síntese da cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970).

The history of Latin American architecture is relatively underworked, and the nineteenth century, usually viewed as a sterile transition from the glories of the colonial period to the adventures of the modern age, is particularly neglected. An understanding of the pre-Columbian and colonial background is essential. See especially Diego Angulo Iñíguez, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano,* 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1950); V. Gesualdo, *Enciclopedia del arte en América Latina,* 5 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1968); P. Keleman, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York, 1951); V. Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), on Peru; on Mexico, G. Tovar de Teresa, *The City of Palaces: Chronicle of a Lost Heritage,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1990); and, above all, G. Kubler and M. Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500–1800* (Baltimore, 1959). And for a fuller discussion, see essays II:18 and III:10. The most accessible outline history is L. Castedo, *A History of Latin American Art and Architecture from Precolumbian Times to the Present* (New York, 1969). However, Castedo has now published a two-volume *Historia del arte iberoamericano* (Madrid, 1988), whose second volume covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is now fundamental. Of similar importance, though without Brazil, is D. Bayón, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1988). Vol. 3 deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. R. Segre (ed.), *América Latina en su arquitectura* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1975), is a useful attempt at an historical synthesis. See also I. Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), J. Weis, *La arquitectura cubana del siglo XIX* (Havana, 1960), J. Arango and C. Martínez, *Arquitectura en Colombia, 1538–1951* (Bogotá, 1951), and M. J. Buschiazzo, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1966).

Authoritative works on painting and sculpture in this period are very thin on the ground, and for that reason, Dawn Ades (ed.), *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820–1980* (London, 1989), based on the 1989 Hayward Gallery Exhibition in London, is indispensable. But see also Castedo and Angulo Iñíguez, cited above. D. Bayón (ed.), *América Latina en sus artes* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1974), gives a structured historical overview. On national developments, see J. Charlot, *Mexican Art and the*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Academy of San Carlos, 1785–1915 (Austin, Tex., 1962); J. Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); M. Romero de Terreros, *Paisajistas mexicanos del siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1943); R. Tibol, *Historia general del arte mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1964); B. Smith, *Mexico: A History in Art* (London, 1979); A. Boulton, *Historia de la pintura en Venezuela,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1968); M. Ivelic and G. Galaz, *La pintura en Chile desde la colonia hasta 1981* (Valparaíso, 1981); R. Brughetti, *Historia del arte en la Argentina* (Mexico, D.F., 1965); A. Matienzo, *Carlos Morel, precursor del arte argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1959); A. D'Onofrio, *La época y el arte de Prilidiano Pueyrredón* (Buenos Aires, 1944); and J. M. dos Reis, Jr., *História da pintura no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1944).

There is a vast bibliography on Latin American literature, though surprisingly few works which are both accessible and useful on the period in question here. A basic bibliographical resource is S. M. Bryant, *A Selective Bibliography of Bibliographies of Latin American Literature* (Austin, Tex., 1976), with 662 entries. A well-organized general survey is W. Rela, *Guía bibliográfica de la literatura hispanoamericana desde el siglo XIX hasta 1970* (Buenos Aires, 1971), whilst J. Becco, *Fuentes para el estudio de la literatura hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1968), is a helpful minimal list. A. Flores, *Bibliografía de escritores hispanoamericanos: A Bibliography of Spanish American Writers, 1609–1974* (New York, 1975), provides perhaps the most useful practical guide to criticism on individual writers.

In view of the lack of definitive critical editions of nineteenth-century works, it would be fruitless to attempt a guide in the space available. This bibliography is accordingly devoted above all to secondary sources. One might mention here, however, the Biblioteca Ayacucho, published in Caracas since 1976 and edited (until his untimely death in 1983) by Angel Rama, which has reissued numerous historic works unavailable in some cases for decades. Useful anthologies include J. C. Chiaramonte (ed.), *Pensamiento de la ilustración* (1979); J. L. and L. A. Romero (eds.), *Pensamiento político de la emancipación, 1790–1825,* 2 vols. (1977); E. Carilla (ed.), *Poesía de la independencia* (1979); E. Nuñez (ed.), *Tradiciones hispanoamericanas* (1979); and A. Rama (ed.), *Poesía gauchesca* (1977).

There are few English translations of works of this period, and those that exist are frequently the efforts of enthusiasts rather than specialists. For an overview of what is available, see W. K. Jones, *Latin American Writers in English Translation: A Classified Bibliography* (Washington, D.C., 1944); B. A. Shaw, *Latin American Literature in English Translation: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1976); and the following anthologies:

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

W. K. Jones (ed.), *Spanish American Literature in Translation: A Selection of Prose, Poetry and Drama before 1888* (New York, 1966); J. Englekirk et al., *An Anthology of Spanish American Literature,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York, 1968); and A. Flores (ed.), *The Literature of Spanish America,* 5 vols. (New York, 1965–9). Examples of translated works from the period are Manoel Antonio de Almeida's *Memoirs of a Militia Sargeant,* translated by L. J. Barrett (Washington, D.C., 1959); Sarmiento's *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants,* translated by Mrs. H. Mann (New York, 1868); Alencar's *Iracema, the Honey-lips,* translated by I. Burton (London, 1866); Palma's *The Knights of the Cape,* translated by H. de Onís (New York, 1945); Taunay's *Innocence,* translated by H. Chamberlain (New York, 1945); Altamirano's *El Zarco, the Bandit,* translated by M. Allt (London, 1957); Galván's *The Cross and the Sword,* translated by Robert Graves (London, 1957); and Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés,* translated by S. G. Gest (New York, 1962).

The outstanding synthesis of Latin American literary development to 1940 is still Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Las corrientes literarias en la América hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), which included Brazil and appeared first in English as *Literary Currents in Hispanic America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945). Also valuable is Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia comparada de las literaturas americanas,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1976), in which the veteran Peruvian critic drew on a lifetime's experience. Two useful works on the period to 1820 are M. Hernández Sánchez-Barba, *Historia y literatura en Hispanoamérica, 1492–1820* (Madrid, 1978), and L. Iñigo Madrigal (ed.), *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana,* Vol. I: *Epoca colonial* (Madrid, 1982). Vol. 2 of Iñigo Madrigal's *Historia, Del neoclasicismo al modernismo* (Madrid, 1987), is now a fundamental source for the nineteenth century.

There are a number of well-known general histories. J. Franco, *An Introduction to Spanish American Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1969), and *Spanish American Literature since Independence* (London, 1973), remain useful outline introductions in English, as does D. P. Gallagher, 'Spanish American literature', in P. E. Russell (ed.), *Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies* (London, 1976), 429–71. The best of the general works in Spanish include R. Lazo, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana,* Vol. 1: *El período colonial* (Mexico, D.F., 1965), and Vol. 2: *El siglo XIX, 1780–1914* (Mexico, D.F., 1967); E. Anderson Imbert, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1954), also available in English; and A. Zum Felde, *Indice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1959). Among the many works specifically on fiction, K.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Schwartz, *A New History of Spanish American Fiction,* 2 vols. (Miami, 1972), is particularly helpful for the independence and post-independence periods, and P. Lastra, *El cuento hispanoamericano del siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile, 1972) is helpful on the short story. On drama, see F. Dauster, *Historia del teatro hispanoamericano, siglos XIX y XX* (1966; 2nd ed., Mexico, D.F., 1973).

The leading authority on the literature of the independence period in Spanish America is E. Carilla: *La literatura barroca en Hispanoamérica* (New York, 1972); *La literatura de la independencia hispanoamericana: Neoclasicismo y romanticismo* (Buenos Aires, 1964), brief but much cited; *El romanticismo en la América hispánica* (Madrid, 1958); and *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana* (Bogotá, 1977), which includes important studies of a number of early nineteenth-century authors. See also B. González Stephan, *La historiografía literaria del liberalismo hispanoamericano del siglo XIX* (Havana, 1987), an important polemical essay. On romanticism, see M. Suárez-Murias, *La novela romántica en Hispanoamérica* (New York, 1963), particularly useful on minor novelists; M. Yáñez (ed.), *La novela romántica latinoamericana* (Havana, 1978), a collection of well-known studies of key texts; R. Lazo, *El romanticismo: Lo romántico en la lírica hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); and C. Meléndez, *La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica, 1832–1889* (San Juan, P.R., 1961). J. Brushwood, *Genteel Barbarism: Experiments in Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Spanish-American Novels* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1981), examines eight well-known texts. Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Los Angeles, 1991) is already a critical classic. Works of social contextualization include E. L. Tinker, *The Horsemen of the Americas and the Literature They Inspired* (Austin, Tex., 1967); F. Fox-Lockhart, *Women Novelists in Spain and Spanish America* (Metuchen, N.J., 1979); G. Brotherston, 'Ubirajara, Hiawatha, Cumandá: National virtue from American Indian literature', *Comparative Literature Studies,* 9 (1972), 243–52; and A. Losada's pathbreaking *La literatura en la sociedad de América Latina: Perú y el Río de la Plata, 1837–1880* (Frankfurt, 1983).

On Mexico, see J. Jiménez Rueda, *Letras mexicanas en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1944), and, above all, a number of works by J. L. Martínez: *La expresión nacional: Letras mexicanas del siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1955), *La emancipación literaria de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), and 'México en busca de su expresión', in *Historia general de México,* vol. 3 (Mexico, D.F., 1976). Also indispensable are R. E. Warner, *Historia de la novela mexicana en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F. 1953); J. L. Read, *The Mexican*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Historical Novel, 1826–1910 (New York, 1939); J. S. Brushwood, *The Romantic Novel in Mexico* (Columbia, Mo., 1954); S. Ortiz Vidales, *Los bandidos en la literatura mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1949); and L. Reyes de la Maza, *Cien años de teatro mexicano, 1810–1910* (Mexico, D.F., 1972). On Cuba, see J. J. Remos, *Proceso histórico de las letras cubanas* (Madrid, 1958); M. Henríquez Ureña, *Historia de la literatura cubana,* 2 vols. (New York, 1963); and the invaluable though politically selective *Diccionario de la literatura cubana,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1980); and on Guatemala, D. Vela, *Literatura guatemalteca,* 2 vols. (Guatemala City, 1944–5), and O. Olivera, *La literatura en publicaciones periódicas de Guatemala, siglo XIX* (New Orleans, La., 1974). On Venezuela, see M. Picón Salas, *Formación y proceso de la literatura venezolana* (Caracas, 1940), and R. Díaz Sánchez, *Paisaje histórico de la cultura venezolana* (Buenos Aires, 1965); and on Colombia, D. McGrady, *La novela histórica en Colombia, 1844–1959* (Bogotá, 1962). On Peru, see M. J. Watson Espiner, *El cuadro de costumbres en el Perú decimonónico* (Lima, 1980), and L. A. Sánchez, *Introducción a la literatura peruana* (Lima, 1972).

On Chile, see R. Silva Castro, *Panorama literario de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1962); A. Torres Ríoseco, *Breve historia de la literatura chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1956); F. Alegría, *La poesía chilena: Orígenes y desarrollo del siglo XVI al XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1954); N. Pinilla (ed.), *La polémica del romanticismo en 1842* (Santiago, Chile, 1945), and an invaluable work, B. Subercaseaux, *Cultura y sociedad liberal en el siglo XIX: Lastarria: ideología y literatura* (Santiago, Chile, 1981).

There is a vast bibliography on Argentina, where, unusually and for well-known historical reasons, the nineteenth century is better studied than the twentieth. Particularly useful on this period are R. Rojas, *Historia de la literatura argentina: Ensayo filosófico sobre la evolución de la cultura en la Plata,* 9 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1957), a foundational classic; J. C. Ghiano, *Constantes de la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1953); and E. Carilla, *Estudios de literatura argentina: Siglo XIX* (Tucumán, 1965). Works of more specific orientation include A. Prieto et al., *Proyección del rosismo en la literatura argentina* (Rosario, 1959); H. E. Frizzi de Longoni, *Las sociedades literarias y el periodismo, 1800–1852* (Buenos Aires, 1947); R. H. Castagnino, *Contribución documental a la historia del teatro en Buenos Aires durante la época de Rosas, 1830–1852* (Buenos Aires, 1945); J. Cruz, *Teatro romántico argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1972), with texts by Mármol and Mitre; F. Chávez, *La cultura en la época de Rosas: Aportes a la descolonización mental de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1973); A. R. Cortázar (ed.), *Indios y gauchos en*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

la literatura argentina (Buenos Aires, 1956). On Uruguay, see L. Ayestarán, *La primitiva poesía gauchesca en el Uruguay, 1812–1838* (Montevideo, 1950), and W. Rela, *Historia del teatro uruguayo, 1808–1968* (Montevideo, 1969). On Paraguay, see J. Plá, *El teatro en el Paraguay: De la fundación a 1870* (Asunción, 1967).

On Brazil, Afrânio Coutinho, *Introdução à literatura no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), translated as *An Introduction to Literature in Brazil* (New York, 1969), is perhaps the most satisfactory general presentation. Also in English, see particularly E. Veríssimo's chatty *Brazilian Literature: An Outline* (New York, 1945), and S. Putnam's celebrated *Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing* (New York, 1948). C. Hulet (ed.), *Brazilian Literature,* 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1974), is an invaluable critical anthology with texts in Portuguese and commentary in English. Other essential works are Sílvio Romero's classic pioneering *História da literatura brasileira,* 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1888); A. Cândido, *Brigada ligeira* (São Paulo, 1945) and *Formação da literatura brasileira, 1750–1880,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1959); N. Werneck Sodré, *História da literatura brasileira: Seus fundamentos econômicos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940; rev. ed., São Paulo, 1982); and Alfredo Bosi, *História concisa da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1972). On romanticism, see particularly F. Cunha, *O romantismo em Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), and D. Salles, *Do ideal às ilusões* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980). For social themes, see D. Driver, *The Indian in Brazilian Literature* (New York, 1942), and M. Garcia Mendes, *A personagem negra no teatro brasileiro, 1838–1888* (São Paulo, 1982). David T. Haberly, *Three Sad Races: Racial Identity and National Consciousness in Brazilian Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), includes chapters on Gonçalves Dias, José de Alencar and Castro Alves. Finally, on the relation between theatre and national society, see F. Aguiar, *A comédia nacional no teatro de José de Alencar* (São Paulo, 1984).

2. ART AND LITERATURE, *c.* 1870–1930

The problems of preparing a bibliographical review of Latin American culture flow directly from the problems of the existing bibliographical materials themselves: fragmentary in nature, with few standard works, and many of those inaccessible. Even in literature, by far the most researched of the arts in Latin America, there are few classic histories either of the continent's literary production as a whole or of that of individual

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

republics. On painting and architecture, as well as music, the existing material for most periods is very sparse indeed. In addition, most works about 'Latin American' culture exclude Brazil. Although this review of the period 1870–1930 is intended to stand alone, the reader will also find it useful to consult essay IX:1 on the period 1820–70.

GENERAL WORKS ON CULTURAL HISTORY

Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Historia de la cultura en la América hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1947), trans., with a supplementary chapter, by G. Chase: *A Concise History of Spanish American Culture* (New York 1947), although barely more than an annotated check-list, remains the most useful of the general surveys. Also invaluable, if less objective, is G. Arciniegas, *El continente de siete colores* (Buenos Aires, 1965), Eng. trans. *Latin America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1966). S. Clissold, *Latin America: A Cultural Outline* (London, 1965), has appeal for the non-specialist beginner, as does J. Ocampo López, *Historia de la cultura hispanoamericana, siglo XX* (Bogotá, 1987), whilst J. Franco's title, *Society and the Artist: The Modern Culture of Latin America* (London, 1967), has flattered a generation of readers only to deceive them, but remains a stimulating literary introduction. The most remarkable recent book is R. M. Morse, *New World Soundings: Culture and Ideology in the Americas* (Baltimore, 1989), a work of rare brilliance which ranges far and wide in time and space. Specifically on Brazil, F. de Azevedo, *A cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), Eng. trans. *Brazilian Culture* (New York, 1950), remains an essential introduction. See also N. Werneck Sodré, *Síntese da cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970), W. Martins's monumental *História da inteligência brasileira* (São Paulo, 1981), and J. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), which gives excellent insight into its subject.

On Latin American thought and its influence on culture, see M. S. Stabb, *In Quest of Identity* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967), especially useful on the 1890–1930 period; L. Zea, *El pensamiento latinoamericano,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1965), and *The Latin American Mind* (Norman, Okla., 1963), indispensable for an understanding of nineteenth- and twentieth-century cultural trends, as are two other works by self-styled *pensadores: Radiografía de la pampa* (Buenos Aires, 1933) by Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, and *El laberinto de la soledad* (Mexico, D.F., 1950) by Octavio Paz. On Brazil, see J. Cruz Costa, *Contribuição à história das idéias no Brasil* (Rio

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

de Janeiro, 1956), Eng. trans. *A History of Ideas in Brazil* (Berkeley, 1964), and I. Lins, *História do positivismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1964).

The Ayacucho collection of Latin American classic texts published from Caracas includes *Pensamiento conservador, 1815–1898*, ed. J. L. and L. A. Romero (1978); *Utopismo socialista, 1830–1893*, ed. C. M. Rama (1977), and *Pensamiento positivista latinoamericano*, ed. L. Zea, 2 vols. (1980). These volumes have excellent chronological appendixes (an innovation propagated in Latin America by the Cuban publishing house, Casa de las Américas), which provide very helpful background for students of culture and are ongoing.

ARCHITECTURE

The most useful outline work in English is L. Castedo, *A History of Latin American Art and Architecture from Precolumbian Times to the Present* (New York, 1969), though sketchy and in no sense a handbook. Castedo has since published a handsome two-volume survey for the Quinto Centenario, *Historia del arte iberoamericano* (Madrid, 1988), whose second volume covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is indispensable. Equally important, except that it excludes Brazil, is Damián Bayón, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1988); vol. 3 deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See also D. Bayón (ed.), *Arte moderno en América Latina* (Madrid, 1985), which does include Brazil. On architecture alone, see F. Bullrich, *New Directions in Latin American Architecture* (New York, 1969) and D. Bayón and P. Gasparini, *The Changing Shape of Latin American Architecture* (London, 1979), for the later part of this period, and J. E. Hardoy, *Las ciudades en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, 1972), and R. Segre (ed.), *América Latina en su arquitectura* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1975). The integrationist approach is taken by D. F. Damaz, *Art in Latin American Architecture* (New York, 1963), and P. M. Bardi, *História da arte brasileira: Pintura, escultura, arquitetura, outras artes* (São Paulo, 1975).

Valuable national surveys are I. E. Myers, *Mexico's Modern Architecture* (New York, 1952), S. Moholy-Nagy, *Carlos Raúl Villanueva and the Architecture of Venezuela* (New York, 1964), and J. Arango and C. Martínez, *Arquitectura en Colombia, 1538–1951* (Bogotá, 1951), for Spanish America; and for Brazil, H. E. Mindlin, *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (New York, 1956), E. Corona, *Dicionário da arquitetura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1972), with unique coverage in both breadth and depth, and A. de Souza,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Arquitetura no Brasil: Depoimentos (São Paulo, 1978), brief, but with well-focused insights into, among others, Warchavchik, Costa and Niemeyer.

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

Important general reference books are J. A. Findlay, *Modern Latin American Art: A Bibliography* (London, 1983), and, especially, J. W. Bailey (ed.), *Handbook of Latin American Art,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1984). Curiously – no doubt there is an economic explanation – more general works on Latin American art exist in English than in Spanish or Portuguese. Outstanding among these is Dawn Ades (ed.), *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820–1980* (London, 1989), which includes avant-garde manifestoes as useful appendices. For panoramic syntheses, see Castedo, *History of Latin American Art and Architecture* and his *Historia del arte iberoamericano,* mentioned above, S. L. Catlin and T. Grieder, *Art of Latin America since Independence* (New Haven, Conn., 1966) and Bayón, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano,* vol. 3. Specifically on the contemporary period, see G. Chase, *Contemporary Art in Latin America* (New York, 1970), both knowledgeable and readable, and works by the two most prominent Latin American critics of recent times, M. Traba, *La pintura nueva en Latinoamérica* (Bogotá, 1961), and D. Bayón, *Aventura plástica de Hispanoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). See also, D. Bayón (ed.), *América Latina en sus artes* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1974), another structured overview produced under the aegis of UNESCO, and, for the end of the period, T. H. Day and H. Sturges, *Art of the Fantastic: Latin America, 1920–1987* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1987).

On Mexico, see B. Smith, *Mexico: A History in Art* (London, 1979), and the sumptuous *Cuarenta siglos de plástica mexicana,* vol. 3: *Arte moderno y contemporáneo* (Mexico, D.F., 1971), lavishly illustrated and edited by E. O'Gorman et al., with chapters by J. Fernández on the nineteenth century and L. Cardoza y Aragón on the art of the Revolution. See also Fernández's *Arte moderno y contemporáneo de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1952) and Cardoza y Aragón's *Pintura mexicana contemporánea* (Mexico, D.F., 1953), both essential reading on the topic. Other useful works are B. S. Myers, *Mexican Painting in Our Time* (New York, 1956); J. A. Manrique, 'El proceso de las artes, 1910–1970', in *Historia general de México,* 4 (Mexico, D.F., 1976), 285–301; E. Báez Macías, *Fundación e historia de la Academia de San Carlos* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); O. Paz, *La pintura mural de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1960); Jean Charlot, *The Mexican Mural Renaissance,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1920–1925 (New Haven, Conn., 1966), an authoritative view from one who was there; O. S. Suárez, *Inventario del muralismo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), a brilliantly multifaceted study by a Cuban practitioner of the art; and R. Tibol, *Documentación sobre el arte mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), an invaluable source of background materials. On the Mexican muralists, see also essay IX:6. E. W. Weismann's *Mexico in Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) gives insight into the art of the period.

On Cuba, see J. Gómez Sicre, *Pintura cubana de hoy* (Havana, 1944), by a former member of the Parisian avant-garde, and L. de la Torriente, *Estudio de las artes plásticas en Cuba* (Havana, 1954). On Venezuela the leading authority is A. Boulton: see his *Historia de la pintura en Venezuela*, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1968); see also J. Calzadilla and P. Briceño, *Escultura, escultores: Un libro sobre la escultura en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1977), indispensable in its field. On the Andean countries, see G. Giraldo Jaramillo, *La pintura en Colombia* (Mexico, D.F., 1948), M. Serrano, *Cien años de arte colombiano* (Bogotá, 1985), T. Núñez Ureta (ed.), *Pintura contemporánea*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1975), which divides Peruvian artistic history into the periods 1820–1920 and 1920–1968, providing illustrations unavailable elsewhere; M. Lauer, *Introducción a la pintura peruana del siglo XX* (Lima, 1976), particularly helpful on indigenism; and J. Sabogal, *Del arte en el Perú y otros ensayos* (Lima, 1975), by the standard-bearer of artistic nationalism himself. M. Ivelic and G. Galaz, *La pintura en Chile desde la colonia hasta 1981* (Valparaíso, 1981), beautifully illustrated, is the best guide to Chilean art of the period.

On Argentina, see especially R. Brughetti, *Historia del arte en la Argentina* (Mexico, D.F., 1965); A. Pellegrini, *Panorama de la pintura argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1967), polemical and individualist but essential reading; C. Córdova Iturburu, *Ochenta años de pintura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1978); and also *Arte Argentina dalla independenzia ad oggi, 1810–1987* (Rome, 1987). The most useful work on Uruguayan art is J. P. Argul, *Proceso de las artes plásticas del Uruguay desde la época indígena al momento contemporáneo* (Montevideo, 1958), and on Paraguay, see T. Escobar, *Una interpretación de las artes visuales en Paraguay* (Asunción, 1982).

Brazil is particularly well provided with dictionaries and handbooks on modern and contemporary art, with the 1920s – as in Mexico – and particularly the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922, providing the focal point of departure. See R. Pontual, *Dicionário das artes plásticas no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969); C. Cavalcanti, *Dicionário brasileiro de artistas plás-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

ticos, 5 vols. (Brasília, 1973); W. Zanini, *História geral do arte no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1983); P. M. Bardi, *O modernismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1978), very good on both the 1920s and 1930s, with invaluable insights into the contribution of architects to the new wave; and A. Amaral, *Arte y arquitectura del modernismo brasileño, 1917–1931* (Caracas, 1978), as good an anthology of critical articles and original documents as can be found in any Brazilian publication. Finally, A. Amaral, *Tarsila, sua obra e seu tempo,* 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1975), makes the whole period come alive.

LITERATURE

This bibliographical essay is devoted almost exclusively to secondary sources of continental or national scope, rather than to individual authors, however distinguished. Mention should be made here, however, of the 'Colección Archivos', published since 1988 by the Asociación Archivos de la Literatura Latinoamericana, del Caribe y Africana del Siglo XX (ALLCA) of Paris, a multi-national enterprise which is undertaking the production of critical editions of several hundred Latin American writers. No attempt has been made in this essay, however, to offer a guide to critical editions of major texts, nor to record even the most important translations. The reader is referred to B. A. Shaw, *Latin American Literature in English Translation: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1976) and its excellent successor, J. Wilson, *A to Z of Modern Latin American Literature in Translation* (London, 1990).

Among the most useful bibliographical works are: S. M. Bryant, *A Selective Bibliography of Bibliographies of Latin American Literature* (Austin, Tex., 1976), with 662 entries covering the entire range of scholarly endeavour; P. Ward (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature* (Oxford, 1978), with good coverage of Spanish America; W. Rela, *Guía bibliográfica de la literatura hispanoamericana, desde el siglo XIX hasta 1970* (Buenos Aires, 1971); A. Flores, *Bibliografía de escritores hispanoamericanos: A Bibliography of Spanish American Writers, 1609–1974* (New York, 1975), a most useful select practical guide; H. J. Becco, *Fuentes para el estudio de la literatura hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1968), a superb concise list in 64 pages; UNESCO, *Bibliografía general de la literatura latinoamericana* (Paris, 1972); and Pan American Union, *Diccionario de la literatura latinoamericana* (Washington, D.C., 1958–), of which, regrettably, only the volumes on Bolivia, Central America, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador appeared. Important works include D. W. Foster, *The Twentieth-Century Spanish*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

American Novel: A Bibliographical Guide (Metuchen, N.J., 1975) and *Panorama histórico-literario de nuestra América,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1982), whose first volume is on the period 1900–43. Last but not least, see D. E. Marting (ed.), *Women Writers of Spanish America: An Annotated Bio-bibliographical Guide* (New York, 1987), a crucial resource on its subject.

On theatre, see R. F. Allen, *Teatro hispanoamericano* (Boston, 1987), a useful bibliographical guide, H. H. Hoffman, *Latin American Play Index, Vol. I, 1920–62* (Metuchen, N.J., 1984), and F. de Toro and P. Roster, *Bibliografía del teatro hispanoamericano contemporáneo, 1900–1980,* 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1985).

For national bibliographies, D. W. Foster, *Mexican Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Metuchen, N.J., 1983), is essential, as is A. M. Ocampo and E. Prado Velázquez (eds.), *Diccionario de escritores mexicanos* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), using a careful bio-bibliographical approach. Since 1979 the leading publishing house, Fondo de Cultura Económica, has been publishing facsimile editions of major *Revistas Literarias Mexicanas Modernas,* providing a priceless bibliographical resource for scholars.

For the Caribbean area, see D. W. Foster, *Puerto Rican Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Westport, Conn., 1982) and *Cuban Literature: A Research Guide* (New York, 1975); Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, *Bibliografía de la poesía cubana en el siglo XIX* (1965); L. Cardoso and J. Pinto, *Diccionario general de la literatura venezolana* (Mérida, Ven., 1974); and H. J. Becco, *Fuentes para el estudio de la literatura venezolana,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1978).

On the Andean region, see Hector H. Orjuela, *Fuentes generales para el estudio de la literatura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1968); J. E. Englekirk and G. E. Wade, *Bibliografía de la novela colombiana* (Mexico, D.F., 1950); J. Ortega and A. Cáceres Romero, *Diccionario de la literatura boliviana* (La Paz, 1977); J. M. Barnadas and J. J. Coy, *Realidad histórica y expresión literaria en Bolivia* (Cochabamba, 1977); F. and L. Barriga, *Diccionario de la literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1973); D. W. Foster, *Peruvian Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Metuchen, N.J., 1983), another indispensable contribution, and his *Chilean Literature: A Working Bibliography* (Boston, 1978); and E. Szmulewicz, *Diccionario de la literatura chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1977).

As usual, the River Plate region is well served: H. J. Becco, *Contribución a la bibliografía de la literatura argentina: Bibliografía, antología, historia y crítica general* (Buenos Aires, 1959), is vast in scope, while D. W. Foster, *Argentine Literature: A Research Guide* (New York, 1983), is yet another

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

outstanding contribution from an indefatigable bibliographer. P. Orgambide and R. Yahni provide a very businesslike *Enciclopedia de la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1970). On Uruguay, see W. Rela, *Contribución a la bibliografía de la literatura uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1963) and *Literatura uruguaya, 1835–1986* (Montevideo, 1986); and A. F. Orreggioni and W. Penco, *Diccionario de literatura uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1987); and on Paraguay, neglected as ever, see R. Maxwell and J. D. Ford, *A Tentative Bibliography of Paraguayan Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).

Finally, on Brazil, Instituto Nacional do Livro, *Introdução ao estudo da literatura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963), a critical synthesis and bibliography, and the *Dicionário literário brasileiro,* 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1969) by R. de Menezes, with references to 4,000 writers, deserve mention, as does I. Stern's outstanding *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature* (New York, 1980), an excellent critical resource.

Anthologies in Spanish and English include A. Flores, *Historia y antología del cuento y la novela en Hispanoamérica* (New York, 1967), a point of reference for all later anthologists; A. Flores and H. M. Anderson (eds.), *Masterpieces of Spanish American Literature,* 2 vols. (New York, 1974), perhaps the most attractively produced of all the anthologies; M. Benedetti and A. Benítez Rojo (eds.), *Un siglo del relato latinoamericano* (Havana, 1976); S. Menton (ed.), *El cuento hispanoamericano: Antología crítico-histórica,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964); C. Ripoll and A. Valdespino (eds.), *Teatro hispanoamericano: Antología crítica* (New York, 1972); J. Lafforgue (ed.), *Teatro rioplatense, 1886–1930* (Caracas, 1977); C. Ripoll, *Conciencia intelectual de América: Antología del ensayo hispanoamericano, 1836–1959* (New York, 1961); Gordon Brotherston (ed.), *Spanish American Modernista Poets* (Oxford, 1968), and J. E. Pacheco (ed.), *Antología del modernismo, 1884–1921,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1970), different in scope but both excellent; G. Zaid (ed.), *Omnibus de poesía mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); A. de María y Campos, *La Revolución Mexicana a través de los corridos populares,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1962); A. Castro Leal (ed.), *La novela de la Revolución Mexicana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1960), the classic collection; D. Agustín del Saz (ed.), *Antología general de la poesía argentina* (Barcelona, 1969); G. Ara (ed.), *Suma de poesía argentina, 1538–1968: Crítica y antología,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1970). The most valuable anthology of Brazilian literature for non-Brazilians is undoubtedly C. Hulet (ed.), *Brazilian Literature,* 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1974), with texts in Portuguese, commentaries in English, and excellent bibliographical listings.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

HISTORY AND CRITICISM

The outstanding synthesis of Latin American literary history remains Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Las corrientes literarias en la América hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), which included Brazil and appeared first in English as *Literary Currents in Hispanic America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945). Henríquez Ureña's judgements have acquired permanent authority. Also invaluable are Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia comparada de las literaturas americanas,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1976), which includes Brazil, Haiti and the United States; R. Grossman, *Historia y problemas de la literatura latinoamericana* (Madrid, 1972), and G. Bellini, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1985), all mammoth works. Other well-known general histories in English include J. Franco, *An Introduction to Spanish American Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1969), and her *Spanish American Literature since Independence* (London, 1973), both useful outlines, and the somewhat peremptory 'Spanish American literature' by D. P. Gallagher, in P. E. Russell (ed.), *Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies* (London, 1976), 429–71. The best of the general works in Spanish, in addition to those mentioned, are E. Anderson Imbert, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1954), an outstanding synthesis and critical guide, also available in English, and A. Zum Felde, *Indice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1959), universally admired. An interesting comparative approach is taken in B. G. Chevigny and G. Laguardia (eds.), *Reinventing the Americas: Comparative Studies of Literature of the U.S. and Spanish America* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986). Also worthy of note, finally, are B. G. Carter, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana a través de sus revistas* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), and the imaginative collective critical history commissioned by UNESCO and edited by C. Fernández Moreno, *América Latina en su literatura* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1972). Finally, the tireless D. W. Foster has edited a unique *Handbook of Latin American Literature* (New York and London, 1987), with brief histories of each national literature.

Specifically on fiction, the best-known works are L. A. Sánchez, *Proceso y contenido de la novela hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1953); F. Alegría, *Historia de la novela hispanoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1959); J. Loveluck (ed.), *La novela hispanoamericana* (Santiago, Chile, 1969), an outstanding critical anthology whose influence is still felt; K. Schwartz, *A New History of Spanish American Fiction,* 2 vols. (Miami, 1972); M. A. Arango, *Origen y evolución de la novela hispanoamericana* (Bogotá, 1989); and G. Martin,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century (London, 1989). D. Balderston (ed.), *The Historical Novel in Latin America* (Gaithersburg, Md., 1986), provides a historical approach, while R. González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), offers a post-structuralist reading. A. S. Visca, *Aspectos de la narrativa criollista* (Montevideo, 1972), gives the best insight into this continent-wide regionalist movement, whilst T. Pérez (ed.), *Tres novelas ejemplares* (Havana, 1971), provides a selection of seminal critical texts and bibliographical guides to *La vorágine, Don Segundo Sombra* and *Doña Barbara*. The same works are studied in Carlos J. Alonso, *The Spanish American Regional Novel* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990). L. Leal, *Historia del cuento hispanoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1966), is still the best work on this topic, together with Margaret Sayers Peden (ed.), *The Latin American Short Story: A Critical History* (Boston, 1983).

On Spanish American poetry there are surprisingly few general works. Among the best are S. Yurkievich, *Fundadores de la nueva poesía latinoamericana,* 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1984), on the later part of the period, and G. Brotherston, *Latin American Poetry* (London, 1975), which begins with *modernismo*. See also M. H. Forster, *Historia de la poesía hispanoamericana* (Clear Creek, Ind., 1981). There is a large bibliography on *modernismo,* of which the standard works are M. Henríquez Ureña, *Breve historia del modernismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1954), a classic, and I. A. Schulman, *Génesis del modernismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1966). J. Giordano, *La edad del ensueño* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), and A. Rama, *Rubén Darío y el modernismo* (Caracas, 1970), both place Darío's work in its cultural context and are essential reading for all critics, as are F. Pérus, *Literatura y sociedad en América Latina: El modernismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1976), and N. Jitrik, *Las contradicciones del modernismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), a fashionable symptomatic reading. A more recent work is D. Martínez, *El modernismo en América y España* (Buenos Aires, 1989). Perhaps the best-known study of an individual modernist poet is I. A. Schulman's *Símbolo y color en la obra de José Martí* (Madrid, 1960), while an interesting comparative study is E. Marini-Palmieri, *El modernismo literario hispanoamericano: Carácteres esotéricos en las obras de Darío y Lugones* (Buenos Aires, 1989). There are fewer general works on Spanish American avant-garde poetry (unlike the case of Brazil). The most valuable are probably O. Collazos (ed.), *Los vanguardismos en la América Latina* (Havana, 1970) and N. Osorio, *Manifiestos, proclamas y polémicas de la vanguardia literaria hispanoamericana* (Caracas, 1988), whilst G. de Torre, *Historia de las literaturas de vanguardia* (Madrid,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1965), remains essential general reading. On individuals, see A. de Undurraga's excellent introduction to his anthology, *Vicente Huidobro, poesía y prosa* (Madrid, 1967), and T. Running, *Borges' Ultraist Movement and Its Poets* (Lathrop, Mich., 1981).

On theatre, see J. J. Arrom, *Historia del teatro hispanoamericano,* 2nd ed., rev. (Mexico, D.F., 1967), F. Dauster, *Historia del teatro hispanoamericano, siglos XIX y XX,* 2nd ed. (Mexico, D.F., 1973) and E. Neglia, *El hecho teatral en Hispanoamérica* (Rome, 1985). Finally, as useful general background to all the foregoing, see R. G. Mead and P. G. Earle, *Breve historia del ensayo latinoamericano* (Mexico, D.F., 1962), A. Sacoto, *El indio en el ensayo de la América española* (New York, 1971), R. L. Jackson, *The Black Image in Latin American Literature* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976), and A. Pescatello (ed.), *Female and Male in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1973), which contains sections on both Spanish American and Brazilian fiction.

NATIONAL LITERATURES

On Mexico, the authoritative work on the nineteenth-century novel is J. L. Martínez, *La expresión nacional: Letras mexicanas del siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1955), but see also J. Jiménez Rueda, *Letras mexicanas en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, D.F., 1989). J. L. Martínez, 'México en busca de su expresión', in *Historia general de México,* vol. 3 (Mexico, D.F., 1976), 283–337, is invaluable, as is its sequel in vol. 4, by C. Monsiváis, 'Notas sobre la cultura mexicana en el siglo XX', 303–476, a brilliant synthesis. See also J. Brushwood, *Mexico in Its Novel* (Austin, Tex., 1966), and A. M. Ocampo (ed.), *La crítica de la novela mexicana contemporánea* (Mexico, D.F., 1981), a judicious anthology of critical studies of twentieth-century output. The best works on the novel of the Mexican Revolution are A. Dessau, *La novela de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1972), Marxist in orientation but the unrivalled classic; J. Rutherford, *Mexican Society during the Revolution: A Literary Approach* (London, 1971); and R. Rodríguez Coronel (ed.), *Recopilación de textos sobre la novela de la Revolución Mexicana* (Havana, 1975), an outstanding collection of key critical texts on this important literary phenomenon.

For the Caribbean region, see M. Henríquez Ureña, *Panorama histórico de la literatura dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1966), D. Sommer, *One Master for Another: Populism as Patriarchal Rhetoric in Dominican Novels* (Santo Domingo, 1983), an astringent feminist view which could be more widely applied to Latin American fiction as a whole; and on Puerto Rico, J. L. González, *Literatura y sociedad en Puerto Rico* (Mexico, D.F., 1976). For Cuba, see J. A.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Portuondo, *Bosquejo histórico de las letras cubanas* (Havana, 1960), by the critic who has most influenced Cuban literary culture since 1959, and R. Lazo, *Historia de la literatura cubana* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). Curiously, the revolutionary rewriting of Cuban literary history remains to be undertaken, and no definitive new version has yet appeared. The single most important work on Central America is R. L. Acevedo, *La novela centroamericana* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1982), sober and comprehensive. See also D. Vela, *Literatura guatemalteca* (Guatemala City, 1948); S. Menton, *Historia crítica de la novela guatemalteca* (Guatemala City, 1960); L. Gallegos Valdés, *Panorama de la literatura salvadoreña* (San Salvador, 1962); J. E. Arellano, *Panorama de la literatura nicaragüense* (Managua, 1966); A. Bonilla, *Historia de la literatura costaricense* (San José, C.R., 1967); and R. Miró, *La literatura panameña* (Panamá, 1971).

On Venezuela, see M. Picón Salas, *Formación y proceso de la literatura venezolana* (Caracas, 1940), and J. Liscano, *Panorama de la literatura venezolana actual* (Caracas, 1972); and on Colombia, A. Gómez Restrepo, *Historia de la literatura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1956), and D. McGrady, *La novela histórica en Colombia, 1844–1959* (Bogotá, 1962).

On Ecuador, see I. J. Barrera, *Historia de la literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1960), R. Descalzi, *Historia crítica del teatro ecuatoriano* (Quito, 1968), and A. Rojas, *La novela ecuatoriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1948). On Bolivia, see F. Díez de Medina, *Historia de la literatura boliviana* (Madrid, 1959), and E. Finot, *Historia de la literatura boliviana* (La Paz, 1964).

Bolivia has gradually inched its way, thanks above all to the 1952 Revolution, to the prospect of an agreed national culture; while in Peru, perhaps the most violent and bitter cultural battlefield in the whole of Latin America, the struggle goes on, particularly through the continuing debate on indigenism. The best general works in Spanish are by L. A. Sánchez, *Introducción a la literatura peruana* (Lima, 1972), and *La literatura peruana: Derrotero para una historia cultural del Perú,* 5 vols. (Lima, 1966). The best work in English is undoubtedly J. Higgins, *A History of Peruvian Literature* (Liverpool, 1987). The indigenist debate is unavoidable, however, going back to Mariátegui, Valcárcel, and so forth in the 1920s and returning with a vengeance in the 1970s and 1980s. See X. Abril et al., *Mariátegui y la literatura* (Lima, 1980), L. E. Tord, *El indio en los ensayistas peruanos, 1848–1948* (Lima, 1978), and two outstanding works, A. Cornejo Polar, *Literatura y sociedad en el Perú: La novela indigenista* (Lima, 1980), and *Hermenéutica y praxis del indigenismo: La novela indigenista de Clorinda Matto a José María Arguedas* (Mexico, D.F., 1980), by Julio Rodríguez-Luis.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Chile, the home of some of Latin America's greatest poets, has also produced many of her most outstanding literary critics and historians, most of whom have given their attention not only to Chile but to the continent as a whole; see R. Silva Castro, *Panorama literario de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1961), A. Torres Ríoseco, *Breve historia de la literatura chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1956), F. Alegría, *La literatura chilena del siglo XX*, 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1967), and J. Promis, *Testimonios y documentos de la literatura chilena, 1842–1975* (Santiago, Chile, 1977).

There is a profuse coverage of Argentine literature for all periods, though the nineteenth century is better served in terms of synthesis than the twentieth, which is wracked by dissension and personalism, the result being a stream of political and sociological readings of narrative, poetry and theatre which, on the whole, promise more than they can deliver. The outstanding history of our period is R. Rojas, *Historia de la literatura argentina: Ensayo filosófico sobre la evolución de la cultura en el Plata*, 9 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1957), a continental classic. Other important general works are A. Yunque's pathbreaking *La literatura social en la Argentina: Historia de los movimientos literarios desde la emancipación nacional hasta nuestros días* (Buenos Aires, 1941); J. C. Ghiano, *Constantes de la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1953); E. Carilla, *Literatura argentina, 1800–1950: Esquema general* (Tucumán, 1954); G. Ara, *Los argentinos y la literatura nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1966); A. Prieto, *La literatura autobiográfica argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1966); and N. Jitrik, *El fuego de la especie* (Buenos Aires, 1971). The period of consolidation in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and in particular the 1880 Generation, have received renewed attention since the late 1960s. See A. Rama, *Los gauchipolíticos rioplatenses* (Buenos Aires, 1976), which treats the relation between gauchesque poetry and politics throughout the nineteenth century; E. Fishburn, *The Portrayal of Immigration in Nineteenth-Century Argentine Fiction, 1845–1892* (Berlin, 1981), an illuminating survey of authorial ideology; L. Rusich, *El inmigrante italiano en la novela argentina del 80* (Madrid, 1974); and a series of somewhat unstructured but indispensable populist-Marxist works by D. Viñas: *Literatura argentina y realidad política: De Sarmiento a Cortázar* (Buenos Aires, 1971), *Apogeo de la oligarquía* (Buenos Aires, 1975), *Indios, ejército y frontera* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), and *Grotesco, inmigración y fracaso* (Buenos Aires, 1973), which takes the work of the immigrant writer A. Discépolo as its point of departure. Similar contributions are A. R. Cortázar (ed.), *Indios y gauchos en la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1956), A. Prieto, *Literatura y subdesarrollo* (Buenos Aires, 1968), and J. Hernández Arregui, *Imperialismo y*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

cultura (Buenos Aires, 1973). On the later period, see C. T. Leland, *The Generation of 1922* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1986), and M. Scrimaglio, *Literatura argentina de vanguardia, 1920–1930* (Rosario, 1974).

On Uruguay, rich beyond its size and population in literary creation, see A. Zum Felde, *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay,* 3 vols. (1941; 3rd ed., rev., Montevideo, 1967); S. Bollo, *Literatura uruguaya, 1807–1965,* 2 vols. (Montevideo, 1965); J. E. Englekirk and M. E. Ramos, *La narrativa uruguaya: Estudio crítico bibliográfico* (Berkeley, 1967); H. Achugar, *Poesía y sociedad: Uruguay, 1880–1911* (Montevideo, 1985); and W. Rela, *Historia del teatro uruguayo, 1808–1968* (Montevideo, 1969); and on Paraguay, for which the reverse is true, see H. Rodríguez-Alcalá, *La literatura paraguaya* (Buenos Aires, 1969), and J. Plá, *Apuntes para una historia de la cultura paraguaya* (Asunción, 1967), and *El teatro en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1967).

On Brazil, A. Coutinho, *Introdução à literatura no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), Eng. trans. *An Introduction to Literature in Brazil* (New York, 1969), is the outstanding general introduction, setting Brazil's literary production in the international cultural context with consummate power of synthesis, and ending with *modernismo* in the 1920s. The most readable works in English remain E. Veríssimo's idiosyncratic *Brazilian Literature: An Outline* (New York, 1945), which plays to the English-speaking gallery, and S. Putnam's enthusiastic and enduringly civilized *Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing* (New York, 1948), which effectively returns the compliment. Other essential general works are A. Cândido, *Brigada ligeira* (São Paulo, 1945), *Formação da literatura brasileira, 1750–1880,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1959), and *Presença da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1964); N. Werneck Sodré, *História da literatura brasileira: Seus fundamentos econômicos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940; rev. ed. São Paulo, 1982); A. Bosi, *História concisa da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1972); and D. Brookshaw, *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature* (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1986), essential on the black presence in Brazilian letters. On the early part of the period, see J. C. de Andrade Muricy, *Panorama do movimento simbolista brasileiro,* 2 vols. (Brasília, 1973); for the period as a whole A. L. Machado Neto, *Estrutura social da República de Letras* (São Paulo, 1973), invaluable background for this period; and for the period preceding *modernismo,* see A. Bosi, *O pré-modernismo,* 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1969).

Brazilian *modernismo* is attracting ever-increasing critical attention, on a scale far beyond that accorded to its Spanish American equivalents. See W. Martins, *O modernismo,* 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1969); R. Bopp,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Movimentos modernistas no Brasil, 1922–1928 (Rio de Janeiro, 1966), by one of the participants; G. Mendonça Telles, *Vanguarda européia e modernismo brasileiro* (Petrópolis, 1972); L. Ivo, *Modernismo e modernidade* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972); F. Teixeira de Salles, *Das razões do modernismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974); S. Castro, *Teoria e política do modernismo brasileiro* (Petrópolis, 1979); M. R. Batista, T. P. A. Lopez and Y. S. de Lima, *Brasil: Primeiro tempo modernista, 1917–1929: Documentação* (São Paulo, 1972), invaluable as a source book; and M. E. Boaventura, *A vanguarda antropofágica* (São Paulo, 1985), which studies modernist reviews. Some of the important reviews like the *Revista de Antropofagia,* reprint (São Paulo 1976) and *Klaxon,* reprint (São Paulo, 1974) have been republished, serving Brazilian criticism in the way that reprints of *Amauta* and *Contemporáneos* have served Spanish American criticism in recent years.

Finally, for the very end of the period, see A. Filho, *O romance brasileiro de 30* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969).

3. NARRATIVE SINCE *c.* 1920

The last thirty years have seen an extraordinary transformation in Latin American literature, in the recognition it has achieved internationally and in the scholarly resources available for its study. The most ironic aspect of this remarkable cultural phenomenon is that attention has focused precisely on that contemporary period which historians and critics of literature normally tell us must wait until time has passed and critical judgements have sedimented. Thus the New Novel and its euphoric culmination, the 'Boom', have received an astonishing amount of concentrated attention – not only from Latin Americanists – while the colonial period and the nineteenth century have languished in relative neglect. B. A. Shaw, *Latin American Literature in English Translation* (New York, 1976) remains a valuable resource. It can now be supplemented by E. J. Wilson, *A to Z of Latin American Literature in English Translation* (London, 1991).

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND DICTIONARIES

Among the most useful bibliographical works are S. M. Bryant, *A Selective Bibliography of Bibliographies of Latin American Literature* (Austin, Tex., 1976); P. Ward (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature* (Oxford,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1978), with good coverage of Spanish American literature despite the title; W. Rela, *Guía bibliográfica de la literatura hispanoamericana desde el siglo XIX hasta 1970* (Buenos Aires, 1971); and A. Flores, *Bibliografía de escritores hispanoamericanos, 1609–1974* (New York, 1975), a very practical select listing. Indispensable is the remarkable two-volume *Panorama histórico-literario de nuestra América,* vol. 1, *1900–1943,* vol. 2, *1944–1970* (Havana, 1982) which interweaves historical data with literary-cultural entries. Another valuable resource is N. Klahn and W. F. Corral (eds.), *Los novelistas como críticos,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1991), an anthology of key critical writings by all the leading Latin American novelists of the last two centuries, with greater emphasis on the recent period.

The indefatigable D. W. Foster has produced a whole series of indispensable listings, including *Mexican Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Metuchen, N.J., 1983). See also A. M. Ocampo and E. Prado Velázquez (eds.), *Diccionario de escritores mexicanos* (Mexico, D.F., 1967), now being updated by Ocampo, the first volume of whose *Diccionario de escritores mexicanos del siglo XX* appeared in Mexico in 1988.

For the Caribbean area, see D. W. Foster, *Puerto Rican Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Westport, Conn., 1982), and Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de la Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, *Diccionario de la literatura cubana,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1980), a massive bio-bibliographical resource.

On Venezuela, see L. Cardoso and J. Pinto, *Diccionario general de la literatura venezolana* (Mérida, Ven., 1974), and on Colombia, J. E. Englekirk and G. E. Wade, *Bibliografía de la novela colombiana* (Mexico, D.F., 1950).

On the Andean region, see F. and L. Barriga, *Diccionario de la literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1973); G. Jaramillo Buendía et al., *Indice de la narrativa ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1992); J. M. Barnadas and J. J. Coy, *Realidad histórica y expresión literaria en Bolivia* (Cochabamba, 1977); D. W. Foster, *Peruvian Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Metuchen, N.J., 1983) and *Chilean Literature: A Working Bibliography* (Boston, 1978); and E. Szmulewicz, *Diccionario de la literatura chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1977).

For the River Plate, always well served by bibliographers, see H. J. Becco, *Contribución a la bibliografía de la literatura argentina: bibliografía, antología, historia y crítica general* (Buenos Aires, 1959), vast in scope; P. Orgambide and R. Yahni's businesslike *Enciclopedia de la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1970); D. W. Foster's indispensable *Argentine Literature: A Research Guide* (New York, 1983); and W. Rela, *Contribución a la*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

bibliografía de la literatura uruguaya (Montevideo, 1963), now supplemented by A. F. Orreggioni and W. Penco, *Diccionario de literatura uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1987).

Finally, on Brazil, see Instituto Nacional do Livro, *Introdução ao estudo da literatura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963), a critical synthesis and bibliography; R. de Menezes, *Dicionário literario brasileiro,* 5 vols. (São Paulo, 1969), with references to 5,000 writers from all periods; A. Brasil, *Dicionário prático de literatura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979); and M. Moisés and J. P. Pães (eds.), *Pequeno dicionário de literatura brasileira,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1980)

GENERAL HISTORY AND CRITICISM

Probably no scholar will ever again achieve the kind of elegant synthesis produced by Pedro Henríquez Ureña in *Las corrientes literarias en la América hispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1949), which though it included Brazil appeared first in English as *Literary Currents in Spanish America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945). It reaches only the first part of the period since 1930, but remains an essential work for preparing the critical terrain. Also invaluable is Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia comparada de las literaturas americanas,* 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1976), which includes Brazil, Haiti and the United States. Other well-known general histories in English include J. Franco's works, *Society and the Artist: The Modern Culture of Latin America* (London, 1967), mainly literary despite the title, *An Introduction to Spanish American Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1969), and *Spanish American Literature since Independence* (London, 1973), all essential works. The best of the general works in Spanish are E. Anderson Imbert, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1954), an outstanding synthesis and critical guide, also available in English; A. Zum Felde, *Indice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1959), much admired; and G. Bellini, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1985), a solid compendium. Also especially worthy of note is the imaginative collective critical history commissioned by UNESCO and edited by C. Fernández Moreno, *América Latina en su literatura* (Mexico, D.F., and Paris, 1972). Finally, another invaluable contribution is D. W. Foster (ed.), *Handbook of Latin American Literature* (New York, 1987), with individual chapters on national production in each republic.

Specifically on fiction, the best-known traditional works are L. A. Sánchez, *Proceso y contenido de la novela hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1953); F.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Alegría, *Historia de la novela hispanoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1959); J. Loveluck (ed.), *La novela hispanoamericana* (Santiago, Chile, 1969), a historic critical anthology which is still an important point of reference for the early part of the period; K. Schwartz, *A New History of Spanish American Fiction,* 2 vols. (Miami, Fla., 1972); and J. Brushwood, *The Spanish American Novel: A Twentieth Century Survey* (Austin, Tex., 1976).

Since the 1970s literary critics have largely lost faith in 'traditional' literary history – usually designed to fix some national or continental identity – as they have in all other 'grand narratives', and there have been few recent attempts at synthesis à la Henríquez Ureña, Sánchez, Torres Ríoseco, Anderson Imbert or Alegría. However, some critics have struggled on in the face of such scepticism, including Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1989), the first panoramic work for some time to attempt a new cartography; G. R. McMurray, *Latin American Writing since 1941* (New York, 1987), and D. Villanueva and J. M. Viña Liste, *Trayectoria de la novela hispanoamericana actual: Del 'realismo mágico' a los años ochenta* (Madrid, 1991), a useful guide to recent writers which disproves once and for all the idea that Spanish critics are incapable of writing interestingly about Latin American literature (though the influence of D. L. Shaw's pioneering *Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana* [Madrid, 1981], is plain to see). See also Carlos Fuentes, *Valiente mundo nuevo: Épica, utopía y mito en la novela hispanoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), a characteristic tour d'horizon and tour de force, and, similarly brilliant, R. M. Morse, *New World Soundings: Culture and Ideology in the Americas* (Baltimore, 1989), which includes meditations on literature as well as almost everything else.

Less comprehensive but also valuable are a large number of other works which have appeared since the 1960s: David Gallagher, *Modern Latin American Literature* (Oxford, 1973), much used by undergraduate students; Fernando Aínsa, *Los buscadores de la utopía* (Caracas, 1977) and *Identidad cultural de Iberoamérica en su narrativa* (Madrid, 1986), which trace archetypal themes, as do Rosalba Campra, *América Latina: La identidad y la máscara* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) and the contributors to S. Yurkiévich (ed.), *Identidad cultural de América Latina en su literatura* (Madrid, 1986).

On the period of the 'Boom', see Carlos Fuentes, *La nueva novela hispanoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1969), José Donoso, *Historia personal del boom* (Barcelona, 1972), E. Rodríguez Monegal, *El boom de la novela latinoamericana* (Caracas, 1972) and, for a retrospective, A. Rama (ed.), *Más allá del boom: Literatura y mercado* (Mexico, 1981). Still indispensable are

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the interviews of Luis Harss, *Los nuestros* (1966; also in English, with Barbara Dohmann, *Into the Mainstream* [New York, 1967]), carried out at the height of the 1960s euphoria, followed, a few years later by Rita Guibert, with *Seven Voices* (New York, 1973).

Also from this time a series of epoch-making essay anthologies appeared: Mario Benedetti, *Letras del continente mestizo* (Montevideo, 1967); E. Rodríguez Monegal, *Narradores de esta América* (Montevideo, 1969); Julio Ortega, *La contemplación y la fiesta* (Caracas, 1969); Jorge Lafforgue (ed.), *Nueva novela latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Ariel Dorfman, *Imaginación y violencia en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1970); O. Collazos, J. Cortázar and M. Vargas Llosa, *Literatura en la revolución y revolución en la literatura* (Mexico, D.F., 1970), a famous debate; F. Alegría, *Literatura y revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1971), deceptively titled; G. Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel* (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); A. J. MacAdam, *Modern Latin American Narratives: The Dreams of Reason* (Chicago, 1977); S. Bacarisse (ed.), *Contemporary Latin American Fiction* (Edinburgh, 1980); D. Kadir, *Questing Fictions: Latin America's Family Romances* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1986); J. King (ed.), *Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey* (London, 1987); P. Swanson (ed.), *Landmarks in Modern Latin American Fiction* (London, 1990); and R. González Echevarría, *The Voice of the Masters: Writing and Authority in Modern Latin American Literature* (Austin, Tex., 1986), and also his very important *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). MacAdam, Kadir and González Echevarría are all examples of that curious and disconcerting phenomenon which has seen Latin American fiction treated to the full French post-structuralist treatment, but not from France (nor indeed from Latin America), where very few such studies have been done, but from the United States. The latest studies are now linking the 'post-Boom' with post-structuralism and post-modernism. Good examples are E. Sklodowska, *La parodia en la nueva novela hispanoamericana, 1960–1985* (Philadelphia and Amsterdam, 1991), and L. Parkinson Zamora, *Writing the Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989).

However, there have also been a large number of studies which, instead of situating Latin American narrative in language or ideology using the template of Barthes, Derrida, Lacan or Foucault, have tried to reinsert it in social history. Much of the impetus for such work has come from Cuba, where Roberto Fernández Retamar's *Calibán* (Havana, 1971) and *Para una teoría de la literatura latinoamericana* (Havana, 1972) were undoubtedly political landmarks. But the acknowledged leader of this movement was

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

the Uruguayan critic Angel Rama, who was taking such studies to new heights at the time of his tragic death in 1983. His most important works were *Diez problemas para el novelista latinoamericano* (Caracas, 1972), *La novela latinoamericana: Panoramas, 1920–1980* (Bogotá, 1982), *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1982) and *La ciudad letrada* (Hanover, N.H., 1984). Rama was also responsible for the precious cultural contribution of editing the Colección Ayacucho of seminal texts of Latin American literature and culture, and he took part in numerous symposia and anthologies relating to Latin American narrative. Others working in a similar tradition are Jorge Ruffinelli (Uruguay), Antonio Cornejo Polar (Peru), Rafael Gutiérrez Girardot (Colombia), Antônio Cándido and Roberto Schwarz (Brazil); also, before his premature death, Alejandro Losada, author of *La literatura en la sociedad de América Latina* (Frankfurt, 1983). For other works in this line, se J. Mejía Duque, *Narrativa y neocolonialismo en America Latina* (Bogotá, 1972); J. Leenhardt (ed.), *Idéologies, littérature et société en Amérique Latine* (Brussels, 1975) and *Littérature latino-américaine d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1980); F. Pérus, *Historia y crítica literaria: el realismo social y la crisis de la dominación oligárquica* (Havana, 1982); Julio Rodríguez-Luis, *La literatura hispanoamericana entre compromiso y experimento* (Madrid, 1984); M. Moraña, *Literatura y cultura nacional en Hispanoamérica* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1984); H. Vidal (ed.), *Fascismo y experiencia literaria: Reflexiones para una recanonización* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1985); and J. Calviño, *Historia, ideología y mito en la narrativa hispanoamericana contemporánea* (Madrid, 1987). Pathbreaking works attempting to establish a new way of writing Latin American narrative history are Ana Pizarro (ed.), *La literatura latinoamericana como proceso* (Buenos Aires, 1985) and *Hacia una historia de la literatura latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), with contributions from many of the critics mentioned above.

NATIONAL LITERATURES

D. W. Foster's *Handbook of Latin American Literature,* mentioned above, is uneven but useful for all Latin American republics, and will be found invaluable for countries with sparse bibliographical coverage.

On Mexico, Carlos Monsiváis, 'Notas sobre la cultura mexicana en el siglo XX', in *Historia general de México,* vol. 4 (Mexico, D.F., 1976), 283–337, provides a stimulating synthesis. See also J. Brushwood, *Mexico in Its Novel* (Austin, Tex., 1966); A. M. Ocampo (ed.), *La crítica de la novela*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

mexicana contemporánea (Mexico, D.F., 1981), a judicious critical collection; M. Glantz (ed.), *Onda y escritura en México: Jóvenes de 20 a 33* (Mexico, D.F., 1971), an epoch-making critical anthology; J. A. Duncan, *Voices, Visions and a New Reality: Mexican Fiction since 1970* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1986); M. H. Forster and J. Ortega, *De la crónica a la nueva narrativa mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); S. Sefchovich, *México: País de ideas, país de novelas: Una sociología de la literatura mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); R. Teichmann, *De la onda en adelante: Conversaciones con 21 novelistas mexicanos* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); and Jean Franco, *Plotting Women* (London, 1989), on women writers from the colony to the present day. *Revista Iberoamericana,* no. 148–9 (1990) was entirely devoted to twentieth-century Mexican literature.

The single most useful volume on Central American narrative as a whole is R. L. Acevedo, *La novela centroamericana* (Río Piedras, P.R., 1982), which is judicious and comprehensive, but an important later work is *Literature and Politics in the Central American Revolutions* by J. Beverley and M. Zimmerman (Austin, Tex., 1990). On Honduras, see J. F. Martínez, *La literatura hondureña* (Tegucigalpa, 1987).

For the Caribbean region, see the special number of *Latin American Literary Review,* 16 (1980). On the Dominican Republic, see M. Henríquez Ureña, *Panorama histórico de la literatura dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1966); D. Sommer, *One Master for Another: Populism as Patriarchal Rhetoric in Dominican Novels* (Santo Domingo, 1983), a book whose perspective is relevant far beyond the Caribbean country on which it is based; and *Revista Iberoamericana,* no. 142 (1988), which has 19 essays on modern Dominican literature. For Haiti, see J. M. Dash, *Literature and Ideology in Haiti, 1915–1961* (Totowa, N.J., 1981), and for Puerto Rico, J. L. González, *Literatura y sociedad en Puerto Rico* (Mexico, D.F., 1976).

On the special case of Cuba – already prolific beyond its size well before the Revolution – see J. A. Portuondo, *Bosquejo histórico de las letras cubanas* (Havana, 1960) by the critic who set the ideological pace after the Revolution, and R. Lazo, *Historia de la literatura cubana* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). The early years of the Revolution saw a flurry of enthusiastic anthologies, first in France and Britain – for example, J. M. Cohen (ed.), *Writers in the New Cuba* (Harmondsworth, 1967) – and then, especially after the fall of Franco, in Spain; typical examples are M. Benedetti et al., *Literatura y arte nuevo en Cuba* (Barcelona, 1971) and F. M. Laínez, *Palabra cubana* (Madrid, 1975). Crucial background texts are Castro's own 'Words to the Intellectuals' (1961), available in a variety of anthologies of Marxist

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

declarations on literature, and the documents surrounding the Padilla affair of 1971. (See *Libre,* Barcelona, for example, or *Index on Censorship* from this period). See also J. G. Santana (ed.), *Política cultural de la Revolución Cubana: Documentos* (Havana, 1977), which includes statements on the fundamental place of realism in art and literature. On the narrative fiction since the Revolution, see J. Ortega, *Relato de la utopía: Notas sobre narrativa cubana de la revolución* (Barcelona, 1973); S. Menton, *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 1975) and, for a Cuban view, long delayed, R. Rodríguez Coronel, *La novela de la Revolución Cubana, 1959–1979* (Havana, 1986). Excellent more recent works are G. Pérez Firmat, *The Cuban Condition: Translation and Identity in Modern Cuban Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989), relating Cuban literature to national culture, and W. Luis, *Slavery in Cuban Narrative* (Austin, Tex., 1990). Two essential studies of Cuban pre- and post-revolutionary magazines are L. García Vega, *Los años de 'Orígenes'* (Caracas, 1978) and J. A. Weiss, *'Casa de las Américas': An Intellectual Review in the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977).

On Venezuela, see M. Picón Salas, *Formación y proceso de la literatura venezolana* (Caracas, 1940) and J. Liscano, *Panorama de la literatura venezolana actual* (Caracas, 1972). On Colombia, see A. Gómez Restrepo, *Historia de la literatura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1956); D. McGrady, *La novela histórica en Colombia, 1844–1959* (Bogotá, 1962); J. G. Cobo Borda, *La narrativa colombiana después de García Márquez* (Bogotá, 1989); J. Tittler, *Violencia y literatura en Colombia* (Madrid, 1989); A. Pineda, *La novela colombiana a fines del siglo XX* (Bogotá, 1990); and an important if controversial book by R. L. Williams, *Novela y poder en Colombia, 1844–1987* (Bogotá, 1991).

A general treatment of the Andean novel is given by R. Lazo, *La novela andina: Pasado y futuro* (Mexico, D.F. 1973). On Ecuador, see A. Rojas, *La novela ecuatoriana* (Mexico, D.F., 1948); J. L. Barrera, *Historia de la literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1960); *Revista Iberoamericana,* no. 144–5 (1988), with 26 essays on Ecuadorean literature; and A. Sacoto, *Novelas claves en la literatura ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1990). On Peru, ravaged by conflict and seemingly insoluble questions of national construction and identity, see L. A. Sánchez, *Introducción a la literatura peruana* (Lima, 1972), and *La literatura peruana: Derrotero para una historia cultural del Peru,* 5 vols. (Lima, 1966); J. Higgins, *A History of Peruvian Literature* (London, 1987); more socially oriented, A. Losada, *Creación y praxis: La producción literaria como praxis social en Hispanoamérica y el Perú* (Lima, 1976); J. Rodríguez-Luis,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Hermenéutica y praxis del indigenismo: La novela indigenista de Clorinda Matto a José María Arguedas (Mexico, D.F., 1980); M. Lauer, *El sitio de la literatura* (Lima, 1988); A. Cornejo Polar, *Literatura y sociedad en el Perú: La novela indigenista* (Lima, 1980) and *La formación de la tradición literaria en el Perú* (Lima, 1989); J. Ortega, *La cultura peruana: Experiencia y conciencia* (Mexico, D.F., 1978) and *Crítica de la identidad: La pregunta por el Perú en su literatura* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). On Bolivia, see F. Díez de Medina, *Historia de la literatura boliviana* (Madrid, 1959); E. Finot, *Historia de la literatura boliviana* (La Paz, 1964); A. Guzmán, *Panorama de la novela boliviana* (La Paz, 1973); Evelio Echevarría, *La novela social de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1973); G. Lora, *Ausencia de la gran novela minera* (La Paz, 1979); L. García Pabón and W. Torrico, *El paseo de los sentidos: Estudios de literatura boliviana contemporánea* (La Paz, 1983); R. Teixido, *El minero en la novela boliviana* (La Paz, 1988); and C. Castañón, *Literatura de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1989). On Chile, see R. Silva Castro, *Panorama literario de Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1961); A. Torres Ríoseco, *Breve historia de la literatura chilena* (Mexico, D.F., 1956); F. Alegría, *La literatura chilena del siglo XX*, 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile, 1967); J. Promis, *Testimonios y documentos de la literatura chilena, 1842–1975* (Santiago, Chile, 1977), M. A. Jofre, *Literatura chilena en el exilio* (Santiago, Chile, 1986); and H. Vidal, *Cultura nacional chilena, crítica literaria y derechos humanos* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1989).

There is profuse coverage of Argentine literature for all periods, though the nineteenth century is better served in terms of synthesis than the twentieth, which is wracked by dissension, personalism and partisanship. The result has been a torrent of political and sociological readings which, on the whole, promise more than they can deliver. The outstanding general history is R. Rojas, *Historia de la literatura argentina: Ensayo filosófico sobre la evolución de la cultura en el Plata*, 9 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1957), a continental model. See also A. Prieto, *Literatura y subdesarrollo* (Buenos Aires, 1968); D. Viñas, *Literatura argentina y realidad política: De Sarmiento a Cortázar* (Buenos Aires, 1971); J. Hernández Arregui, *Imperialismo y cultura* (Buenos Aires, 1973); A. Adelach et al., *Argentina: Cómo matar la cultura: Testimonios, 1976–1981* (Madrid, 1981), and A. Avellaneda, *Censura, autoritarismo y cultura: Argentina 1960–1983*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1986), both on the horrifying effects of the military 'process' on culture, not least fiction; K. Kohut, *Literatura argentina de hoy* (Frankfurt, 1989); and N. Lindstrom, *Jewish Issues in Argentine Literature* (Columbia, Mo., 1989). A brilliant recent retrospective, outside this period but an essential preparatory study for it, is B. Sarlo, *Buenos Aires 1920–1930:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Una modernidad periférica (Buenos Aires, 1988). As important background sources, see J. King, *'Sur': A Study of the Argentine Literary Journal and Its Role in the Development of a Culture, 1931–1970* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986), and W. H. Katra, *'Contorno': Literary Engagement in Post-Peronist Argentina* (Cranbury, N.J., 1988). On Uruguay, rich beyond its size in novelists and, above all, critics, see A. Zum Felde, *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay,* 3 vols. (1941; 3rd rev. ed., Montevideo, 1967); J. E. Englekirk and M. E. Ramos, *La narrativa uruguaya: Estudio crítico bibliográfico* (Berkeley, 1967); A. Rama, *La generación crítica, 1939–1969* (Montevideo, 1972); and J. Ruffinelli, *Palabras en orden* (Buenos Aires, 1974), important interviews. On Paraguay, with no more literary output than Honduras, Panama or Haiti, see H. Rodríguez-Alcalá, *La literatura paraguaya* (Buenos Aires, 1969).

On Brazil, A. Coutinho, *Introdução à literatura no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), Eng. trans. *An Introduction to Literature in Brazil* (New York, 1969), is an outstanding general introduction bringing the reader up to the beginning of this period. S. Putnam's *Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing* (New York, 1948) remains a stimulating introduction. See also A. Cândido, *Presença da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1964); A. Bosi, *História concisa da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1972); A. Filho, *O romance brasileiro de 30* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969); H. Alves, *Ficção de 40* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976); A. Brasil, *A nova literatura (O romance)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) and *A nova literatura (O conto)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973); M. Silverman, *Moderna ficção brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); J. H. Weber, *Do modernismo à nova narrativa* (Porto Alegre, 1976); M. C. Lopes, *A situação do escritor e do livro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); J. Gaspar Machado, *Os romances brasileiros nos anos 70: Fragmentação social e estética* (Florianopolis, 1981); and A. Cândido, 'Los brasileños y la literatura latinoamericana', *Casa de las Américas,* 136 (1983), 82–92.

4. POETRY SINCE *c.* 1920

An appropriate starting point for any survey of twentieth-century Latin American poetry is Saúl Yurkievich, *Fundadores de la nueva poesía latinoamericana* (1971; 2nd ed., Barcelona, 1973), which contains essays on César Vallejo, Vicente Huidobro, Pablo Neruda, Jorge Luis Borges, Octavio Paz and Oliverio Girondo. Yurkievich, a poet and a perceptive critic, favours the experimental side of the twentieth-century poetic tradition. Despite its

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

title, his survey does not include Brazilians. Equally stimulating, and more wide ranging, is Guillermo Sucre, *La máscara, la transparencia* (Caracas, 1975), with essays on all the principal Hispanic poets from Darío to Pizarnik and Pacheco; strangely it excludes Pablo Neruda. Another poet-critic who has written engagingly on Spanish American poets is Julio Ortega in his *Figuración de la persona* (Madrid, 1970), with essays on Vallejo, Belli, Parra, Pacheco and many Peruvians. The best survey in English is Gordon Brotherston, *Latin American Poetry: Origins and Presence* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), from Darío to Girri and Lihn, and including the Brazilians. Brotherston's forte is situating the poets in a cultural definition of American-ness. The most useful academic survey (with bibliographies) is Merlin Forster, *Historia de la poesía hispanoamericana* (Clear Creek, Ind., 1981). A sympathetic approach to modern Latin American poets emerges in Ramón Xirau's *Poesía iberoamericana contemporánea* (Mexico, D.F., 1972). A chronicle of very recent poetry, arguing for a living avant-garde, is Eduardo Milán's *Una cierta mirada* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), based on reviews in Octavio Paz's magazine, *Vuelta*. Pedro Lastra's critical edition of the special number of *Inti: Revista de Literatura Hispánica*, 18–19 (1983–4), 'Catorce poetas hispanoamericanos de hoy', ranges from Gonzalo Rojas to Antonio Cisneros. There is also a special number, 'La poesía en Hispanoamérica, hoy' of *Insula*, no. 512–13 (August–September 1989), edited by Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda. Also recommended is Tamara Kamenszain, *El texto silencioso: Tradición y vanguardia en la poesía sudamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), suggesting an alternative tradition in which to ground Latin American poetry. Finally, a recent survey of Latin American poetry by Mike González and David Treece, *The Gathering of Voices: The Twentieth Century Poetry of Latin America* (London, 1992) is angled socio-politically and reads cumbersomely, but is thorough.

MONOGRAPHS

There are many good monographs on individual poets. The early-twentieth-century break with Rubén Darío's cosmopolitan poetics is embodied by Ramó López Velarde and Leopoldo Lugones. Octavio Paz has a key essay on López Velarde in *Cuadrivio* (Mexico, D.F., 1965), while Allen Phillips's *Ramón López Velarde, el poeta y el prosista* (Mexico, D.F., 1962) is more informative. Lugones is well covered in Jorge Luis Borges's critical tribute, *Leopoldo Lugones* (Buenos Aires, 1955), and by the more academic Raquel Halty Ferguson, *Laforgue y Lugones: Dos poetas de la luna* (London,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1981). The best survey of the break with Rubendarismo is Gwen Kirkpatrick, *The Dissonant Legacy of Modernismo: Lugones, Herrera y Reissig and the Voice of Latin American Poetry* (Berkeley, 1989).

The initiator of the poetic avant-garde is the Chilean Vicente Huidobro. René de Costa has settled many controversial issues surrounding Huidobro's reputation and achievements in his *Vicente Huidobro: The Careers of a Poet* (Oxford, 1984). Pablo Neruda's prolific output is neatly summarized in Manuel Durán and Margaret Safir, *Earth Tones: The Poetry of Pablo Neruda* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). The detailed study of early Neruda by Jaime Concha, *Neruda: 1904–1936* (Santiago, Chile, 1972) repays study, as does Robert Pring Mill's acute introduction to his *Pablo Neruda: A Basic Anthology* (Oxford, 1975). A stimulating approach is John Felstiner's *Translating Neruda: The Way to Macchu Picchu* (Stanford, Calif., 1980). René de Costa has also surveyed Neruda in *The Poetry of Pablo Neruda* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), as has Margorie Agosín, *Pablo Neruda* (Boston, 1986). Apart from Neruda's *Memorias* (1974), Emir Rodríguez Monegal's critical biography, *El viajero inmóvil: Introducción a Pablo Neruda* (1966; 2nd ed., Buenos Aires, 1977) stands the test of time. Chilean novelist and diplomat Jorge Edwards has written a recent memoir, *Adiós poeta* (Barcelona, 1990). Neruda's late poetry is subtly explored in Christopher Perriam, *The Late Poetry of Pablo Neruda* (Oxford, 1989). Fellow Nobel Prize-winning poet Gabriela Mistral (Lucila Godoy Alcayaga) has been well introduced by Jaime Concha in his anthology, *Gabriela Mistral* (Madrid, 1987).

There has been extensive scholarship on César Vallejo. The best introduction in English is Jean Franco, *César Vallejo: The Dialectics of Poetry and Silence* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976). Juan Larrea's polemical edition of Vallejo's complete poems (Barcelona, 1978) should be counter-balanced by the Archivos edition under Américo Ferrari (Paris, 1988). Ferrari's *El universo poético de César Vallejo* (Caracas, 1971) is elegant and conceptually very clear. Alberto Escobar, *Cómo leer a Vallejo* (Lima, 1973) is also worth reading. Finally, see the introduction to James Higgins, *César Vallejo: A Selection of His Poetry* (Liverpool, 1987).

Jorge Luis Borges's poetry is reviewed by Guillermo Sucre, *Borges el poeta* (Caracas, 1967) and Gerardo Mario Goloboff, *Leer Borges* (Buenos Aires, 1978). See also Emir Rodríguez Monegal, *Jorge Luis Borges: A Literary Biography* (New York, 1978). Octavio Paz has written crucial essays on modern Mexican poets collected in *Generaciones y semblanzas: Escritores y letras de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987). See also by Paz, *Xavier Villaurrutia en persona y en obra* (Mexico, D.F., 1978), *El arco y la lira*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(Mexico, D.F., 1956), on poetry in general, and *Los hijos del limo* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), on the decline of the avant-garde. An introduction to Paz's complete works is Jason Wilson, *Octavio Paz* (Boston, 1986). Wilson's earlier *Octavio Paz: A Study of His Poetics* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979) focuses on Paz's debt to surrealism. More recent studies include Alberto Ruy Sánchez, *Una introducción a Octavio Paz* (Mexico, D.F., 1989) and John Fein, *Towards Octavio Paz: A Reading of His Major Poems* (Lexington, Ky., 1986). On the Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén, there is a fascinating essay by Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *La poesía afrocubana de Nicolás Guillén* (Montevideo, 1966), with a small anthology. For more background information, see Adriana Tous, *La poesía de Nicolás Guillén* (Madrid, 1971) and Keith Ellis, *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén: Poetry and Ideology* (Toronto, 1983).

A clear introduction to a typical Latin American poet of the 1930s and 1940s is Peter Beardsell, *Winds of Exile: The Poetry of Jorge Carrera Andrade* (Oxford, 1977). There are several thorough studies on Mexican poets of the 1920s and 1930s: see, for example, Merlin Forster, *Fire and Ice: The Poetry of Xavier Villaurrutia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1976); Edward Mullen, *Carlos Pellicer* (Boston, 1977); Andrew Debicki, *La poesía de José Gorostiza* (Mexico, D.F., 1962); Sonja Karsen, *Jaime Torres Bodet* (Boston, 1971); and Jaime García Terrés, *Poesía y alquimia, los tres mundos de Gilberto Owen* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). The Chilean poet Humberto Díaz-Casanueva's poetry was explored by fellow poet and friend Rosamel del Valle in *La violencia creadora* (Santiago, Chile, 1959), and more briefly by Argentine poet Ricardo Herrera, *La marcas del éxtasis* (Buenos Aires, 1983).

The best introduction to Ernesto Cardenal is Paul Borgeson, *Hacia el hombre nuevo: Poesía y pensamiento de Ernesto Cardenal* (London, 1984); it explores Cardenal's work chronologically. There are monographs on the Peruvian poet Carlos Germán Belli by Mario Canepa, *Lenguaje en conflicto: La poesía de Carlos Germán Belli* (Madrid, 1987), and on Alberto Girri by Muriel Slade Pascoe, *La poesía de Alberto Girri* (Buenos Aires, 1986). A subtle critical biography is *Alejandra Pizarnik* (Buenos Aires, 1991), by Cristina Piña. Edith Grossman has written the most informative introduction to Nicanor Parra in English: *The Antipoetry of Nicanor Parra* (New York, 1975). Another general study on Parra is Marlene Gottlieb, *No se termina nunca de nacer: La poesía de Nicanor Parra* (Madrid, 1977). A careful linguistic analysis of the avant-garde poet Oliverio Girondo is Beatriz Nóbile, *El acto experimental* (Buenos Aires, 1968) which should be read with Jorge Schwartz (ed.), *Homenaje a Girondo* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

There are several monographs on individual Brazilian poets. On Drum-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

mond de Andrade, John Gledson, *Poesia e poética de Carlos Drummond de Andrade* (São Paulo, 1981), and José Guilherme Merquior, *Verso universo em Drummond* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976). On Manuel Bandeira, see Emanuel de Moraes, *Manuel Bandeira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962), and a more recent work by Davi Arrigucci, Jr., *Humildade, paixão e morte: A poesia de Manuel Bandeira* (São Paulo, 1990). On João Cabral de Melo Neto, see Marta Peixoto, *Poesia com coisas: Uma leitura de João Cabral de Melo Neto* (São Paulo, 1983).

SURVEYS OF NATIONAL POETIC TRADITIONS

There are many informative surveys of national poetic traditions, both critical studies and critical anthologies. A chatty, well-documented survey of Brazilian modernism is *The Modernist Movement in Brazil: A Literary Study* (Austin, Tex., 1967), by critic and translator John Nist, complemented by the translation of Wilson Martins, *The Modernist Idea: A Critical Survey of Brazilian Writing in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1970). Equally comprehensive are Giovanni Pontiero's introduction and notes to his *An Anthology of Brazilian Modernist Poetry* (Oxford, 1969). Manuel Bandeira himself wrote a useful *Apresentação da poesia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967). Luiz Costa Lima sets Brazilian poetry into the Western tradition in his *Lira e antilira: Mário, Drummond, Cabral* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). A more recent survey, employing critical theory, is Antônio Sérgio Lima Mendonça, *Poesia de vanguarda no Brasil de Oswald de Andrade ao poema visual* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983).

A starting point for Mexican poetry would be Frank Dauster, *Breve historia de la poesía mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1956). This should be supplemented by Merlin Forster, *Los contemporáneos, 1920–1932: Perfil de un experimento vanguardista mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1964), and Guillermo Sheridan, *Los contemporáneos ayer* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). Andrew P. Debicki's comprehensive *Antología de la poesía mexicana moderna* (London, 1977) contains useful notes and bibliographies. A sensible survey of more recent poetry is Frank Dauster, *The Double Strand: Five Contemporary Mexican Poets* (Lexington, Ky., 1986), with a good bibliography.

The most informative introduction to twentieth-century Colombian poetry is *Poesía colombiana 1880–1980* (Medellín, 1987) by the poet-critic Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda, who also contributed to Ricardo Herrera's polemical survey of Argentine poetry, *Usos de la imaginación* (Buenos Aires, 1984), supplemented by Herrera's more controversial *La hora epigonal: Ensayos sobre poesía argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1991). A more

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

conventional study is Juan Carlos Ghiano, *Poesía argentina del siglo XX* (Mexico, D.F., 1957). A politicized view of recent Argentine poetry is Francisco Urondo, *Veinte años de poesía argentina, 1940–1960* (Buenos Aires, 1968), but written before he became a Montonero. A dull but broader academic approach can be found in the first volume of Guillermo Ara's *Suma de poesía argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1969). James Higgins has written a useful introduction in English to Peruvian poetry, *The Poet in Peru* (Liverpool, 1982), with essays on Vallejo, Moro, Belli, Cisneros and others, which can be complemented by Américo Ferrari, *Los sonidos del silencio: Poetas peruanos en el siglo XX* (Lima, 1990). Venezuelan poetry is covered in Vilma Vargas, *El devenir de la palabra poética: Venezuela siglo XX* (Caracas, 1980). The Venezuelan poet-critic Juan Liscano has collected his reviews of his country's poets in *Lecturas de poetas y poesías* (Caracas, 1985). An early survey of Chilean poetry is Fernando Alegría's *La poesía chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1954), updated by Ricardo Yamal, *La poesía chilena actual (1960–1984) y la crítica* (Concepción, Chile, 1988). The best introduction to Puerto Rican poetry available is Cesáreo Rosa-Nieves, *La poesía en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1969). Uruguayan poet Jorge Medina Vidal has surveyed his country's poetry in *Visión de la poesía uruguaya en el siglo XX* (Montevideo, 1967). José Olivio Jiménez covers Cuban poetry in his balanced but academic *Estudios sobre la poesía cubana contemporánea* (New York, 1967). Further studies of national traditions are cited in the section on general anthologies.

INTERVIEWS

There are a number of collections of interviews with Latin American poets. An amusing start could be made with U.S. poet Selden Rodman, *Tongues of Fallen Angels* (New York, 1974), travelling to interview Neruda, Paz, Cabral, Parra, and others. Hugo Verani collected several interviews with Paz in *Pasión crítica* (Barcelona, 1985); equally stimulating, with more references to poetry, is Paz and Julián Ríos's dialogue, *Solo a dos voces* (Barcelona, 1973). Volumes of interviews with Borges include Georges Charbonnier, *Entretiens avec Jorge Luis Borges* (Paris, 1967), Jean de Milleret, *Entrevista con Jorge Luis Borges* (Caracas, 1971), Richard Burgin, *Conversations with Jorge Luis Borges* (New York, 1974), Ernesto Sabato, *Diálogos* (Buenos Aires, 1976) and more recently, Osvaldo Ferrari, *Borges en diálogo* (Buenos Aires, 1985). Mario Benedetti interviewed Fernández Retamar, Gelman, Parra, Rojas, Dalton and others in *Los poetas comunicantes* (Monte-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

video, 1972). Pedro Lastra has *Conversaciones con Enrique Lihn* (Xalapa, 1980). Juan Gelman talks about his politics as much as his poetry in Roberto Mero, *Conversaciones con Juan Gelman* (Buenos Aires, 1988). Poet Alberto Girri has collected questions asked him in his *Cuestiones y razones* (Buenos Aires, 1978). The philosophically refined Argentine poet Roberto Juarroz published *Poesía y creación: Diálogos con Guillermo Boido* (Buenos Aires, 1980). Margaret Randall includes poets in her *Risking a Somersault in the Air: Conversations with Nicaraguan Writers* (San Francisco, 1984). Miguel Angel Zapata has collected interviews with 26 poets in 'Coloquios del oficio mayor', *Inti: Revista de Literatura Hispánica,* 26–7 (1987–8); they include Liscano and Cisneros. Juan Andrés Piña thoroughly interviews Parra, Anguita, Rojas, Lihn, Hahn and Zurita in *Conversaciones con la poesía chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1990).

GENERAL ANTHOLOGIES

The most comprehensive starting point is José Olivio Jiménez's *Antología de la poesía hispanoamericana contemporánea, 1914–1970* (Madrid, 1971). Jiménez had earlier combined with Eugenio Florit to produce a critical anthology, *La poesía hispanoamericana desde el modernismo* (New York, 1968), with good bibliographies. A more provocative and influential anthology was created by Argentine surrealist poet Aldo Pellegrini with his *Antología de la poesía viva latinoamericana* (Barcelona, 1966), introducing the Hispanic world to many surrealistic poets. Stefan Baciu has anthologized Spanish American surrealist poetry along orthodox surrealist lines in his *Antología de la poesía surrealista latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1974). Practising poets make the best anthologists. Mexican poet Homero Aridjis published his *Seis poetas latinoamericanos de hoy* (New York, 1973), ending with Paz and Parra. Two younger poet-critics have attempted to redefine Spanish American poetry. Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda has a poet's catholic tastes, as evidenced in his *Antología de la poesía hispanoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), with an acute prologue. Julio Ortega, a fine poet-critic, produced the equally wide-ranging *Antología de la poesía hispanoamericana actual* (Madrid, 1987), with prologue and useful notes. José Antonio Escalona-Escalona's uneven anthology, *Muestra de poesía hispanoamericana del siglo XX* (Caracas, 1985) cannot compete with either Cobo Borda's or Ortega's, despite its critical notes on poets in the second volume. Guerrilla and resistance poetry are well represented in Jorge Alejandro Boccanera and Saúl Ibargoyen Islas, *Poesía rebelde en Latinoamérica* (Mexico,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

D.F., 1978), with 129 poets, including Brazilians. Boccanera updated his earlier anthology with *La novísima poesía latinoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), grouping poets nationally. Mario Benedetti has compiled an anthology of guerrilla poets killed in action – Dalton, Heraud, Marighella, etc.–in *Poesía trunca: Poesía latinoamericana revolucionaria* (Madrid, 1980). An anthology of Brazilian poetry is Fernando Ferreira de Loanda, *Antologia da nova poesia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970). Two Brazilians are included in Jorge Lafforgue's *Poesía latinoamericana contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1988), a popular volume that excludes Paz but includes Darío, Agustini, Neruda, Vallejo, Drummond, Bandeira, Cardenal and Parra. Lastly, a young Octavio Paz was involved in the re-issued *Laurel: Antología de la poesía moderna en lengua española* (1941; Mexico, D.F., 1986) with Xavier Villaurrutia, Emilio Prados and Juan Gil-Albert, breaking new ground by combining Spaniards and Spanish Americans.

NATIONAL ANTHOLOGIES

Octavio Paz, with Alí Chumacero, José Emilio Pacheco and Homero Aridjis, edited the stimulating chronologically reversed anthology, *Poesía en movimiento, 1915–1966* (Mexico, D.F., 1966). For Mexican poetry this could be complemented with Sergio Mondragón's useful *República de poetas* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). For Chilean poetry, see Roque Esteban Scarpa and Hugo Montes, *Antología de la poesía chilena contemporánea* (Madrid, 1968), Alfonso Calderón, *Antología de la poesía chilena contemporánea* (Santiago, Chile, 1970), with a long, useful appendix where the anthologised poets expatiate about poetry, and, more recently, Erwin Díaz, *Poesía chilena de hoy: De Parra a nuestros días* (Santiago, Chile, 1988). A good introduction to Peruvian poetry is Alberto Escobar, *Antología de la poesía peruana* (Lima, 1965). See also Leonidas Cevallos Mesones, *Los nuevos* (Lima, 1967), with Cisneros, Hinostroza, Lauer, and Ortega, among others, also answering questionnaires about their poetry, and critic José Miguel Oviedo, *Estos 13* (Lima, 1973), with a very useful section, 'Documentos', of poets on their poetry. Mirko Lauer and Abelardo Oquendo have grouped together Peru's avant-garde poets in their anthology, *Vuelta a la otra margen* (Lima, 1970).

Argentine poetry has been well served by anthologists. The reader can begin with the well-documented *Antología lineal de la poesía argentina* (Madrid, 1968) by Cesar Fernández Moreno and Horacio Jorge Becco. For a more partisan and lively anthology, see Instituto Di Tella, *Poesía argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1963). Poet Hector Yánover's *Antología consultada de la*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

joven poesía argentina (Buenos Aires, 1968) is informative, with comments by each selected poet. For the poetry of the 1960s, see Francisco Urondo and Noé Jitrik's *Antología interna* (Buenos Aires, 1965). Leopoldo Castilla has grouped together the more recent, politicized poetry of the last twenty years in *Nueva poesía argentina* (Madrid, 1987). Alejandro Paternain's *36 años de poesía uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1967) has a long introduction to Uruguay's poets of the 1950s and 1960s. For contemporary Cuban poetry, the Spanish poet José Agustín Goytisolo's *Nueva poesía cubana* (Barcelona, 1970) is a good starting point, supplemented by Orlando Rodríguez Sardiñas, *La última poesía cubana* (Madrid, 1973), and Nicaraguan poet Ernesto Cardenal, *Poesía cubana de la revolución* (Mexico, D.F., 1976). For contemporary Nicaraguan poetry, Ernesto Cardenal's *Poesía nicaragüense* (Havana, 1973) is the best, with José Miguel Oviedo's *Musas en guerra: Poesía, arte, y cultura en la nueva Nicaragua (1974–1988)* (Mexico, D.F., 1987) very informative. Salvadorean novelist Manlio Argueta has compiled *Poesía de El Salvador* (San José, C.R., 1980). José Antonio Escalona-Escalona has edited *Antología actual de la poesía venezolana (1950–1980)* (Madrid, 1981) in two volumes, with a bibliographical appendix. There is an anthology of Bolivian poetry by Luis Ramiro Beltrán, *Panorama de la poesía boliviana: Reseña y antología* (Bogotá, 1982); another on Paraguayan poetry by Roque Vallejos, *Antología crítica de la poesía paraguaya contemporánea* (Asunción, 1968); and one on Honduran poetry by Oscar Acosta, *Poesía hondureña de hoy* (Tegucigalpa, 1971).

Most of the poets alluded to in this bibliographical essay, and in the chapters by Jaime Concha and Jason Wilson in *CHLA*, vol. X, have been translated into English, both individually, and in several national anthologies. See Jason Wilson, *An A–Z of Modern Latin American Literature in English Translation* (London, 1989).

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

For further bibliography, a comprehensive starting point is Hensley Woodbridge, *Guide to Reference Works for the Study of the Spanish Language and Literature and Spanish American Literature* (New York, 1978), proceeding country by country, excluding Brazil. For Brazil, Irwing Stern (ed.), *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature* (New York, 1988) is rewarding. On women writers, see Diane Marking (ed.), *Women Writers of Spanish America: An Annotated Bio-Bibliographical Guide* (New York, 1987). The most recent bibliography is Jacobo Sefamí, *Contemporary Spanish American Poets: A*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources (New York, 1992). On individual writers, Hugo Verani's *Octavio Paz: Bibliografía crítica* (Mexico, D.F., 1983) is judicious and complete; Horacio Jorge Becco, *Jorge Luis Borges: Bibliografía total, 1923–1973* (Buenos Aires, 1973) is complete up to its publication date; and Hensley Woodbridge and David Zobatsky, *Pablo Neruda: An Annotated Bibliography of Biographical and Critical Studies* (New York, 1988) is most useful.

5. INDIGENOUS LITERATURES AND CULTURES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION

As a succinct introduction to American culture and its place in the world, Claude Lévi-Strauss's essay, 'Race et histoire' (1952), published in translation in *Structural Anthropology*, vol. 2 (Harmondsworth, 1978), remains unsurpassed; it has the historical underpinning lacking in the four structuralist volumes of his *Mythologiques* (Paris 1964–71). Joseph H. Greenberg, *Language in the Americas* (Stanford, Calif., 1987) has now laid the foundation for defining American culture in the joint terms of linguistics and genetics. Michael Closs, *Native American Mathematics* (Austin, Tex., 1985) is the first continental account of this subject. In recent years, *América Indígena*, the journal of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano (Mexico), has increasingly accepted native languages and literatures as a key element in culture and education; see issue 50 (1990). A soundly researched though theoretically naive account of script in Mesoamerica is Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth and History in Four Ancient Civilizations* (Princeton, N.J., 1992). See also, 'Epigraphy', ed. V. Bricker, *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 5 (Austin, Tex., 1992); and Elizabeth Boone and Walter Mignolo (eds.), *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, N.C., 1994). Facsimiles of nearly all the major codices have been published by the Akademische Druck-und Verlags Anstalt (ADEVA) in Graz. The recent spate of decipherments of Maya hieroglyphic script is reported in Michael Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code* (New York, 1992), and touched on in Miguel León-Portilla, *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya* (Norman, Okla., 1987). K. A. Nowotny, *Tlacuilolli: Die mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften, Stil und Inhalt* (Berlin, 1961), remains the lone

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

standard work on the closely related iconic script, especially in the ritual genre. With respect to the genre of annals, see John B. Glass, 'A census of native Middle American pictorial manuscripts', in *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* vol. 14 (Austin, Tex., 1975), 81–250. The Mixtec tradition is comprehensively treated by Alfonso Caso in *Reyes y reinos de la Mixteca,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1977–9); and an update on that of the Chichimec is offered in Gordon Brotherston, *Mexican Painted Books: Originals in the United Kingdom and the World They Represent* (Colchester, Eng., 1992). The sophistication of the Inca quipu, used as a literary source by the mestizo historian Guamán Poma (see below), has been vindicated by Marcia and Robert Ascher, *Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981). Miguel León-Portilla, *Literaturas indígenas de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1992), José Juan Arrom, *Mitología y artes prehispánicas de las Antillas* (Mexico, D.F., 1989), and Gerdt Kutscher, *Nordperuanische Keramik* (Berlin, 1954), are all exemplary in incorporating inscriptions and ancient texts into literary history.

Within what is often uncritically referred to as 'orality', 'Watunna' is a fundamental Carib text encountered as a result of the 1950 expedition described by René Lichy in *Yaku: Expedición Franco-Venezolana del Alto Orinoco* (Caracas, 1978); it has been edited by Marc de Civrieux in Spanish, *Watunna: Mitología makiritare* (Caracas, 1970), and in English, *Watunna: An Orinoco Creation Cycle,* trans. David Guss (San Francisco, 1980). Little of this critical perception is available in the otherwise standard *Handbook of South American Indians,* 6 vols., ed. J. H. Steward (Washington, D.C., 1946–50). The ideas and practices of the new literary anthropology are set out by exponents in Dell Hymes, *'In Vain I Tried to Tell': Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics* (Philadelphia, 1981); Jerome Rothenberg, *Technicians of the Sacred,* 2nd enlarged ed. (Berkeley, 1985); Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia, 1983); Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban (eds.), *Native South American Discourse* (Berlin, 1986); Joel Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury (eds.), *Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987); and Ellen Basso and Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Las culturas nativas latinoamericanas a través de su discurso* (Quito and Rome, 1990). An analysis that works out from native scripts and texts into political memory and cosmogony is found in Gordon Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americas through Their Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), a convenient source for references not otherwise given here.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

WORLD VIEW AND COSMOGONY

The outstanding example of Mesoamerican cosmogony, the Popol vuh of the Quiché-Maya, was first directly translated into English by Munro Edmonson, *The Book of Counsel: The Popol vuh of the Quiché Maya of Guatemala* (New Orleans, La., 1971). Edmonson also provided a transcription of the original, in couplet form, and reviewed and compared previous translations into Spanish (Villacorta y Rodas; Recínos), French (Brasseur; Raynaud – the source of the Spanish version made by M. A. González de Mendoza and the Guatemalan novelist Miguel Angel Asturias), and other major languages. His work was followed by Dennis Tedlock's intrepidly entitled *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings* (New York, 1985), English text only, which benefits from the author's experience of studying with Quiché shamans in Guatemala. With the lowland Maya books of Chilam Balam, Munro Edmonson again provides direct translations plus original texts, albeit heavily reconstructed, as well as surveys of previous translations; in the case of the Book of Chumayel, *Heaven Born Merida and Its Destiny* (Austin, Tex., 1986), previously known through Gordon's facsimile of 1914 and Ralph Roys's *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Washington, D.C., 1933); and in the case of the Book of Tizimin, *The Ancient Future of the Itza* (Austin, Tex., 1982), rendered as *The Book of the Jaguar Priest* by Maud Makemsom (New York, 1951). In their classic study, *El libro de los libros de Chilam Balam* (Mexico, D.F., 1948), Alfredo Barrera Vásquez and Silvia Rendón show the interrelationship between five of the six principal surviving versions of these books (those mentioned above, plus the books of Maní, Kaua, Oxcutzcab and Ixil). Echoes of Yucatec Maya cosmogony are also found in *El ritual de los bacabes,* ed. Ramón Arzápalo Marín (Mexico, D.F., 1987).

In the Nahuatl language tradition, the two cosmogonical texts preserved in the Codex Chimalpopoca, the Cuauhtitlan Annals and the Legend of the Suns, have been translated for the first time directly into English by John Bierhorst, *History and Mythology of the Aztecs* (Tucson, Ariz., 1992). In doubting the integrity of the native year count, which runs unbroken from 1 Reed 635 to 1 Reed 1519 AD and into which the far more ancient story of the Suns is set, this version differs from those in German (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938; Berlin, 1974] and in Spanish (Primo Feliciano Velázquez,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Códice Chimalpopoca [Mexico, D.F., 1945]). The pattern of Mesoamerican world ages or Suns is discussed in Jesús Monjarás Ruiz's most useful and informed overview, *Mitos cosmogónicos del México indígena* (Mexico, D.F., 1987), where Mercedes de la Garza notes how in Popol vuh the scheme of four prior Suns has been obscured by translators, among them Edmonson and Tedlock, who run together the first two distinct creations of mud people and doll people. Garza is also editor of Antonio Médiz Bolio's pioneer 1930 Spanish version of the Chilam Balam Book of Chumayel (Mexico, D.F., 1985). Robert Carmack and James Mondloch have edited papers given at the milestone first international conference devoted to the Popol vuh: *Nuevas perspectivas sobre el Popol vuh* (Guatemala City, 1983). Munro Edmonson (ed.), *Literatures, Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians,* vol. 3 (Austin, Tex., 1985) features modern Mesoamerican creation stories, notably those of the Tzotzil discussed by Gary Gossen; for the Mixe, see Frank Lipp, *The Mixe of Oaxaca: Religion, Ritual and Healing* (Austin, Tex., 1991).

The question of mapping and ritual geography germane to models found in the ancient Mesoamerican books is taken up by, amongst others, Eva Hunt, *The Transformation of the Hummingbird: Cultural Roots of a Zinacantecan Mythical Poem* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966); Juan Negrín, *The Huichol Creation of the World* (Sacramento, Calif., 1975); Leland C. Wyman, *Southwest Indian Dry Painting* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983); and K. A. Nowotny, *Tlacuilolli,* cited above.

In the Andean area, the key Quechua manuscript of Huarochiri (*c.* 1608), long neglected, has now been widely edited and translated; see Hermann Trimborn, *Dämonen und Zauber in Inkareich: Fr. de Avila, Tratado de errores* (Leipzig, 1939–41); José María Argüedas, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua* (Lima, 1966); Gérald Taylor, *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: Manuscrito quechua, versión paleográfica* (Lima, 1987); George Urioste, *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Wara Chiri,* 2 vols. (Syracuse, N.Y., 1983); and Frank Salomon and George Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, Tex., 1991). Roswith Hartmann surveys several of these renderings in 'Zur Ueberlieferung indianischer Oraltradition aus dem kolonialzeitlichen Peru: Das Huarochirí Manuscript', in B. Illius and M. Laubscher, *Circumpacifica: Festschrift für Thomas S. Barthel,* vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1990), 534–61. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* completed *c.* 1613 and first published in facsimile as late as 1936 (Paris), has been comprehensively edited and transcribed by John V. Murra and R. Adorno, 3

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980). Overall views of Andean cosmogony are presented in J. M. Ossio, *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino* (Lima, 1973). The Huinkulche and other narratives of Mapuche creation from the southern Andes today are gathered by Bertha Kössler-Ilg in her indispensable *Indianermärchen aus den Kordilleren* (Dusseldorf, 1956); partially available in Spanish in her *Cuentan los araucanos* (Buenos Aires, 1954), and *Tradiciones araucanas* (La Plata, 1962). Living in San Martín de los Andes, Kössler-Ilg was able to take down directly the recollections of Mapuche born before the military assaults on native territory carried out by Argentina and Chile in the late-nineteenth-century. The link between cosmogony and political consciousness in the Andes today is lucidly described by Malú Sierra in *Mapuche, gente de la tierra* (Santiago, Chile, 1992).

Beside Paul Zolbrod's remarkable reworking of Washington Matthew's late-nineteenth-century texts in *Diné Bahane: The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1984), the most accessible accounts of Anasazi genesis are those found in the dry-painter narratives collected by Gladys Reichard in *Navajo Religion* (New York, 1963), and *Navajo Medicine Men Sandpaintings* (New York, 1977); and in Dennis Tedlock's *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1972). For the Tatkan Ikala of the Panamanian Cuna, see Erland Nordenskiöld, *An Historical and Ethnographical Survey of the Cuna Indians,* in collaboration with the Cuna Indian Rubén Pérez Kantule, ed. Henry Wassén (Göteborg, 1938); and Fritz Kramer, *Literature among the Cuna Indians* (Göteborg, 1970). Accounts of rain-forest cosmogony are given in Juan Adolfo Vázquez's excellent 'The present state of research in South American mythology', *Numen,* 25 (1970), 240–76; Lawrence Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum* (New York, 1988), which contains very full notes and bibliography; and John Bierhorst's more popularizing *The Mythology of South America* (New York, 1988). Individual editions and translations of note include: León Cadogan, *Ayvu rapyta* (São Paulo, 1959), and *La literatura de los guaraníes* (Mexico, D.F., 1965); Rubén Bareiro Saguier, *Literatura guaraní del Paraguay* (Caracas, 1980), which includes the early texts of Kurt Onkel-Nimuendajú; Marc de Civrieux, *Watunna: Mitología makiritare* (Eng. trans., *Watunna: An Orinoco Creation Cycle*), cited above; David Guss, 'Medatia' (a companion piece to 'Watunna'), in *The Language of Birds* (San Francisco, 1985); Konrad Theodor Preuss, *Die Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1921); Umusin Panlon Kumu, *Antes o mundo não existia,* trans. Tomalan Kenhiri and Berta Ribeiro (São Paulo, 1980) (a text in the Desana-Tukano tradition also featured in

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Amazonian Cosmos* (Chicago, 1971); and Stephen Hugh-Jones, *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979). Shuar-Jivaro texts, in the original language with Spanish translation, are edited by Siro Pellizaro in the Mitología shuar series published in Sucua, Ecuador; the flood story appears in *Tsunki: El mundo del agua y de los poderes fecundantes,* vol. 2 (Sucua, 1979). Mircea Eliade's classic study, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, N.J., 1964), is especially illuminating on the epic within American cosmogony.

RESILIENCE AND MEDIUM

Wide-reaching theoretical models of cultural resistance of the kind proposed by Nestor García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (Mexico, D.F., 1990), which reflect developments in the global economy, often find themselves modified in specific cases. Examples are Gary Gossen (ed.), *Symbol and Meaning beyond the Closed Community* (Albany, N.Y., 1986); Frank Salomon on Otavalo weaving and lore in David Gross (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of Native South America* (New York, 1973); Herta Puls, *Textiles of the Kuna Indians of Panama* (Aylesbury, Eng., 1988); Juan Negrín, *Acercamiento histórico y subjectivo al huichol* (Guadalajara, 1985); Alan R. Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing and Crop Fertility Rituals among Otomi Indians (the López manuscripts)* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981), and (with Pamela Effrein), *Traditional Papermaking and Paper Cult Figures of Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1986); and Catharine Good Eshelman, *Haciendo la lucha: Arte y comercio nahuas de Guerrero* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). The theme of specifically literary resistance has been well examined by José María Argüedas, *Canto quechwa* (Lima, 1938), and *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana* (Mexico, D.F., 1975) (which includes his seminal 1956 essay on the Inkarrí legend); and Regina Harrison, *Signs, Songs and Memory in the Andes* (Austin, Tex., 1989). Robert Laughlin, author of the *Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantan* (Washington, D.C., 1975), has been a main force in establishing Sna Jtzi'bajom, the writers' center in San Cristobal; see also Neville Stiles, 'Purist tendencies among native Mayan speakers of Guatemala', *Linguist,* 26 (1987), 187–91. Carlos Montemayor's comprehensive *Los escritores indígenas actuales,* 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1992) also deals with computers and 'informants'. See also Juan de Dios Yapita, 'Problemas de traducción de aymara al castellano', *Actas del 3er. Congreso de Lenguas Nacionales* (La Paz, 1976). For observations on the

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

impact of video recorders and other technology, see articles by T. Turner, J. Ruby and others in *Visual Anthropology Review,* 7/2 (1991), and F. Ginsburg, 'Indigenous media: Faustian contract or global village?', *Cultural Anthropology,* 6/1 (1991), 94–114 (noted in Patricia Aufderheide, 'Grassroots video in Latin America', unpub ms. 1992); on the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC), see Christian Gros, *Colombia indígena: Identidad cultural y cambio social* (Bogotá, 1991). The tenacity and adaptability of native lore within modern Latin America are authoritatively detailed by William Rowe and Vivian Schelling in *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London, 1991). The experience of making film out of a Mexican codex is described by Enrique Escalona in *Tlacuilo* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); the Popol vuh and Watunna have been filmed by PBS and the Museum of the American Indian, New York.

MODERN AUTHORS

No general survey exists of works in native American languages by individually named authors, although Carlos Montemayor's *Los escritores indígenas actuales,* cited above, breaks new ground in providing a common platform for writers in five or six Mesoamerican languages. A general context can be sketched out on the basis of individual publications, as well as collections and scholarly studies relating to particular languages. Among these are counted for Guarani, Julio Correa and Tadeo Zarretea in Antonio Pecci, *Teatro breve del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1981); for Mapudungu/Mapuche, Ivan Carrasco, 'Literatura mapuche', *America Indígena,* 48 (1988), 695–730; Pascual Coña, *Kuifike mapuche yem chumnechi: Testimonio de un cacique mapuche,* ed. E. W. Moesbach (1930; Santiago, Chile, 1984); Leonel Lienlaf, *Nepey ñi güñün piuke: Se ha despertado el ave de mi corazón* (Santiago, Chile, 1989), with an illuminating prologue by Raúl Zurita; for Quechua, Abdón Yaranga, 'The Wayno in Andean civilization', in G. Brotherston (ed.), *Voices of the First America: Text and Context in the New World* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1986); Kilku Waraka (Andrés Alencastre), *Yawar Para* (Cuzco, 1972); Carlos Falconi, Eusebio Huamani, Lino Quintanilla and others in Rodrigo Montoya, Edwin Montoya and Luis Montoya, *Urqukunapa yawarnin: La sangre de los cerros* (Lima, 1987); John McDowell, *Sayings of the Ancestors: The Spiritual Life of the Sibundoy Indians* (Lexington, Ky., 1989); Jesús Lara, *Poesía popular quechua* (La Paz, 1947), and *La literatura de los quechuas* (La Paz, 1969); Yuyachkani, in Rodrigo Montoya, 'Quechua theater: History, violence and hope', in *Latin America: Literal*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Territories, ed. G. Brotherston (Bloomington, 1993); for Nahuatl, Fausto Hernández Hernández in Joel Martínez Hernández, *Xochitlajtolkoskatl: Poesía nauatl contemporánea* (Tlaxcala, 1987); Luis Reyes in Míguel León-Portilla (ed.), 'Yancuic tlahtolli: La nueva palabra: Antología de la literatura náhuatl contemporánea', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl,* nos. 18–20 (1988–90); for Maya, Domingo Dzul Poot, *Cuentos mayas,* 2 vols. (Mérida, 1985–6); Paulino Yama in Allan F. Burns, *An Epoch of Miracles: Oral Literature of the Yucatec Maya* (Austin, Tex., 1983); Asis Ligorred Perramon, *Consideraciones sobre la literatura oral de los mayas modernos* (Mexico, D.F., 1990); and, for Jakaltec Maya, Victor Montejo, *The Bird Who Cleans the World and other Mayan Fables* (Willimantic, Conn., 1992).

IMPACT ON LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Taking the first term of its title from the Cuban ethnomusicologist Fernando Ortiz, Angel Rama's *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), creates the space necessary for any fair discussion of the intertextuality common to native and imported literary traditions in America. Rama also draws heavily on the socio-literary approach of both José María Argüedas and the Brazilians Nunes Pereira, Márcio Souza and Darcy Ribeiro. Under the theme-title 'Proyección de lo indígena en la literatura de la América Hispánica', *Revista Iberoamericana,* 50/127 (1984) deals with native influence on a range of Spanish American authors. Studies with the same focus have been steadily carried by the *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* from the late 1980s onwards. John Bierhorst's 'Incorporating the native voice: A look back from 1990', in Brian Swann (ed.), *On the Translation of Native American Literatures* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 51–63, has continental scope though the thinness of the data (he totally ignores Asturias, for example) may account for the author's extraordinary opinion that native sources have 'supplied precious little to the formation of English, Spanish, and Portugese letters in the New World'. José Juan Arrom's analysis of the Modernista Rubén Darío's native debt ("El oro, la pluma y la piedra preciosa: Indagaciones sobre el trasfondo indígena de la poesía de Darío', (1967); reprinted in *Certidumbre de América: Estudios de letras, folklore y cultura* (Madrid, 1989), points the way to subsequent case studies.

The veritable network of native texts drawn upon by Asturias, Carpentier, Abreu Gómez, Cardenal and other authors is examined in Gordon Brotherston: 'Gaspar Ilóm en su tierra', in G. Martin (ed.), *M. A. Asturias: Hombres de maíz* (Madrid, 1992), 593–602; 'Pacaraima as destination

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*', in *Latin America: Literal Territories* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 154–76; 'The Latin American novel and its indigenous sources', in J. King (ed.), *Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey* (London, 1987), 60–77; and 'The American Palimpsest', *Book of the Fourth World*, cited above, 341–9. The Andean textual tradition is analysed by Martin Lienhard, *Cultura andina y forma novelesca: Zorros y danzantes en la última novela de Argüedas* (Lima, 1990), and Laura Lee Crumley, 'El intertexto de Huarochirí en Manuel Scorza: Una visión múltiple de la muerte en *Historia de Carabombo el invisible*', *América Indígena*, 44 (1984), 747–55. Telê Porto Ancona López's edition of Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (São Paulo, 1988) superbly reveals the impact of Carib and Tupi texts on that work. Italo Calvino's intuition of the literary wealth of the rain-forest is quoted by Gerald Martin in *Journeys through the Labyrinth* (London, 1989). Garibay's versions of the Cantares mexicanos and their effect on Mexican literature are dealt with in Gordon Brotherston, 'Nezahualcoyotl's Lamentaciones and their Nahuatl origins', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 10 (1972), 393–408, and in Sara Castro-Klaren, *Escritura, transgresión y sujeto en la literatura latinoamericana* (Puebla, 1989). For the debate provoked by Bierhorst's translation, *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs* (Stanford, Calif., 1985), see Amos Segala, *Histoire de la littérature náhuatl: Sources, identités, représentations* (Rome, 1989); and Miguel León-Portilla, '¿Una nueva aportación sobre literatura náhuatl?', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 21 (1991), 293–310.

6. ART AND ARCHITECTURE SINCE *c.* 1920

There are few reliable general surveys of modern Latin American art and architecture, but see important early contributions by the British professor of literature Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist* (1967; 2nd ed., London, 1970); the Uruguayan art historian V. Gesualdo (ed.), *Enciclopedia del arte en América*, 5 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1968), a most helpful guide to both art and architecture organized by both country and artist; the U.S. musicologist Gilbert Chase, *Contemporary Art in Latin America* (New York, 1970); and the Argentine art historian and critic Damián Bayón, *Aventura plástica de Hispanoamérica* (1974; Mexico, D.F., 1992). See also Damián Bayón (ed.), *America Latina en sus artes* (Paris and Mexico, D.F., 1974). More recent works include *Historia del arte iberoamericano*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1988) by the Chilean Leopoldo Castedo, a

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

book that covers art from the pre-Columbian period to the present; Damián Bayón, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano,* vol. 3, *Siglos XIX y XX* (Madrid, 1988); Damián Bayón (ed.), *Arte moderno en América Latina* (Madrid, 1988), with contributions from J. Romero Brest, Marta Traba, J. A. Manrique and others; Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820–1980* (London, 1989); Oriana Baddeley and Valerie Fraser, *Drawing the Line: Art and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Latin America* (London, 1989) and Edward Lucie-Smith, *Latin American Art of the 20th Century* (London, 1993). Specifically on architecture, see H. R. Hitchcock, *Latin American Architecture since 1945* (New York, 1955); Paul Damaz, *Art in Latin American Architecture* (New York, 1963); Francisco Bullrich, *New Directions in Latin American Architecture* (New York, 1969) and *Arquitectura latinoamericana, 1930–70* (Buenos Aires, 1970); Roberto Segre (ed.), *América Latina en su arquitectura* (Paris, 1973); Damián Bayón, *Panorámica de la arquitectura latinoamericana* (Barcelona, 1977), a useful collection of interviews, illustrated with excellent photographs by Paolo Gasparini; Bayón and Gasparini, *The Changing Shape of Latin American Architecture* (New York, 1979); Ramón Gutiérrez, *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Iberoamérica* (Madrid, 1983); and E. Tejeira-Davis, *Roots of Modern Latin American Architecture* (Heidelberg, 1987).

MEXICO

Works in English on the Mexican muralists include Bertram D. Wolfe, *Portrait of Mexico* (New York, 1937); Bernard Myers, *Mexican Painting in Our Time* (New York, 1956); Alma Reed, *The Mexican Muralists* (New York, 1960); Jaime and Virginia Plenn, *A Guide to Mexican Modern Murals* (Ixtapalapa, 1963); and Desmond Rockfort, *Mexican Muralists: Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros* (London, 1993). On Rivera, see Desmond Rockfort, *The Murals of Diego Rivera* (London, 1987) and a biography, Bertram D. Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera* (New York, 1963). On Orozco, see MacKinley Helm's biography, *Man of Fire: Orozco* (Boston, 1953) and Alma Reed, *José Clemente Orozco* (New York, 1956). On David Alfaro Siqueiros, see Leonard Folgarait, *So Far from Heaven: David Alfaro Siqueiros' 'The March of Humanity' and Mexican Revolutionary Politics* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987). There are several studies of Tamayo: see, in particular, Robert Goldwater, *Tamayo* (New York, 1947) and James B. Lynch, *Tamayo* (Phoenix, Ariz., 1968). Hayden Herrera's *Frida Kahlo* (New York, 1982) contributed to the contemporary fashion for that conflictive woman painter.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

In Spanish, the Guatemalan poet and critic Luis Cardoza y Aragón has contributed various luminous studies on Mexican art: see, for example, *La nube y el reloj* (Mexico, D.F., 1940); *México: Pintura activa* (Mexico, D.F., 1961) and *México: Pintura de hoy* (Mexico, D.F., 1964). Another exceptional figure, Octavio Paz, has written on art, especially Mexican art, with wonderful intuition, from his study of *Tamayo* (Mexico, D.F., 1958) to a more recent collection of essays, *Los privilegios de la vista* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Eng trans., *Essays on Mexican Art* (New York, 1993). The essayist Samuel Ramos dedicated two of his studies to art: *Diego Rivera* (Mexico, D.F., 1958) and *The Mexican Muralists* (New York, 1960). The 'Three Greats' (Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros) found the time and energy to write on their own lives and experiences: see by Rivera, *Autobiografía* (Mexico, D.F., 1963) and *Mi arte, mi vida* (Mexico, D.F., 1963); by Orozco, the most literarily endowed of the three, *Autobiografía* (Mexico, D.F., 1942), and *El artista en Nueva York* (Mexico, D.F., 1971); by Siqueiros, *No hay más ruta que la nuestra* (Mexico, D.F., 1945) and, many years later, *A un joven mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). One of the earliest muralists was the French-born Jean Charlot, who wrote *The Mexican Mural Renaissance, 1920–1925* (New Haven, Conn., 1966) based on his own experiences.

The following works by professional historians and critics are worthy of note: Justino Fernández, *Arte moderno y contemporáneo de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1952) and *La pintura moderna mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1964); Raquel Tibol, a dedicated polemist of the left, *Siqueiros, introductor de realidades* (Mexico, D.F., 1961), and *Historia general del arte mexicano, época moderna y contemporánea* (Mexico, D.F., 1964), among others; Juan García Ponce, a novelist who analyses works of art, *Nueve pintores mexicanos* (Mexico, D.F., 1968), and *La aparición de lo invisible* (Mexico, D.F., 1968); Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, a professor at UNAM, *El surrealismo y el arte fantástico de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1969); and Shifra Goldman, *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change* (Austin, Tex., 1980). On architecture, Israel Katzman, *La arquitectura moderna mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1963) is an important study.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

On painting in Cuba, Adelaida de Juan, *Pintura cubana* (Havana, 1980) is an interesting work. On architecture only the works of Roberto Segre, the great specialist on Caribbean architecture, are of real value: see *Diez años de*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

arquitectura revolucionaria en Cuba (Havana, 1970), and *La vivienda en Cuba: República y revolución* (Havana, 1980).

On the Guatemalan-born painter Mérida, see *Carlos Mérida* (Mexico, D.F., 1961) by the Spanish critic Margarita Nelken. One of the few books on Guatemalan architecture is L. Luján Muñoz, *Síntesis de la arquitectura en Guatemala* (Guatemala City, 1968). See also Lionel Méndez Dávila, *Guatemala* (Washington, D.C., 1966).

On the architecture of Panama, see R. Rodríguez Porcel, *Panorama histórico de la arquitectura de Panamá* (Havana, 1972). A French specialist resident in Santo Domingo, Marianne de Tolentino, has written several works on the art of the Dominican Republic. Holger Escoto, *Historia de la arquitectura dominicana* (Santo Domingo, 1978) is an interesting work on its architecture. On the art and architecture of Puerto Rico, see E. Fernández Méndez, *Historia cultural de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R., 1970).

COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA

The Argentine-born Marta Traba was for many years the most important art critic in Colombia. See, for example, a polemical text, *Dos décadas vulnerables en las artes plásticas latinoamericanas* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) and two collections of articles: *Mirar en Bogotá* (Bogotá, 1976) and *Mirar en Caracas* (Bogotá, 1974). On modern Colombian architecture, see Germán Téllez, *Crítica e imagen* (Bogotá, 1977); J. Arango and C. Martínez, *Arquitectura en Colombia, 1538–1951* (Bogotá, 1951) and A. Berty, *Architectures colombiennes* (Paris, 1971). The senior art historian of Venezuela is Alfredo Boulton; see, in particular, his *Historia de la pintura en Venezuela,* 3 vols. (Caracas, 1968). Other distinguished critics are Juan Calzadilla – see, for example, *El arte en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1967) and *El ojo que pasa* (Caracas, 1969), and Roberto Guevara – see, for example, *Arte para una nueva escala* (Caracas, 1977). On architecture, the leading figure remains Italian-born Graziano Gasparini. See, in particular (with J.P. Posani), *Caracas a través de su arquitectura* (Caracas, 1971). There are two volumes in the OAS series on Latin American art: Marta Traba, *Colombia* (Washington, D.C., 1959) and Clara Sujo, *Venezuela* (Washington, D.C., 1962).

PERU, BOLIVIA AND CHILE

On Peru, there are valuable contributions by J. M. Ugarte Eléspuru (a painter himself) – see, in particular, *Pintura y escultura en el Perú contem-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

poráneo (Lima, 1970) – and by Mirko Lauer, *Introducción a la pintura peruana del siglo XX* (Lima, 1976). On Peruvian architecture, see J. García Bryce, 'La arquitectura en el virreinato y la república', in Jose García Bryce, Luis Enrique Tord and Enrique Pinilla (eds.), *Historia del Perú,* vol. 9 (Lima, 1980). For Bolivia, R. Villaroel Claure has contributed two useful volumes: *Pintores, grabadores y escultores bolivianos* (La Paz, 1952), and *Bolivia* (OAS, Washington, D.C., 1963). The country's two leading historians, José de Mesa and his wife, Teresa Gisbert, are primarily specialists on colonial art, but they have contributed important essays on the modern plastic arts, and especially architecture – see, for example, *Emilio Villanueva: Hacia una arquitectura nacional* (La Paz, 1984). The classical work on Chilean painting is A. R. Romero, *Historia de la pintura chilena* (Santiago, Chile, 1968). See also Milan Ivelic and Gaspar Galaz, *La pintura chilena* (Valparaiso, 1981). On architecture, above all see O. Ortega, M. Anduaga, C. Miranda, S. Pirotte, F. Riquelme, and A. Sahady: *Guía de la arquitectura en Santiago* (Santiago, Chile, 1976).

ARGENTINA, URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

A pioneer in the critical approach to the study of art in Argentina was A. Chiabra Acosta ('Atalaya'), *Críticas de arte argentino, 1920–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1934). A contemporary, but more of a historian, was José León Pagano. See his monumental work, *El arte de los argentinos,* 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1940). Other distinguished, important – and very different – works are C. Córdova Iturburu, *La pintura argentina del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires, 1958); Aldo Pellegrini, *La pintura argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1967); and Romualdo Brughetti, *Geografía plástica argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1958) and *Historia del arte en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1965). The most active and influential author not only in Argentina but in the rest of South America was Jorge Romero Brest. Most of his books are on general subjects, but, on Argentina, see *El arte en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1969). Laura San Martín, *Pintura argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1961) is a useful listing of artists. A short book written by a member of a younger generation in collaboration with three other critics is Fermin Févre, *La pintura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1975), On architecture, see F. Bullrich, *Arquitectura argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1963); J. M. Peña and J. X. Martini, *La ornamentación en la arquitectura de Buenos Aires,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1980); Marina Waisman (ed.), *Documentos para una historia de la arquitectura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1978); and an

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

important bibliography, *Arquitectura en Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1980), written by specialists like F. Ortiz, A. de Paula and R. A. Gómez.

On Uruguay there are two fundamental works by J. P. Argul: *Pintura y escultura en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1958) and *Las artes plásticas en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1966). For a different view, see F. García Esteban, *Panorama de la pintura uruguaya contemporánea* (Montevideo, 1965). The 'pope' of Uruguayan art, Joaquín Torres-García, produced two indispensable books: one on theory, *Universalismo constructivo* (Buenos Aires, 1944), where he preaches his ideas on art, the other – much more intimate – *Autobiografía* (Montevideo, 1939). The great Uruguayan architectural historian was J. Giuría, author of two historical works: *La arquitectura en el Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1950), and *La arquitectura en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1955). See also L. A. Artucio, *Montevideo y la arquitectura moderna* (Montevideo, 1971). In Paraguay, apart from the book by J. Giuría already mentioned, the literature on art and architecture is scarce. But see J. Báez, *Arte y artistas paraguayos* (Asunción, 1941); and the more recent, and indispensable, book by Ticio Escobar, *Una interpretación de las artes visuales en el Paraguay,* 2 vols. (Asunción, 1984).

BRAZIL

An early book by Sergio Milliet, *Pintores e pinturas* (São Paulo, 1940) remains valuable. Two theorists of the Antropofagia movement published important works: Mário de Andrade, *O movimento modernista* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942) and Oswald de Andrade, *Ponta de lança* (1945; Rio de Janeiro, 1972). An early and useful study by the Argentine J. Romero Brest, published in Spanish, is *La pintura brasileña contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1945). Like Romero Brest, Mario Pedrosa was a prolific author: see among his general works *Arte, necessidade vital* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), and *Mundo, homem, arte em crise* (São Paulo, 1975). An Italian resident in Brazil, Pietro Maria Bardi, published two popular books in English: *The Arts in Brazil: A New Museum at São Paulo* (Milan, 1956) and *Profile of the New Brazilian Art* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970). *De Anita ao Museu* (Rio de Janeiro, 1976) by the Paulista writer Paulo Mendes de Almeida, is an interesting work: the title refers to the painter Anita Malfatti and the Museum of Fine Arts in São Paulo. Other interesting works include *O modernismo* (São Paulo, 1975), by Affonso Avila of Belo Horizonte, and *Visconti e as artes decorativas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983), by an Argentine specialist, Irma Arestizábal.

Three important Brazilian critics belonging, more or less, to the same

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

generation – Aracy Amaral, Frederico Morais, and Roberto Pontual – have made a major contribution to the study of Brazilian art. By Amaral, see in particular *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22* (São Paulo, 1970), and *Arte para quê? A preocupação social no arte brasileira, 1930–1970* (São Paulo, 1984); by Morais, *Artes plásticas: A crise da hora atual* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975) and *As artes plásticas na América latina: Do transe ao transitório* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979); by Pontual, *Dicionário das artes plásticas no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969) and *Entre dois séculos (Arte brasileira do século XX na coleção Gilberto Chateaubriand)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987) as well as *La peinture de l'Amerique latine au xxe siècle* (Paris, 1990). Other contributions by well-known critics include Ferreira Gullar, *Cultura posta em questão* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965); Clarival do Prado Valladares, *Riscadores de milagres – um estudo sobre arte genuina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967); and J. R. Teixeira Leite, *Pintura moderna brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979). An important collective work is *História geral da arte no Brasil,* 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1983), edited by Walter Zanini, former director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro.

Three pioneer books on modern Brazilian architecture were Philip Goodwin, *Brazil Builds: Architecture Old and New, 1652–1942* (New York, 1943); Stamo Papadaki, *Works in Progress* (New York, 1950); and Henrique Mindlin, *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956). Bullrich, *New Directions in Latin American Architecture,* cited above, includes a bright and controversial essay on Brasília. More recent works include Paulo F. Santos, *Quatro séculos de arquitetura* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977); Alberto Xavier, *Brasília e arquitetura moderna brasileira* (São Paulo, 1977); and Carlos Lemos, *Arquitetura brasileira* (São Paulo, 1979). A practical guide is Nestor Goulart Reis, *Quadro da arquitetura no Brasil,* 4th ed. (São Paulo, 1978). See also the useful essay by Julio R. Katinsky, 'Arquitectura y diseño en el Brasil' in D. Bayón, *Arte moderno en América Latina.*

7. MUSIC SINCE *c.* 1920

A review of popular music literature, of centres and research collections, and future research on popular music is provided in Gerard Béhague 'Popular music' in *Handbook of Latin American Popular Culture,* edited by Harold E. Hinds, Jr. and Charles M. Tatum (Westport, Conn., 1985), 3–38. Vol. 6/2 (1987) of the journal *Popular Music* is dedicated to Latin America and includes a section on 'sources and resources.' Jan Fairley

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tated bibliography of Latin American popular music with particular references to Chile and *nueva canción*', *Popular Music*, 5 (1985), 305–56. John Schechter provides a good discussion and selected bibliography on popular music in his article 'The current state of bibliographic research in Latin American ethnomusicology', in Dan C. Hazen (ed.), *Latin American Masses and Minorities: Their Images and Realities*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wisc., 1987). For an assessment of studies of Latin American folk and traditional music, see Gerard Béhague, 'Latin America', in Helen Myers (ed.), *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies* (London, 1993).

Gilbert Chase, *A Guide to the Music of Latin America* (1955; 2nd ed., Washington, D.C., 1962), remains valuable. For bibliographic references since *c.* 1960, the music section of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* should be consulted. Gerard Béhague's detailed survey of Latin American art music, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979; Sp. trans., Caracas, 1983), provides copious bibliographical notes on twentieth-century music. Trends, stylistic development and detailed and updated biographical information concerning Latin American music, musicians and institutions are provided in the twenty volumes of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980). Quite useful, in spite of many factual errors and the lack of updating of the material, is the series *Composers of the Americas/Compositores de las Américas*, published by the OAS (Washington, D.C.), which provides biographical data and catalogues of the works of selected composers from all countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Carlos Chávez's life and works have been the subject of numerous studies. Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez: Vida y obra* (Mexico, D.F. 1960) is one of the best analytical studies and includes a catalogue of the composer's works, a bibliography and a discography, brought up to date in *Carlos Chávez, Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus*, by Robert L. Parker (Boston, 1983). Mexican musical nationalism is well treated in Otto Mayer-Serra's *Panorama de la música mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1941), and his study of 'Silvestre Revueltas and musical nationalism in Mexico', *The Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1941), 123–45, is still valuable. Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del nacionalismo en la música mexicana* (Mexico, D.F., 1989) is a thought-provoking essay with interesting analyses. Dan Malström, 'Introduction to twentieth-century Mexican music' (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Uppsala University, 1974) contains good general information, although the musical analyses leave a great deal to be desired. Vol. 5 of *La música de México*, edited by Julio Estrada (Mexico, D.F., 1984) deals with the period 1958–80.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cuban nationalism and the study of *afrocubanismo* are best treated in Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (Mexico, D.F., 1946). Nicolas Slonimsky, 'Caturla of Cuba,' *Modern Music,* 27/2 (1940), 76–80, provides some analytical comments on that composer's works. The early works of Aurelio de la Vega are studied in Alice Ramsay's 'Aurelio de la Vega: His life and his music' (M.A. thesis, California State University, 1963). Ronald Erin wrote on 'Cuban elements in the music of Aurelio de la Vega,' *Latin American Music Review,* 5/1 (1984), 1–32, and Paul Century on 'Leo Brouwer: A portrait of the artist in Socialist Cuba,' *Latin American Music Review,* 8/2 (1987), 151–71, with a detailed bibliography on the composer. For a general assessment of Cuban musical life in the 1980s, see Victoria Elí Rodríguez, 'Apuntes sobre la creación musical actual en Cuba', *Latin American Music Review,* 10/1 (1989), 287–97.

The best and most detailed study of Puerto Rican music in general is Héctor Campos-Parsi's *La música,* which makes up vol. 7 of *La Gran Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico* (Madrid, 1976). Anna Figueroa de Thompson, *An Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Music in Puerto Rico* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1974) is the best bibliographic reference.

A good general survey of Venezuelan music up to the 1950s is José Antonio Calcaño, *La ciudad y su música* (Caracas, 1958). Colombian music history of the twentieth century is surveyed in José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia,* 3rd ed. (Bogotá, 1963) and Andrés Pardo Tovar, *La cultura musical en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1966). Studies on Uribe Holguín include Guillermo Rendón's 'Maestros de la música: Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880–1971),' in *Boletín de Música* (Havana) nos. 50–1 (1975), and Eliana Duque, *Guillermo Uribe Holguín y sus '300 trozos en el sentimiento popular'* (Bogotá, 1980). Segundo Luis Moreno provided a general survey of Ecuadorian music history in 'La música en el Ecuador', in J. Gonzalo Orellana (ed.), *El Ecuador en cien años de independencia,* vol. 2 (Quito, 1930). Peruvian music and musicians have been studied in Rodolfo Barbacci, 'Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano', *Fénix,* 6 (1949), Carlos Raygada, 'Guía musical del Perú,' *Fénix,* 12 (1956–7), 13 (1963), and 14 (1964), and Enrique Pinilla, 'La música contemporánea en el Perú,' *Fanal* (Lima), 79 (1966). Four chapters dealing with Peruvian music from 1900 to 1985, written by Enrique Pinilla, form part of the book *La música en el Perú* (Lima, 1985). Bolivian music is surveyed in Atiliano Auza León, *Dinámica musical en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1967).

Numerous articles on Chilean music institutions, composers and their works with catalogues have been published in *Revista Musical Chilena,* a

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

general index of which appears in 98 (1966), 129–30 (1975), and 163 (1985). A general survey of Chilean art music since 1900 is Vicente Salas Viu, *La creación musical en Chile, 1900–1951* (Santiago, Chile, 1952), updated by Samuel Claro V. and Jorge Urrutia B. in their *Historia de la música en Chile* (Santiago, Chile, 1973).

The most relevant studies of Brazilian music are Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, *150 anos de música no Brasil (1800–1950)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956), Mário de Andrade's epoch-making *Ensaio sôbre a música brasileira* (São Paulo, 1928), Renato Almeida, *História da música brasileira,* 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), Vasco Mariz, *Figuras da música brasileira contemporânea* (Brasília, 1970) and *História da música no Brasil,* 4nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1994), and Bruno Kiefer, *História da música brasileira* (Porto Alegre, 1976). *Música contemporânea brasileira,* by José Maria Neves (São Paulo, 1981), brings some updated information on new composers' activities. On the life and works of Heitor Villa-Lobos, see Andrade Muricy, *Villa-Lobos, uma interpretação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961); Vasco Mariz, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: Life and Work of the Brazilian Composer,* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1970) (the eleventh edition of this book, much enlarged, appeared in Portuguese translation in 1989 in Belo Horizonte); Lisa M. Peppercorn, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: Leben und Werk des brasilianischen Komponisten* (Zürich, 1972); Bruno Kiefer, *Villa-Lobos e o modernismo na música brasileira* (Porto Alegre, 1981); Luiz Pablo Horta, *Heitor Villa-Lobos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987); Simon Wright, *Villa-Lobos* (Oxford, 1992); and Gerard Béhague, *Hector Villa-Lobos: The Search for Brazil's Musical Soul* (Austin, Tex., 1994). Specific analytical works include Arnaldo Estrella, *Os quartetos de cordas de Villa-Lobos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970); Adhemar Nóbrega, *As Bachianas brasileiras de Villa-Lobos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971); and *Os Choros de Villa-Lobos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975).

A general overview of Argentine musical life in the twentieth century is provided in Mario García Acevedo, *La música argentina durante el período de la organización nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1961) and *La música argentina contemporánea* (Buenos Aires, 1963). Opera in Buenos Aires is the subject of Roberto Caamaño (ed.), *La historia del Teatro Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1969). A series of individual biographies of Argentine composers was begun in the early 1960s by the Ministerio de Educación y Justicia in Buenos Aires, known as the 'Series Ediciones Culturales Argentinas'. It includes biographies on Juan José Castro by Rodolfo Arizaga (1963), on Jacobo Ficher by Boris Zipman (1966), and on Alberto Ginastera by Pola Suárez Urtubey (1967). On Ginastera's life and works, see Gilbert Chase, 'Alberto Ginastera: Argentine composer,' *The Musical Quarterly,* 43/4

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(1957), and Malena Kuss, 'Type, derivation, and use of folk idioms in Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo* (1964),' *Latin American Music Review,* 1/2 (1980). Uruguayan music is treated in some detail in Susana Salgado, *Breve historia de la música culta en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1971), including comprehensive catalogues of Uruguayan composers' works.

Latin American new, experimental music has not been studied very extensively. For an overview of music since 1950, see Aurelio de la Vega, 'New World composers,' *Inter-American Music Bulletin,* 43 (1964) and 'Avant-garde music at the American Art Biennal of Córdoba', *Yearbook-Anuario* (Inter-American Institute for Musical Research), 3 (1967). See also his review-essay 'A quick encounter with Brazil's art music through some recent recordings', *Latin American Music Review,* 8/1 (1987), 119–31. Juan Orrego-Salas surveyed the contemporary trends and personalities in 'The young generation of Latin American composers: Backgrounds and perspectives', *Inter-American Music Bulletin,* 38 (1963), and Gustavo Becerra Schmidt wrote on 'Modern music south of the Rio Grande', *Inter-American Music Bulletin,* 83 (1972). Orrego-Salas also gave a general appraisal of several Latin American composers' stylistic tendencies in 'Traditions, experiment, and change in contemporary Latin America', *Latin American Music Review,* 6/2 (1985).

8. CINEMA

GENERAL

Several works cover the development of cinema in Latin America from its inception: see Guy Hennebelle and Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón (eds.), *Les Cinémas de l'Amérique Latine* (Paris, 1981); John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (London, 1990); Jorge A. Schnitman, *Film Industries in Latin America: Dependency and Development* (Norwood, N.J., 1984); Peter B. Schumann, *Historia del cine latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1986); José Agustín Mahieu, *Panorama del cine Iberoamericano* (Madrid, 1990); Paulo Paranagua, *Cinema na América Latina: Longe de Deus e perto de Hollywood* (Porto Alegre, 1984); and John King, Ana López, and Manuel Alvarado (eds.), *Mediating Two Worlds: Cinematic Encounters in the Americas* (London, 1993). See also Ana López, 'Towards a "Third" and "Imperfect" Cinema: A theoretical and historical study of film-making in Latin America' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1986).

Two books focus on early cinema: XI Festival del Nuevo Cine La-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tinoamericano, *Cine latinoamericano: años 30–40–50* (Mexico, D.F., 1990) and Silvia Oroz, *Melodrama: O cinema de lágrimas da América Latina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1992). In the main, however, general works have focused in particular on the 'new' cinema movements of the last thirty years. See, in particular, Julianne Burton (ed.), *Cinema and Social Change in Latin America: Conversations with Filmmakers* (Austin, Tex., 1986). See also Burton (ed.), *The Social Documentary in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1990) and *The New Latin American Cinema: An Annotated Bibliography, 1960–1980* (New York, 1983). Other books/catalogues concentrating on the modern period include: Pat Aufderheide (ed.), *Latin American Visions: Catalogue,* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989); Zuzana M. Pick, *The New Latin American Cinema: A Continental Project* (Austin, Tex., 1993); E. Bradford Burns, *Latin American Cinema: Film and History* (Los Angeles, 1975); Michael Chanan (ed.), *Twenty-five Years of the New Latin American Cinema* (London, 1983); Isaac León Frias (ed.), *Los años de la conmoción, 1967–1973* (Mexico, D.F., 1979); Coco Fusco (ed.), *Reviewing Histories: Selections from New Latin American Cinema* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1987); Octavio Getino, *Cine latinoamericano: Economía y nuevas tecnologías audiovisuales* (Havana and Merida, Ven., 1987); Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón, *Cine, censura y exilio en América Latina* (La Paz, 1979); *Hojas de cine: Testimonios y documentos del nuevo cine latinoamericano,* 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Augusto Torres Martínez and Manuel Pérez Estremera, *Nuevo cine latinoamericano* (Barcelona, 1973); Teresa Toledo, *Diez años de un festival* (Madrid, 1990); Luis Trelles Plazaola, *Cine y mujer en América Latina* (Rio Piedras, P.R., 1991); and *South American Cinema: Dictionary of Filmmakers* (Rio Piedras, P.R., 1989).

Several critics have explored Latin American cinema within the broader context of Third Cinema/Third World debates. For the seminal essay on 'Third Cinema', see Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, *Cine, cultura y descolonización* (Mexico, D.F., 1973) and Getino's further comments in *A diez años de 'Hacia un tercer cine'* (Mexico, D.F., 1982). General studies include Roy Armes, *Third World Filmmaking and the West* (Berkeley, 1987); John H. Downing (ed.), *Film and Politics in the Third World* (New York, 1987); Teshome Gabriel, *Third Cinema in the Third World: The Aesthetics of Liberation* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982); Zuzana Pick (ed.), *Latin American Filmmakers and the Third Cinema* (Ottawa, 1978); and Jim Pines and Paul Willemen (eds.), *Questions of Third Cinema* (London, 1990). Certain film journals, in particular *Cineaste, Framework, Jump Cut* and *Positif,* carry regular articles on Latin American cinema. See, for example, 'Latin American Film', *Jump Cut,* 30 (March 1985); 'Latin American Dossier', Parts 1 and 2,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Framework, 10 (Spring 1979), 11–39 and 11 (Autumn 1979), 18–27; 'Latin American Militant Cinema', special issue, *Cineaste*, 4/3 (1970–1).

ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY

The literature tends to paint the picture in broad brush-strokes, with only one or two works concentrating on particular directors or genres. See Tim Barnard (ed.), *Argentine Cinema* (Toronto, 1986); Fernando Birri, *La escuela documental de Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, Arg., 1964); Jose Miguel Couselo, *El negro Ferreyra: Un cine por instinto* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Couselo et al., *Historia del cine argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1984); Domingo Di Núbila, *Historia del cine argentino*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1971); Estela Dos Santos, *El cine nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1971); Claudio España, *Medio siglo de cine: Argentina Sono Films* (Buenos Aires, 1984); Octavio Getino, *Notas sobre el cine argentino* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); John King and Nissa Torrents (eds.), *The Garden of Forking Paths: Argentine Cinema* (London, 1988); Agustín Mahieu, *Breve historia del cine argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1966) and *Breve historia del cine nacional: 1896–1974* (Buenos Aires, 1974); Jorge Abel Martin, *Los filmes de Leopoldo Torre Nilsson* (Buenos Aires, 1980); Instituto Nacional de Cinematografía, *Diccionario de realizadores contemporáneos* (Buenos Aires, 1987); Daniel López, *Catálogo del nuevo cine argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1987); Tomás Eloy Martínez, *La obra de Ayala y Torre Nilsson* (Buenos Aires, 1961); Juan José Rossi (ed.), *El cine documental etno-biográfico de Jorge Prelorán* (Buenos Aires, 1985); and Fernando Solanas, *La mirada: Reflexiones sobre cine y cultura* (Buenos Aires, 1989); see also Robert Stam, '*Hour of the Furnaces* and the two avant-gardes', *Millenium Film Journal*, 7–9 (1980–1). On Argentine cinema in the 1980s, see David William Foster, *Contemporary Argentine Cinema* (Columbia, Mo., 1992).

On Uruguay, see Eugenio Hintz (ed.), *Historia y filmografía del cine uruguayo* (Montevideo, 1988). There are interviews with Mario Handler and Walter Achugar in Burton (ed.), *Cinema and Social Change*. See also Walter Achugar et al., 'El cine en el Uruguay', in *Hojas de cine*, Vol. 1.

BRAZIL

The most complete one-volume guide to Brazilian cinema, with the most comprehensive bibliography, is Paulo Antonio Paranagua (ed.), *Le cinéma brésilien* (Paris, 1987). In English, the main reference works are Randal Johnson, *Cinema Novo x 5: Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Film* (Austin,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Tex., 1984) and *The Film Industry in Brazil: Culture and the State* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987), and Randal Johnson and Robert Stam (eds.), *Brazilian Cinema* (Rutherford, N.J., 1982). In Brazil, there are major works on all the different periods of cinema development. See, in particular, on the silent period, Vicente de Paulo Araujo, *A bela época do cinema brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1976) and *Salões, circos e cinema de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1981). See also Jean-Claude Bernadet, *Filmografia do cinema brasileiro, 1900–1935* (São Paulo, 1979). Bernadet is one of Brazil's most important critics. His work, which spans the silent period to the present day, includes: *Cinema brasileiro: Propostas para uma história* (Rio de Janeiro, 1979); *Trajetoria crítica* (São Paulo, 1978); *Brasil em tempo de cinema* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967); *Piranha no Mar de Rosas* (São Paulo, 1982); *Cineastas e imagens do povo* (São Paulo, 1985); and *O vôo dos anjos: Bressane, Sganzerla* (São Paulo, 1990). Other general works which include the silent period are Paulo Emilio Salles Gomes, *Cinema: Trajetoria no subdesenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) and Gomes and Adhemar Gonzaga, *70 anos de cinema brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986). Gomes has also studied Brazil's most important early director, Humberto Mauro, in his *Humberto Mauro, Cataguases, Cinearte* (São Paulo, 1974). See also Ismail Xavier, *Sétima Arte: Um culto moderno* (São Paulo, 1978) and Jose Carlos Avellar, *Imagem e som: Imagem e ação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982). On the early talkies, in particular the *chanchada,* see Afrânio M. Catani and José de Melo Souza, *A chanchada no cinema brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1983) and Sérgio Augusto, *Este mundo é um pandeiro: A chanchada de Getúlio a JK* (São Paulo, 1989). The attempted 'modernization' of cinema in the 1940s and 50s is charted in Maria Rita Galvão, *Burguesia e cinema: O caso Vera Cruz* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981).

Perhaps the most acute analyst of the Cinema Novo period is one of its major practitioners, Glauber Rocha: see, *Revisão crítica do cinema brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963) and *O século do cinema* (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). Other works include Ismail Xavier, *Sertão mar: Glauber Rocha e a estética da fome* (São Paulo, 1983) and Xavier's 'Allegories of underdevelopment: From the "Aesthetics of Hunger" to the "Aesthetics of Garbage" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1982); Michel Estève (ed.), *Le 'cinema novo' brésilien,* Etudes cinématographiques, no. 93–6 (Paris, 1972) and *Le 'cinema novo' bresilien 2: Glauber Rocha,* Etudes cinématographiques, no. 97–9 (Paris, 1973); Sylvie Pierre, *Glauber Rocha* (Paris, 1987); José Gatti, *Barravento: A Estréia do Glauber* (Florianópolis, 1987); Raquel Gerber, *O cinema brasileiro e o processo político e cultural (de 1950 a 1978)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982); José Maria Ortiz Ramos, *Cinema, estado e lutas culturais:*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Anos 50/60/70 (Rio de Janeiro, 1983); Fernão Ramos, *Cinema marginal (1968–1973)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987); and José Carlos Avellar, *O cinema dilacerado* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986). On more recent movements, see 'Brazil: Post Cinema Novo', *Framework*, 28 (1985).

MEXICO

As with Brazil, the most up-to-date book on Mexican cinema, and the most useful introductory guide, has been edited by Paulo Antonio Paranagua: *Le Cinéma mexicain* (Paris, 1992).

Mexican scholars have developed an extensive bibliography. The most widely published film critic is Emilio García Riera, whose most comprehensive work is the *Historia documental del cine mexicano, Epoca sonora* (Mexico, D.F., 1969–93), 12 vols. to date. Other titles by García Riera include: *El cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1963); *Historia del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); *El cine y su público* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); *Filmografía mexicana de medio y largo metrajes, 1906–1940* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); *Fernando de Fuentes* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); *Emilio Fernández* (Guadalajara and Mexico, D.F., 1987); *Los hermanos Soler* (Guadalajara, 1990); *Julio Bracho* (Guadalajara, 1986); and *Arturo Ripstein habla de su cine* (Guadalajara, 1988). Another stimulating critic to cover the history of cinema is Jorge Ayala Blanco. See his *La aventura del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1968); *La búsqueda del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1974); *La condición del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); *La disolvencia del cine mexicano, entre lo popular y lo exquisito* (Mexico, D.F., 1991). With María Luisa Amador, Ayala Blanco has published the *cartelera* of four decades of cinema in Mexico: *Cartelera cinematográfica 1930–1939* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), *1950–1959* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); *1960–1969* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); and *1970–1979* (Mexico, D.F., 1988). Other general works include Aurelio de los Reyes, *Medio siglo de cine mexicano (1896–1947)* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Carl J. Mora, *Mexican Cinema: Reflections of a Society, 1898–1980* (Berkeley, 1982); Beatriz Reyes Nevares, *Trece directores del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1974), Eng. trans. *The Mexican Cinema: Interviews with Thirteen Directors* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1976); and Alberto Ruy Sánchez, *Mitología de un cine en crisis* (Mexico, D.F., 1981). Ruy Sánchez is the editor of the magazine *Artes de México*, which has published two beautifully-illustrated numbers on Mexican cinema: 'El arte de Gabriel Figueroa', *Artes de México*, 2 (Winter 1988) and 'Revisión del cine mexicano', *Artes de México*, 10 (Winter 1990). The cultural critic Carlos Monsiváis has written extensively on Mexican cinema

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

in witty and trenchant style: for selections of these essays see his *Amor perdido* (Mexico, D.F., 1977), *Escenas de pudor y liviandad* (Mexico, D.F., 1988), and *Rostros del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1993).

On the origins of Mexican cinema, see Gustavo García, *El cine mudo mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); Manuel González Casanova, *Crónica del cine silente en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); Andrés de Luna, *La batalla y su sombra (La revolución en el cine mexicano)* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Aurelio de los Reyes, *Los orígenes del cine en México (1896–1900)* (Mexico, D.F., 1973). See also de los Reyes, *Cine y sociedad en México, 1896–1930:* Vol. 1, *Vivir de sueños (1896–1920)* (Mexico, D.F., 1983). On early talkies and the 'Golden Age' of Mexican cinema, see the studies of individual directors by García Riera, already mentioned. See also Juan Bustillo Oro, *Vida cinematográfica* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); Henry Burdin, *La mexicaine María Felix, le roman d'une vie* (Paris, 1982); Adela Fernández, *El indio Fernández, vida y mito* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Alejandro Galindo, *Verdad y mentira del cine mexicano* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); Diana Negrete, *Jorge Negrete: Biografía autorizada* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Miguel Angel Morales, *Cómicos de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1987); Tomás Pérez Turrent, *La fábrica de sueños: Estudios Churubusco, 1945–1985* (Mexico, D.F., 1985); Gabriel Ramírez, *Lupe Vélez: La mexicana que escupía fuego* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); David Ramón, *Sensualidad: Las películas de Ninón Sevilla* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); Paco Ignacio Taibo, *La música de Agustín Lara en el cine* (Mexico, D.F., 1984), *Siempre Dolores* (Mexico, D.F., 1984), *María Félix, 47 pasos por el cine* (Mexico, D.F., 1985), and *El indio Fernández: El cine por mis pistolas* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); Eduardo de la Vega Alfaro, *El cine de Juan Orol* (Mexico, D.F., 1985) and *Arcady Boytler* (Guadalajara, 1992); Ariel Zuñiga, *Vasos comunicantes en la obra de Roberto Gavaldón* (Mexico, D.F., 1990).

Work on modern cinema includes: Paola Costa, *La 'apertura' cinematográfica, México, 1970–1976* (Puebla, 1988); Klaus Eder, *Arturo Ripstein: Filmemacher aus Mexico* (Munich, 1989); Marcela Fernández Violante, *La docencia y el fenómeno fílmico: Memoria de los XXV años del CUEC, 1963–88* (Mexico, D.F., 1988); Vicente Leñero, *Tres guiones cinematográficos: Magnicidio, los Albañiles, cadena perpetua* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); Tomás Pérez Turrent, *Canoa: Memoria de un hecho vergonzoso* (Puebla, 1984); Pérez Turrent et al., *Rafael Corkidi* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Florencio Sánchez, *Crónica antisolemne del cine mexicano* (Xalapa, 1989) and *Hermosillo: Pasión por la libertad* (Mexico, D.F., 1989); Nelson Carro Rodríguez, *El cine de luchadores* (Mexico, D.F., 1984); and Charles Ramírez Berg, *Cinema of Solitude: A Critical Study of Mexican Film, 1967–1983* (Austin, Tex., 1992).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

CHILE

Few works cover Chilean cinema before the 1960s. There are two general studies: Carlos Ossa Coo, *Historia del cine chileno* (Santiago, 1971) and Alicia Vega, *Re-visión del cine chileno* (Santiago, 1979). On 'new cinema' from the 1960s and 'exile' cinema, see Francesco Bolzoni, *El cine de Allende* (Valencia, Spain, 1975); Michael Chanan (ed.), *Chilean Cinema* (London, 1976); Gabriel García Márquez, *La aventura de Miguel Littín, clandestino en Chile* (Mexico, D.F., 1986), Eng. trans., *Clandestine in Chile* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989). For further criticism on Littín, see Ana López, 'Towards a "Third" and "Imperfect" Cinema', mentioned above. (Almost all the survey books cited at the beginning of this essay contain essays on Littín and on the two other best-known directors of the period, Raoul Ruíz and Patricio Guzmán.) See also Patricio Guzmán and Pedro Sempere, *Chile: El cine contra el fascismo* (Valencia, 1977); *Literature Chilena, Creación y Crítica,* 27 (January–March 1984), special issue on Chilean cinema; and Jacqueline Mouesca, *Plano secuencia de la memoria de Chile* (Madrid, 1988). Raoul Ruíz has received concentrated critical attention in the past decade. See the sections in *Afterimage,* 10 (1982) and in particular the special editions of two eminent French film journals dedicated to his work: *Cahiers du Cinéma,* 345 (March 1983) and *Positif,* 274 (December 1983).

CUBA

Two stimulating general studies are Michael Chanan, *The Cuban Image: Cinema and Cultural Politics in Cuba* (London, 1985) and Paulo Antonio Paranagua (ed.), *Le Cinéma cubain* (Paris, 1990). See also Arturo Agramonte, *Cronología del cine cubano* (Havana, 1966). On cinema after the revolution, see Néstor Almendros, *A Man with a Camera* (London, 1985); Santiago Alvarez et al., *Cine y revolución en Cuba* (Barcelona, 1975); Michael Chanan, *Santiago Alvarez* (London, 1980); María Eulalia Douglas, *Diccionario de cineastas cubanos, 1959–1987* (Mérida, Ven., 1989); Ambrosio Fornet, *Cine, literatura y sociedad* (Havana, 1982); Fornet (ed.), *Alea: Una retrospectiva crítica* (Havana, 1987); Julio García Espinosa, *Una imagen recorre el mundo* (Havana, 1979); Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, *Dialéctica del espectador* (Mexico, D.F., 1983), Eng. trans. first published in *Jump Cut* 29 and 30 (1984–5) and in book form as *The Viewer's Dialectic* (Havana, 1988); and Michael Myerson (ed.), *Memories of Underdevelopment: The Revolutionary Films of Cuba* (New York, 1973). The development of cinema from

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1959 is charted in the journal *Cine Cubano*. See also the special dossier on Cuban cinema in *Jump Cut*, 19 (December 1978), 20 (May 1979) and 22 (May 1980).

BOLIVIA AND PERU

Bolivia has produced several interesting works of criticism. See, in particular, Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón, *Historia del cine en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1982); Carlos D. Mesa, *La aventura del cine boliviano, 1952–1985* (La Paz, 1985) and *El cine boliviano según Luis Espinal* (La Paz, 1982); Beatriz Palacios Mesa, Jorge Sanjinés et al., *Cine boliviano: Del realizador al crítico* (La Paz, 1979); and Jorge Sanjinés and El Grupo Ukamau, *Teoría y práctica de un cine junto al pueblo* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). Sanjinés is included in all the major general studies of new Latin American cinema.

Surprisingly, there is no general reference work on Peruvian cinema. See, however, the articles in *Hablemos de Cine;* for example, Isaac León Frías, 'Hacia una historia de cine peruano', 50–1 (1970); various authors, 'Diccionario del cortometraje peruano', 70 (1979) and 71 (1980); and 'Encuentro con Federico García', 75 (1982). On Francisco Lombardi, Peru's best-known director, see Paulo Antonio Paranagua, 'Francisco Lombardi et le nouveau cinéma péruvien', *Positif*, 338 (April 1989).

COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA

For general reference on the Colombian cinema, see Hernando Martínez Pardo, *Historia del cine colombiano* (Bogotá, 1978); Umberto Valverde, *Reportaje crítico al cine colombiano* (Bogota, 1978); and Hernando Salcedo Silva, *Crónicas del cine colombiano, 1897–1950* (Bogotá, 1981). The Bogotá-based magazine, *Cuadernos de Cine Colombiano,* produced a series of studies of individual directors in the early 1980s: see 2 (1981) on Ciro Durán; 3 (1981) on Francisco Norden; 4 (1981) on Lizaro Tarco Tulio; 7 (1982) on Jorge Silva and Marta Rodríguez; 10 (1983) on Luis Ospina; and 11 (1983) on Camila Loboguerrero. On cinema of the 1980s, see Orlando Mora and Sandro Romero Rey, 'Cine colombiano, 1977–1987: Dos opiniones', *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico,* 25/5 (1988), 31–49, and various authors, 'Colombia: En busca de un cine perdido', *Gaceta* (July–August 1989), 21–33. Finally, see Carlos Alvarez, *Sobre el cine colombiano y latinoamericano* (Bogotá, 1989).

Studies of Venezuela concentrate on recent cinema. See Jesús M. Aguirre and Marcelino Bisbal, *El nuevo cine venezolano* (Caracas, 1980);

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Edmundo Aray, *Cine venezolano: Producción cinematográfica de la ULA* (Mérida, Ven., 1986); Rodolfo Izaguirre, *El cine en Venezuela,* 2nd ed. (Caracas, 1981) and *Cine venezolano: Largometrajes* (Caracas, 1983); R. Grazione et al., *Clemente de la Cerda* (Caracas, n.d.); Alvaro N. P. Naranjo, *Román Chalbaud: Un cine de autor* (Caracas, 1984); and Ricardo Tirado, *Memoria y notas del cine venezolano,* 2 vols. (Caracas, 1988).

THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA

On Caribbean cinema, see Arnold Antonin, *Material para una pre-historia del cine haitiano* (Caracas, 1983); Kino García, *Breve historia del cine puertorriqueño,* 2nd rev. ed. (Bayamón, P.R., 1989); José Luis Sáez, *Historia de un sueño importado, ensayos sobre el cine en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1982). See also *Hojas de cine,* vol. 3, cited above.

Central America has received critical attention mainly in the last fifteen years as a result of revolutionary/guerrilla cinema. On Nicaragua, see Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón, *El cine de los trabajadores* (Managua, 1981), as well as *Hojas de cine,* vol. 3, cited above; Armand Mattelart (ed.), *Communicating in Popular Nicaragua* (New York, 1986); and John Ramírez, 'Introduction to the Sandinista documentary cinema', *Areito,* 37 (1984). Essays on the cinemas of the remaining Central American republics are found in *Hojas de cine,* vol. 3, cited above. See also the special edition of *Jump Cut* on the revolutionary cinema in El Salvador: *Jump Cut,* 26 (1981). On Panama, see Pedro Rivera, 'Apuntes para una historia del cine en Panamá,' *Formato 16,* 3 (1977).

9. THE MASS MEDIA

The historical literature on the Latin American mass media from the 1920s to the late 1960s – most of it published in small editions, often by the pioneers of broadcasting – is not abundant. The extensive literature on development communications in Latin America was written mainly in the United States. There is a significant Latin American body of critical work around media reforms and the New International Information Order, much of which is contained in Fernando Reyes Matta (ed.), *La Información en el Nuevo Orden Internacional* (Mexico, D.F., 1977) and in UNESCO Reports and Papers on Mass Communication: 70, Television Traffic – A One-Way Street?; 92, Transnational Communication and Cul-

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

tural Industries; 93, Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries; 98, The New International Economic Order: Links Between Economics and Communication; and 99, International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis, There have been some studies on the media under the military dictatorships of the 1970s and early 1980s, such as G. Munizaga, *El discurso público de Pinochet* (Buenos Aires, 1983) and the studies cited below on Brazil and Argentina. Finally, there is extensive descriptive and applied literature on the experiences of alternative communications.

There have been important efforts to collect and analyse the literature on Latin American communications. Four annotated bibliographies of national communication research have been published: P. Anzola and P. Cooper, *La investigación en comunicación social en Colombia* (Lima, 1985); G. Munizaga and A. Rivera, *La investigación en comunicación social en Chile* (Lima, 1983); O. Peirano and T. Kudo, *La investigación en comunicación social en el Perú* (Lima, 1982); and J. B. Rivera, *La investigación en comunicación social en Argentina* (Lima, 1986). R. Atwood and E. McAnany (eds.), *Communication and Latin American Society* (Madison, Wis., 1986), is a book by Latin American and U.S. scholars on the trends in critical research in Latin America. Statistics on the private media industries can be found in the trade newspaper *Variety* Once a year, *Variety* dedicates a special issue to the Latin American communication industries. See, for example, '11th Focus on Latin America and U. S. Hispanic Markets' (March 12, 1986); '12th Focus on Latin American and U. S. Hispanic Markets' (March 25, 1987); and 'Global Report: The Latin Americas' (March 25, 1991).

For the history of the media in Argentina, see A. Ford, J. B. Rivera, and E. Romano, *Medios de comunicación y cultura popular* (Buenos Aires, 1985), and J. Noguer, *Radiodifusión en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1985). For the history of the Brazilian media, M. E. Bonavita Federico, *História da comunicação radio e TV no Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1982) and M. Ferraz Sampaio, *História do radio e da televisão no Brasil e no mundo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1984) are useful. For the history of the Chilean media, see M. Hurtado, 'Sistemas de televisión proyectos estatales en Chile', *Opciones,* (January–April 1987) and D. Portales, *La dificultad de inovar: Un estudio sobre las empresas de televisión en América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1987).

There is considerable literature on the history of the media in Colombia: see, in particular, H. Martínez, *Qué es la televisión?* (Bogota, 1978); R. Pareja, *Historia de la radio en Colombia, 1929–1980* (Bogotá, 1984); B. H. Tellez, *Cincuenta años de radiodifusión colombiana* (Medellín, 1974) and

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

25 años de television colombiana (Bogotá, 1975). For the history of the media in Mexico, see Nestor García Canclini, *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); F. Fernández, *Los medios de difusión masiva en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); and L. A. Noriega and F. Leach, *Broadcasting in Mexico* (London, 1979).

The history of the Peruvian mass media has been chronicled in J. Gargurevich, *Mitos y verdad de los diarios de Lima* (Lima, 1972) and *Prensa, radio y TV: Historia crítica* (Lima, 1987). See also C. Ortega and C. Romero, *Las políticas de comunicación en el Perú* (Paris, 1976).

For Venezuela, see O. Capriles, *El estado y los medios de comunicación en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1980); A. Pasquali, *Comunicación y cultura de masas*, 5th ed. (Caracas, 1980) and *El aparato singular: Análisis de un día de TV en Caracas* (Caracas, 1967); and *Proyecto Ratelve (Diseño para una nueva política de radiodifusión del estado venezolano)* (Caracas, 1977). The historical information on the development of broadcasting in Cuba can be found in R. Infants, 'Le XXVe anniversaire de L'Institut Cubain pour la Radio et la Television', in *CEMEDIM*, 6 (1987), and for Bolivia in R. Rivadeneira and N. Tirado, *La televisión en Bolivia* (La Paz, 1986).

On the role of the United States in the Latin American media, see L. R. Beltran, and E. Fox, *Comunicación dominada: Estados Unidos en los medios de América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1982); A. Mattelart, *Multinacionales y sistemas de comunicación: Los aparatos ideológicos del imperialismo* (Mexico, D.F., 1977); J. Schnitman, *Film Industries in Latin America: Dependency and Development* (Norwood, N.J., 1984); A. Wells, *Picture Tube Imperialism? The Impact of US Television on Latin America* (New York, 1972). An interesting study of the role of the United States during the Second World War is David Rowland, *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1947).

On television development and reform in Latin America, see CIESPAL, *Política nacional de comunicación* (Quito, 1981) and Elizabeth Fox et al., *Comunicación y democracia en América Latina* (Lima, 1982). In the case of Argentina, see O. Landi (comp.), *Medios, transformación cultural y política* (Buenos Aires, 1987), and for Brazil, see S. Mattos, *The Impact of the 1964 Revolution on Brazilian Television* (San Antonio, Tex., 1982); M. O. Sodre, *Monopólio da fala* (Petrópolis, 1981). For the reforms in Peru, see S. Mattos, *The Development of Communication Policies under the Peruvian Military Government* (San Antonio, Tex., 1981); L. Peirano et al., *Prensa: Apertura y límites* (Lima, 1978). For Nicaragua, see A. Mattelart (ed.), *Communicating in Popular Nicaragua* (New York, 1986).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The literature on alternative communication in Latin American is extensive. See, in particular, the collections by R. Reyes Matta (comp.), *Comunicación alternativa y búsquedas democráticas* (Mexico, D.F., 1983); M. Simpson Grinberg (comp.), *Comunicación alternativa y cambio social: 1, América Latina* (Mexico, D.F., 1981); and Regina Festa et al., *Comunicación popular y alternativa* (Buenos Aires, 1986). For Central America, see R. Sol, *Medios masivos y comunicación popular* (San José, C.R., 1984). For information on developments in communication technology, see A. Mattelart and H. Schmucler, *Communication and Information Technologies: Freedom of Choice for Latin America?* (Norwood, N.J., 1985); and Instituto para América Latina, Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (IPAL/SELA), *Comunicación, tecnología y desarrollo* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

X

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, 1830–1930

An invaluable guide with over 11,000 listings is David F. Trask, Michael C. Meyer and Roger R. Trask (eds.), *A Bibliography of United States–Latin American Relations since 1810* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1968). See also Michael C. Meyer (ed.), *Supplement to a Bibliography of United States–Latin American Relations since 1810* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1979). Several countries have guides to the secondary literature for their diplomatic history. One of the best is Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Cuestiones internacionales de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1966). A good overall introduction to the history of the international relations of Latin America is Harold Eugene David, John J. Finan and F. Taylor Peck, *Latin American Diplomatic History: An Introduction* (Baton Rouge, La., 1977). A more theoretical analysis of the international dilemma of Latin America is Leopoldo Zea, *Latin America and the World,* translated by Frances Hendricks and Beatrice Berler (Norman, Okla., 1969). This should be read in conjunction with another classic interpretation: Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1954). For questions of international organization and law, see John C. Dreir et al., *International Organization in the Western Hemisphere* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1968), and C. Neale Ronning, *Law and Politics in Inter-American Diplomacy* (New York, 1963).

For a more detailed presentation of United States relations with Latin America, see Graham Stuart and James Tigner, *Latin America and the United States,* 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975). See also Gordon Connell-Smith, *The United States and Latin America: An Historical Analysis of Inter-American Relations* (London, 1974) and, a more general treatment from a different perspective, Lloyd C. Gardner, Walter LaFeber and T.

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

McCormick, *The Creation of the Modern American Empire: U.S. Diplomatic History* (London, 1973), as well as the various works of William Appleman Williams. Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, *The Western Hemisphere: Its Influence on United States Policies to the End of World War II* (Austin, Tex., 1968), is a well-balanced account of hemispheric relations and the international context. Lester Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere* (Athens, Ga., 1989), offers a new synthesis of inter-American relations. John J. Johnson, *A Hemisphere Apart: The Foundations of United States Policy Toward Latin America* (Baltimore, 1990), analyses the origins of U.S. policy towards Latin America, stressing the role of cultural factors such as religion and race. The basic study of the Monroe Doctrine remains Dexter Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1955). For specific studies of Latin American relations with the United States, see, for example, Fredrick Pike, *Chile and the United States, 1880–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963) and *The United States and the Andean Republics: Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Karl Schmitt, *Mexico and the United States, 1821–1973: Conflict and Co-existence* (New York, 1974); and Sheldon Liss, *Diplomacy and Dependency: Venezuela, the United States, and the Americas* (Salisbury, N.C., 1978). Joseph S. Tulchin, *The Aftermath of War: World War I and U.S. Policy toward Latin America* (New York, 1971), provides a good analysis of U.S. policy in the wake of changing power relationships. An excellent analysis of power rivalries in Mexico during the revolution is presented in Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago, 1981).

British policy towards Latin America is given excellent coverage in several essays in R. A. Humphreys, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America, and Other Essays* (London, 1969). These are complemented by Joseph Smith, *Illusions of Conflict: Anglo–American Diplomacy toward Latin America, 1865–1896* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1979); and Warren Kneer, *Great Britain and the Caribbean, 1901–1913* (East Lansing, Mich., 1975). See also Leslie Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America in historical perspective', in Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989) and, more substantially, Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1993).

For great power rivalries in the Caribbean the most extensive study is Lester Langley, *Struggle for the American Mediterranean: United States–European Rivalry in the Gulf–Caribbean, 1776–1904* (Athens, Ga., 1976).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

See also his *The United States and the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century* (Athens, Ga., 1982). On Haiti, see Brenda Gayle Plummer, *The Great Powers and Haiti, 1902–15* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988). On Central America, see Thomas D. Schoonover, *The United States in Central America, 1860–1911: Episodes of Social Imperialism and Imperial Rivalry in the World System* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

Detailed studies emphasizing the strategic interpretation of U.S. policy in the Caribbean are Dana Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900–1921* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), and *The U.S. and the Caribbean Republics, 1921–1933* (Princeton, N.J., 1974). The best analysis of the Caribbean policy of the United States in the early twentieth century is David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898–1917* (Madison, Wis., 1988), a well-balanced study that presents a variety of causal factors within the framework of the international currents of the period. Richard H. Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990), is an excellent reinterpretation that utilizes the political milieu of all the participants to illuminate the nature of relations. Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), stresses racist and cultural factors, and is most critical of the United States. For a well-balanced presentation, see also David Healy, *Gunboat Diplomacy in the Wilson Era: The United States in Haiti, 1915–1916* (Madison, Wis., 1976). Recent studies of U.S. involvement in Puerto Rico and Cuba include Roland I. Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Equality* (Melbourne, Fla., 1990), and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens, Ga., 1990). The latter emphasizes the role of social, economic, and cultural relations and the impact of these on both countries. The economic aspects of U.S. policy towards Cuba during the 1920s can be found in Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917–1960* (New York, 1960).

A study utilizing dependency theory is Jules Benjamin, *The United States and Cuba: Hegemony and Dependent Development, 1880–1934* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1974). Lester Langley utilizes the 'colonial wars' theme in *The Banana Wars: An Inner History of American Empire, 1900–1934* (Lexington, Ky., 1983). A detailed, more recent study of military intervention by the United States that emphasizes strategic interests is Ivan Musicant, *The Banana Wars: A History of United States Military Intervention in Latin America from the Spanish American War to the Invasion of Panama* (New York,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1990). For the role played by a behind-the-scenes lobbyist, see Benjamin T. Harrison, *Dollar Diplomat: Chandler Anderson and the American Diplomacy in Mexico and Nicaragua, 1913–1928* (Pullman, Wash., 1988). On Panama and the United States, see W. LaFeber, *The Panama Canal* (New York, 1978), and John Major, *Prize Possession: The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903–1979* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994).

The economic involvement of Great Britain is covered in two excellent studies by D. C. M. Platt: *Latin America and British Trade, 1860–1914* (London, 1972), and *Business Imperialism, 1840–1930: An Inquiry Based on, British Experience in Latin America* (New York, 1977). See also Miller, *Britain and Latin America,* cited above. The classic study of U.S. investments for the period is Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (New York, 1938). Important studies include Mira Wilkins, *The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from the Colonial Era to 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) and *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974). The influence of the idea of the Open World and the diplomatic concept of reciprocity as factors in U.S. Latin American policy are analysed in Robert Freeman Smith, 'Reciprocity', in Alexander DeConde (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy: Studies of the Principal Movements and Ideas,* vol. 3 (New York, 1978). Various case studies with differing approaches are presented in Marvin Bernstein (ed.), *Foreign Investment in Latin America: Cases and Attitudes* (New York, 1966). Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916–1932* (Chicago, 1972), covers the U.S. reaction to the economic nationalism of this revolution. See also Lorenzo Meyer, *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–42* (Austin, Tex., 1977). A good discussion of economic relations with Colombia after 1920 can be found in Stephen J. Randall, *The Diplomacy of Modernization: Colombian–American Relations, 1920–1940* (Toronto, 1977). Michael L. Krenn, *U.S. Policy Toward Economic Nationalism in Latin America, 1917–1929* (Wilmington, Del., 1990), is a 'new-left' interpretation that argues that the main efforts of the United States were directed at forcing Latin American nations to stay within the 'neo-colonial' framework of private enterprise capitalism. For U.S.–European rivalry over aviation, see Wesley Phillips Newton, *The Perilous Sky: U.S. Aviation Diplomacy and Latin America, 1919–1931* (Miami, 1978).

Rollie E. Poppino, *International Communism in Latin America: A History of the Movement, 1917–1963* (Glencoe, Ill., 1964) is a good survey. This

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

can be reinforced by the fine collection of documents edited by Stephen Clissold, *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1918–1968: A documentary Survey* (London, 1970).

2. LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, 1930–1960

General works on Latin America's political, economic and cultural relations with the outside world, primarily with the United States and Europe, which discuss the period from the 1929 Depression to the Cuban Revolution, include Herbert Goldhamer, *The Foreign Powers in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), though this important work is mostly concerned with the 1960s; Harold E. Davis and Larman C. Wilson, *Latin American Foreign Policies: An Analysis* (Baltimore, 1975); and G. Pope Atkins, *Latin America in the International Political System* (1977; 2nd rev. ed., Boulder, Colo, 1989). On the foreign relations of Argentina, see Alberto A. Conil Paz and Gustavo E. Ferrari, *Argentina's Foreign Policy, 1930–1962* (South Bend, Ind., 1966). On Brazil, see Amado Luiz Cervo and Clodoaldo Bueno, *História da política exterior do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992), chaps. 10 and 11. And on Mexico, see Josefina Vázquez, *México y el mundo: Historia de sus relaciones exteriores, I, México y el expansionismo norteamericano; II, México, Gran Bretaña y otros países* (Mexico, D.F., 1990).

The literature on Latin America's relations with the United States is particularly extensive. Donald Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbors? Three Decades of Inter-American Relations, 1930–60* (Gainesville, Fla., 1959) is a good introduction. General works with chapters on the period 1930–1960 include J. Lloyd Mecham, *A Survey of United States–Latin American Relations* (Boston, 1965); G. Connell-Smith, *The United States and Latin America: A Historical Analysis of Inter-American Relations* (New York, 1974); R. Harrison Wagner, *United States Policy towards Latin America: A Study in International and Domestic Politics* (Stanford, Calif., 1970); Federico G. Gil, *Latin America–United States Relations* (New York, 1971); Graham S. Stuart and James L. Tigner, *Latin America and the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975); Lester D. Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere* (London, 1989); and Frank Niess, *A Hemisphere to Itself: A History of U.S.–Latin American Relations* (London, 1990). See also Jules R. Benjamin, 'The framework of U.S. relations with Latin America in the twentieth century: An interpretive essay', *Diplomatic History*, 11/2

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

(1987). On the Inter-American system, see Samuel G. Inman, *Inter-American Conferences, 1826–1954: History and Problems* (Washington, D.C., 1965); G. Connell-Smith, *The Inter-American System* (London, 1966); and Jerome Slater, *The OAS in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Columbus, Ohio, 1967). Cole Blasier, *The Hovering Giant: U.S. Responses to Revolutionary Change in Latin America, 1910–1955* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976; rev. ed. 1985) focuses on one aspect of U.S. relations with Latin America.

The strategic factor in U.S.–Latin American relations is explored in S. Conn and B. Fairchild, *The Framework of Hemispheric Defense* (Washington, D.C., 1960); J. Lloyd Mecham, *The United States and Inter-American Security, 1889–1960* (Austin, Tex., 1961); John Child, *Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System, 1938–78* (Boulder, Colo., 1980); and Lars Schoultz, *National Security and United States Policy towards Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), though the latter concentrates on the post-1960 period. On the importance of strategic raw materials in U.S. foreign policy, see Stephen D. Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), which includes discussion of Latin America. A number of general works on oil as a major factor in U.S. foreign policy include extensive discussion on relations with Latin America in this period: see, for example, Stephen J. Randall, *United States Foreign Oil Policy, 1919–1948: For Profits and Security* (Kingston, Ont., 1985); David S. Painter, *Oil and the American Century: The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Oil Policy, 1941–1954* (Baltimore, 1986); and Fiona Venn, *Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1986). See also Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York, 1991) and, specifically on Latin America, George Philip, *Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984) and John D. Wirth (ed.), *Latin American Oil Companies and the Politics of Energy* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1985). On overall U.S. investment in Latin America, see in particular Mira Wilkins, *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) and Barbara Stallings, *Banker to the Third World: U.S. Portfolio Investment in Latin America, 1900–1986* (Berkeley, 1987). See also Jeffry A. Frieden, 'The economics of intervention: American overseas investments and relations with underdeveloped areas, 1890–1950', *CSSH*, 31 (1989), 55–80. The ideological factor in U.S.–Latin American relations, especially the U.S. promotion of democracy, is explored in Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1991). See also Lars Schoultz, *Human*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Rights and United States Policy towards Latin America (Princeton, N.J., 1981), though this is mostly concerned with the period after 1960.

On Mexican–United States relations, see Howard F. Cline, *The United States and Mexico* (1953; rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Karl M. Schmitt, *Mexico and the United States, 1921–1973: Conflict and Coexistence* (New York, 1974); and Josefina Vázquez and Lorenzo Meyer, *Mexico frente a los Estados Unidos: Un ensayo histórico, 1776–1980* (Mexico, D.F., 1982), Eng. trans., *The United States and Mexico* (Chicago, 1985). On the issue of water, see Norris Hundley, *Dividing the Waters: A Century of Controversy between the United States and Mexico* (Berkeley, 1966). And on Mexican labour in the United States, see Lawrence A. Cardoso, *Mexican Emigration to the U.S. 1897–1931* (Tucson, Ariz., 1980); Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900–1940* (Westport, Conn., 1976); Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929–1939* (Tucson, Ariz., 1974); Richard B. Craig, *The Bracero Program: Interest Groups and Foreign Policy* (Austin, Tex., 1971); and Juan Ramón García, *Operation Wetback: The Mass Deportation of Mexican Undocumented Workers in 1954* (Westport, Conn., 1980).

On Cuban–United States relations, see Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1960); Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and Its Relations with the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962–5); Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), which is more wide-ranging than the title suggests (it begins with Cuban independence); and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens, Ga., 1990). On the United States and the Caribbean as a whole, see Lester D. Langley, *The United States and the Caribbean, 1900–1970* (Athens, Ga., 1980). On the United States and Central America, see Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York, 1984; 2nd rev. ed., 1993) and Thomas M. Leonard, *Central America and the United States: The Search for Stability* (Athens, Ga., 1991). U.S. relations with Panama is the subject of Michael Conniff, *Panama and the United States: The Forced Alliance* (Athens, Ga., 1991); Walter LaFeber, *The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1989); and John Major, *Prize Possession; The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903–1979* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994).

On Venezuela and the United States, see Sheldon Liss, *Diplomacy and Dependency: Venezuela, the United States and the Americas* (Salisbury, N.C.,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1975) and Stephen Rabe, *The Road to OPEC: United States Relations with Venezuela, 1919–1976* (Austin, Tex., 1982); on Colombia and the United States, S.. J. Randall, *Colombia and the United States: Hegemony and Interdependence* (Athens, Ga., 1991); on Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador and the United States, James C. Carey, *Peru and the United States, 1900–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind:, 1964), and Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and the Andean Republics: Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); on Chile and the United States, Fredrick B. Pike, *Chile and the United States, 1880–1962* (South Bend, Ind., 1963) and William F. Sater, *Chile and the United States: Empires in Conflict* (Athens, Ga., 1990); on Argentina and the United States, Harold F. Peterson, *Argentina and the United States, 1810–1960* (Albany, 1964), Mario Rapoport, *Política y diplomacia en la Argentina: Las relaciones con EE.UU. y la URSS* (Buenos Aires, 1987) and Joseph S. Tulchin, *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston, 1990). There is no general study of relations between Brazil and the United States.

On the origins and evolution of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, see Paul Drake, 'From Good Men to Good Neighbors, 1912–1932', in Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy;* Bryce Wood, *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York, 1961); David Green, *The Containment of Latin America: A History of Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Chicago, 1971); R. F. Smith, 'The Good Neighbor policy: The liberal paradox in United States relations with Latin America', in L. P. Liggio and J. Martin (eds.), *Watershed of Empire: Essays on New Deal Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colo., 1976); Irwin F. Gellman, *Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933–1945* (Baltimore, 1979); Lloyd C. Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, Wis., 1964); and Dick Steward, *Trade and Hemisphere: The Good Neighbor Policy and Reciprocal Trade* (Columbia, Mo., 1975). See also Bryce Wood, *The United States and Latin American Wars, 1932–1942* (New York, 1966). Country case studies include Irwin F. Gellman, *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933–45* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1973) and David Bushnell, *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938–42* (Gainesville, Fla., 1967). On Colombian–U.S. relations, see also S. J. Randall, *The Diplomacy of Modernization: Colombian–American Relations, 1920–1940* (Toronto, 1977) and Fernando Cepeda Ulloa and R. Pardo García-Pena, 'La política exterior colombiana, 1930–46', in A. Tirado (ed.), *Nueva historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1989), vol. 3. On Mexican–U.S. relations in the 1930s, dominated by the oil question, see Lorenzo Meyer, *México y los Estados Unidos en*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

el conflicto petrolero, 1917–1942 (Mexico, D.F., 1968), Eng. trans., *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy, 1917–1942* (Austin, Tex., 1977); E. D. Cronon, *Josephus Daniels in Mexico* (Madison, Wis., 1960); and C. R. Koppes, 'The Good Neighbor policy and the nationalisation of Mexican oil: A reinterpretation', *Journal of American History,* 69 (1982), 62–81. On Brazilian–U.S. relations and Argentine–U.S. relations, see the literature on Anglo–American rivalry in Brazil and Argentina below.

The impact of Latin America on U.S. strategic thinking in the late 1930s is examined in David G. Haglund, *Latin America and the Transformation of United States Strategic Thought, 1936–40* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1984). See also, for a broader perspective, John Child, 'From "Color" to "Rainbow": U.S. strategic planning for Latin America, 1919–1945', *JIAS,* 21/2 (1979), 233–59. On U.S.–Latin American cultural relations, see Manuel J. Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of United States Cultural Diplomacy, 1936–48* (Washington, D.C., 1976); Gaizka S. de Usabel, *The High Noon of American Films in Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982); and Fred Fejes, *Imperialism, Media and the Good Neighbor: New Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America* (Norwood, N.J., 1986).

The 1930s witnessed the beginning of the last stage of the decline of Britain's economic and political position in Latin America. For a general overview and analysis, see Leslie Bethell, 'Britain and Latin America in historical perspective', in Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989); Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1993), chap. 9; and P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914–1990* (London, 1993), chap. 7. On the decline of Britain's position in Mexico, see Lorenzo Meyer, *Su majestad británica contra la revolución mexicana, 1900–1950: El fin de un imperio informal* (Mexico, D.F., 1991). On Britain and Brazil (and Anglo–American rivalry for preeminence in Brazil), see Stanley E. Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers, 1930–1939: The Politics of Trade Rivalry* (Austin, Tex., 1975) and Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, 'Anglo–Brazilian economic relations and the consolidation of American preeminence in Brazil, 1930–1945', in C. Abel and C. M. Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State* (London, 1985). On Britain and Argentina (and Anglo–American rivalry there), see Roger Gravil, *The Anglo–Argentine Connection, 1900–1939* (Boulder, Colo., 1985), Joseph S. Tulchin, 'Decolonising an informal empire: Argentina, Great Britain and the United States, 1930–

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1943', *International Interactions,* 1/3 (1974), 123–40, and Pedro R. Skupch, 'El deterioro y fin de la hegemonía británica sobre la economía argentina, 1914–1947', in M. Panaia, R. Lesser and P. R. Skupch, *Estudios sobre los orígenes del peronismo,* vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1973).

The standard work on German (Nazi) relations with Latin America in the 1930s remains Alton Frye, *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933–1941* (New Haven, Conn., 1967). But see also Jean Pierre Blancpain, 'Des visées pan-germanistes au noyautage hitlérien: La nationalisme allemand et l'Amérique Latine (1890–1945)', *Revue Historique,* 570 (1989), 433–82, and Albrecht von Gleich, *Germany and Latin America* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1986). On Germany and Argentina, see Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina, 1931–47* (Stanford, Calif., 1991). Germany's challenge to U.S. and British preeminence in Brazil is a central feature of Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers, 1930–1939,* cited above. On Germany's military relations with a number of South American republics, see Frederick M. Nunn, *Yesterday's Soldiers: European Military Professionalism in South America, 1890–1940* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1983). Italian (fascist) influence in Brazil is examined in Ricardo Silva Seitenfus, 'Ideology and diplomacy: Italian fascism and Brazil, 1935–38', *HAHR,* 64/3 (1984), 503–34. On Italy and Peru, see two articles by Orazio Ciccarelli, 'Fascism and politics in Peru during the Benavides regime, 1933–39', *HAHR,* 70/3 (1990), 405–32 and 'Fascist propaganda and the Italian community in Peru during the Benavides regime, 1933–39', *JLAS,* 20/2 (1988), 361–88. The impact of the Spanish Civil War on Latin America is explored in Mark Falcoff and Fredrick B. Pike (eds.), *The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982), with chapters by T. G. Powell on Mexico, Alistair Hennessy on Cuba, David Bushnell on Colombia, Thomas M. Davies, Jr. on Peru, Paul W. Drake on Chile and Mark Falcoff on Argentina. See also T. G. Powell, *Mexico and the Spanish Civil War* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1981).

There is some discussion of Latin America's relations with the Soviet Union in the 1930s in S. Clissold, *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1918–1968: A Documentary Survey* (London, New York and Toronto, 1970); Cole Blasier, *The Giant's Rival: The USSR and Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1988); and Marc Edelman, 'The other super power: The U.S.S.R. and Latin America, 1917–1987', *NACLA Report on the Americas,* 26 (1987). Two fundamental works are Manuel Caballero, *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986) and Rodolfo Cerdas-Cruz, *La hoz y el machete* (San José, C.R., 1986); Eng. trans. *The*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Communist International in Central America, 1920–1936 (London, 1993). On Brazil's relations with the Soviet Union, see Stanley E. Hilton, *Brazil and the Soviet Challenge, 1917–47* (Austin, Tex., 1991), and on Argentina and the Soviet Union, Mario Rapoport, 'Argentina and the Soviet Union: History of political and commercial relations (1917–55)', *HAHR*, 66/2 (1986), 239–85 and *Política y diplomacia en la Argentina*, cited above, and Aldo Cesar Vacs, *Discreet Partners: Argentina and the USSR since 1917* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1984). For a broader review of the literature on communism in Latin America, see essay VII: 9.

R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War*, vol. 1, *1939–1942* (London, 1981), vol. 2, *1942–1945* (London, 1982) is the outstanding work on this subject. Interesting on espionage and counterespionage, especially in Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Argentina, is Leslie B. Rout and John F. Bratzel, *The Shadow War: German Espionage and United States Counterespionage in Latin America during World War II* (Frederick, Md., 1986). On Brazil, see Ricardo Antônio Silva Seitenfus, *O Brasil de Getúlio Vargas e a formação dos blocos: Processo do envolvimento brasileiro na II guerra mundial, 1930–1942* (São Paulo, 1985); Frank D. McCann, *The Brazilian–American Alliance, 1937–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1973) and 'Brazil, the United States and World War II: A commentary', *Diplomatic History*, 3/1 (1979), 54–76; Stanley E. Hilton, 'Brazilian diplomacy and the Washington–Rio de Janeiro "Axis" during the World War II era', *HAHR*, 59/2 (1979), 201–3, and 'Critique' by Frank D. McCann, *HAHR*, 59/4 (1979), 691–700; Gerson Moura, *Autonomia na dependência: a política externa brasileira de 1935 a 1942* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980) and 'Brazilian foreign relations, 1939–50' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1982); and Stanley E. Hilton, *O Brasil e a crise internacional, 1930–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977) and *Hitler's Secret War in South America, 1939–45: German Military Espionage and Allied Counterespionage in Brazil* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981). On Mexico, see Friedrich Schuler, 'Germany, Mexico and the United States during the Second World War', *JGSWGL*, 22 (1985), 457–76. On Bolivia, see Cole Blasier, 'The United States, Germany and the Bolivian revolutionaries, 1941–46', *HAHR*, 52/1 (1972), 26–54 and John Hillman, 'Bolivia and British tin policy, 1939–45', *JLAS*, 22/2 (1990), 289–315. On Chile, see Michael J. Francis, 'The U.S. and Chile during the Second World War: The diplomacy of misunderstanding', *JLAS*, 9/1 (1979), 91–113 and *The Limits of Hegemony: U.S. Relations with Argentina and Chile during World War II* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977). On Paraguay, see Michael Grow, *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay: United States Economic Expan-*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

sion and Great Power Rivalry in Latin America during World War II (Lawrence, Kans., 1981).

Finally, Great Power rivalry in Argentina during the Second World War has naturally attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Besides Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War,* see Guido di Tella and D. Cameron Watt (eds.), *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939–46* (London, 1989), with essays by, among others, Carlos Escudé, Stanley E. Hilton, Callum A. MacDonald and Ronald C. Newton; Mario Rapoport, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y las clases dirigentes argentinas, 1940–45* (Buenos Aires, 1981); Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, los Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942–1949* (Buenos Aires, 1983); Ernest May, 'The "bureaucratic politics" approach: U.S.–Argentine relations, 1942–47', in Julio Cotler and Richard Fagen (eds.), *Latin America and the United States* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Las potencias anglosajones y el neutralismo argentino, 1939–1945', *Estudios Latinoamericanos,* 3 (1976), 129–60 and 'Castillo's Argentina and World War II: Economic aspects of the Argentine–British–United States–German Quadrangle', *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftgeschichte,* 8 (1981), 801–23; Nicholas Bowen, 'Britain, Argentina and the United States, 1938–1946: Conflict and collaboration with the Atlantic triangle' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1975); and Callum A. MacDonald, 'The politics of intervention: The United States and Argentina, 1941–1946', *JLAS,* 12/2 (1980), 365–96.

F. Parkinson, *Latin America, the Cold War and the World Powers, 1945–1973* (Beverly Hills, Calif., and London, 1974) is a useful guide to Latin America's relations with the outside world and especially with the now hegemonic United States during the first decades of the Cold War. On the immediate postwar period, see David Green, 'The Cold War comes to Latin America', in Barton J. Bernstein (ed.), *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration* (Chicago, 1970); Roger R. Trask, 'The impact of the Cold War on United States–Latin American relations, 1945–49', *Diplomatic History,* 1/3 (1977), 271–85; Bryce Wood, *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Austin, Tex., 1985); and Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.), *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–48* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). On Latin America's economic relations with the United States, see Stephen G. Rabe, 'The elusive conference: United States economic relations with Latin America, 1945–1952', *Diplomatic History,* 2/3 (1978), 279–94. Robert A. Pollard, *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War* (New York, 1985), especially chap. 9,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

has a good deal to offer on Latin America. On U.S. aid, see David Green, 'Paternalism and profits: The ideology of United States aid to Latin America, 1943–71', in J. Atherton (ed.), *Historical Papers, 1972* (Ottawa, 1973). On U.S. military assistance to Latin America, see Stephen G. Rabe, 'Inter-American military cooperation, 1944–1951', *World Affairs,* 137 (1974); Stephen S. Kaplan, 'U.S. arms transfers to Latin America, 1945–74', *International Studies Quarterly,* 19 (1975); and Chester J. Pach, Jr., 'The containment of U.S. military aid to Latin America, 1944–49', *Diplomatic History,* 6/3 (1982), 225–43 and *Arming the Free World: The Origins of the United States Military Assistance Program, 1945–1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991). See also John Knape, 'Anglo–American rivalry in post-war Latin America: The question of arms sales', *I-AA,* 15/3 (1989). Relations between organised labour in the United States and in Latin America at the beginning of the Cold War have attracted a good deal of attention: see, for example, H. W. Berger, 'Union diplomacy: American labor's foreign policy in Latin America, 1932–1955' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1966); Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., 'U.S. and Latin American labor: The dynamics of imperialist control', in Juan Corradi, June Nash and Hobart A. Spalding (eds.), *Ideology and Social Change in Latin America* (New York, 1977); Paul Buchanan, 'The impact of US. labor', in A. Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy,* cited above, and Jon V. Kofas, *The Struggle for Legitimacy: Latin American Labor and the U.S., 1930–60* (Tempe, Ariz., 1992).

On the United States and Central America in the immediate postwar years, see Thomas M. Leonard, *The United States and Central America, 1944–1949* (Birmingham, Ala., 1984). On the United States and Argentina, Roger R. Trask, 'Spruille Braden versus George Messersmith: World War II, the Cold War and Argentine policy, 1945–47', *JIAS,* 26/1 (1984), 69–95, and Callum A. MacDonald, 'The United States, the Cold War and Peron', in Abel and Lewis (eds.), *Latin America: Economic Imperialism and the State.* On Anglo–American relations in Argentina (and Britain's final withdrawal from Argentina and thus from Latin America), see Callum A. MacDonald, 'The United States, Britain and Argentina in the years immediately after the Second World War', in Guido di Tella and D. C. M. Platt (eds.), *The Political Economy of Argentina, 1880–1946* (London, 1986) and 'End of Empire: The decline of the Anglo–Argentine connection, 1918–51', in Alistair Hennessy and John King (eds.), *The Land That England Lost: Essays on the British–Argentine Connection* (London, 1992), and Noel Fursman, 'The decline of the Anglo–Argentine economic

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

connection in the years immediately after the Second World War: A British perspective (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1988).

The best guide to Latin American–United States relations during the Eisenhower administration (1953–61) is Stephen G. Rabe, *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anti-Communism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988). See also Burton I. Kaufman, *Trade and Aid: Eisenhower's Foreign Economic Policy, 1953–61* (Baltimore, 1982); Thomas Zoumaras, 'Eisenhower's foreign economic policy: The case of Latin America', in R. Melanson and D. Meyers (eds.), *Re-evaluating Eisenhower* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); and Stephen G. Rabe, 'Dulles, Latin America and Cold War anti-communism', in Richard H. Immerman (ed.), *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War* (Princeton, N.J., 1990). Marvin R. Zahniser and W. Michael Weis, 'A diplomatic Pearl Harbor?: Richard Nixon's goodwill mission to Latin America in 1958', *Diplomatic History,* 13/2 (1989) sheds new light on that episode. On the United States and the Bolivian revolution, see James W. Wilkie, *The Bolivian Revolution and United States Aid since 1952* (Los Angeles, 1969). On the United States and Guatemala, see Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin, Tex., 1982); Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City, N.Y., 1982); and, above all, Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944–54* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). On the United States and the Cuban Revolution, see Morris H. Morley, 'The U.S. imperial state in Cuba, 1952–1958: Policymaking and capitalist interests', *JLAS,* 14/1 (1982), 143–70, and *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952–85* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), chaps. 2 and 3; Richard E. Welch, Jr., *Responses to Revolution: The United States and the Cuban Revolution, 1959–1961* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution,* cited above; and Thomas G. Patterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York, 1994).

Finally, there are several studies by U.S. historians on Brazil's relations with the United States in the period after the Second World War: for example, Jan Knippers Black, *United States Penetration of Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1977); Stanley E. Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War, 1945–1960: End of the special relationship', *Journal of American History,* 68 (1981), 599–624; Gerald K. Haines, *The Americanization of Brazil: A Study of United States Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World,*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

1945–54 (Wilmington, Del., 1989); Elizabeth A. Cobbs, *The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller and Kaiser in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); and W. Michael Weis, *Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian–American Relations, 1945–1964* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1993).

3. LATIN AMERICA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD, 1960–1990

There is a large secondary literature on Latin America's relations with the United States and other major powers since 1960, even though the archival base for it is thin. Most governments have yet to declassify materials to enable scholars to write a professional history for these years. Therefore scholars have often relied on their own interviews and on journalists' accounts based on interviews, government 'leaks', and observations. These sources are not inappropriate. Government officials report that sometimes key decisions were not written down, and that the advent of the telephone, and of jet aircraft transportation that permits frequent face-to-face meetings, have fostered the replacement of written documents by oral communications. Scholars have also used the memoirs of former government officials and the published documents of governments and international organizations. Among the most useful documents with regard to U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America have been the Hearings of the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, in the 1980s renamed Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Certain reports by U.S. public or private groups have been influential. Among these are Nelson Rockefeller, *The Rockefeller Report on the Americas* (New York, 1969); Commission on United States–Latin American Relations, chaired by Sol Linowitz, *The Americas in a Changing World* (New York, 1975); The Committee of Santa Fe, *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties* (1980); the *Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America* (Washington, D.C., 1984), chaired by Henry Kissinger; *The Tower Commission Report* (New York, 1987); and in the 1980s, the various reports of the Inter-American Dialogue, co-chaired by Sol Linowitz, Galo Plaza, and Daniel Oduber.

For statistical data about international economic relations, see the annual reports of the IDB, *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*, and of ECLA/CEPAL, *Preliminary Overview of the Latin American Economy*. Valuable for more specialized purposes are the IMF, *Direction of Trade Statistics*,

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

and the annual reports of the OECD, *Financing and External Debt for Developing Countries,* and of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers.*

The scholarly journal that publishes most regularly on this subfield and this period is the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs.* See also *Inter-American Economic Affairs.* Very valuable also are *Estudios Internacionales,* published by the Universidad de Chile's Instituto de Estudios Internacionales, and in the 1980s *América Latina,* published in newsletter format by the Argentine wing of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO). More specialized has been *Foro Internacional,* published by El Colegio de México. For a U.S. view of Latin America in the 1980s, see the annual article on Latin America in the review of the year published in *Foreign Affairs.*

In the 1980s the most sustained effort of high-quality scholarly analysis on the foreign policies of Latin American countries has come, under various titles, from the *Anuario de Políticas Exteriores Latinoamericanas,* sponsored by Chile's Programa de Seguimiento de las Políticas Exteriores Latinoamericanas (PROSPEL), under the direction of Heraldo Muñoz. Useful studies of Latin American foreign policies, of U.S.–Latin American relations, and of their relations with western Europe, have appeared in the following: Harold Davis and Larman Wilson (eds.), *Latin American Foreign Policies* (Baltimore, 1975); Ronald Hellman and H. Jon Rosenbaum (eds.), *Latin America: The Search for a New International Role* (New York, 1975); Gustavo Lagos Matus (ed.), *Las relaciones entre América Latina, Estados Unidos y Europa Occidental* (Santiago, Chile, 1979); John D. Martz and Lars Schoultz (eds.), *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System* (Boulder, Colo., 1980); Walter Sánchez G. (ed.), *Las relaciones entre los países de América Latina* (Santiago, Chile, 1980); Jorge I. Domínguez (ed.), *Economic Issues and Political Conflict: U.S.–Latin American Relations* (London, 1982); Viron P. Vaky (ed.), *Governance in the Western Hemisphere* (New York, 1983); Jennie K. Lincoln and Elizabeth Ferris (eds.), *The Dynamics of Latin American Foreign Policies* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph Tulchin (eds.), *Latin American Nations in World Politics* (Boulder, Colo., 1984); Wolf Grabendorff and Riordan Roett (eds.), *Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States* (New York, 1985); Kevin Middlebrook and Carlos Rico (eds.), *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1986); and John D. Martz (ed.), *United States Policy in Latin America* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1988).

General works on these topics include R. Harrison Wagner, *United*

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

States Policy toward Latin America (Stanford, Calif., 1970); Abraham Lowenthal, *Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1987); and G. Pope Atkins, *Latin America in the International Political System* (1977; rev. ed., Boulder, Colo., 1989).

With regard to western European relations with Latin America, consult Herbert Goldhamer, *The Foreign Powers in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1972); William Perry and Peter Wehner (eds.), *The Latin American Policies of U.S. Allies* (New York, 1985); A. Glenn Mower, Jr., *The European Community and Latin America* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Jorge Heine, *¿Cooperación o divergencia? Hacia una nueva agenda en las relaciones europeo–latinoamericanas* (Santiago, Chile, 1990). Specifically on the United Kingdom, see Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Britain and Latin America: A Changing Relationship* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989). Fine work on European–Latin American relations has been produced by the Instituto de Relaciones Europeo–Latinoamericanas (IRELA) in Madrid; see especially its series of working papers.

On Soviet–Latin American relations, see Cole Blasier, *The Giant's Rival: The USSR and Latin America,* rev ed. (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987); Eusebio Mujal-León (ed.), *The USSR and Latin America* (Boston, 1989); and Nicola Miller, *Soviet Relations with Latin America, 1959–1987* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989). Specifically on Soviet–Cuban relations, see Jacques Levesque, *L'URSS et la révolution cubaine* (Montreal, 1976); W. Raymond Duncan, *The Soviet Union and Cuba* (New York, 1985); Peter Shearman, *The Soviet Union and Cuba* (London, 1987); and Richard J. Payne, *Opportunities and Dangers of Soviet–Cuban Expansion* (New York, 1988). *Latinskaya Amerika,* under the directorship of Sergo Mikoyan, has remained the key journal presenting Soviet analyses of Latin America.

On Japan's relations with Latin America, see Barbara Stallings and G. Székely (eds.), *Japan, the United States and Latin America* (Baltimore, 1993). And on Canada's relations with Latin America, see Graeme Mount and Edelgard Mahant, 'Review of recent literature on Canadian–Latin American relations', *JIAS,* 27/2 (1985), 127–51.

Several outstanding secondary works are helpful on specific topics in this subfield and period. Robert Packenham, *Liberal America and the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1973), analyses the values, theories, and doctrines that affect U.S. policy toward the Third World, drawing the bulk of his examples from Latin America during the Alliance for Progress years. Cole Blasier, *The Hovering Giant: U.S. Responses to Revolutionary Change in Latin America, 1910–1985,* rev. ed. (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1985), accounts very well

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

for the U.S. responses to the Cuban Revolution and also to revolutionary or radical changes since 1960. Stephen Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), analyses U.S. investment disputes worldwide but draws the bulk of the cases from Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. Lars Schoultz, *Human Rights and United States Policy toward Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), explores the process and the content of these policies during their heyday in the 1970s. Vinod Aggarwal, *International Debt Threat: Bargaining among Creditors and Debtors in the 1980s* (Berkeley, 1987), is the best analytical study of this topic, drawing mainly from Latin American cases. See also essay VII:4.

On the Caribbean crises of the early 1960s, see J. Lloyd Mecham, *The United States and Inter-American Security, 1889–1960* (Austin, Tex., 1961); Gordon Connell-Smith, *The Inter-American System* (Oxford, 1966); and Jerome Slater, *The OAS in United States Foreign Policy* (Columbus, Ohio, 1967).

On U.S. military policies in Latin America, see John Child, *Unequal Alliance: The Inter-American Military System, 1938–1978* (Boulder, Colo., 1980) and *Geopolitics and Conflicts in South America: Quarrels among Neighbors* (New York, 1985), and Michael Morris and Victor Millán (eds.), *Controlling Latin American Conflicts* (Boulder, Colo., 1983). The best intellectual advocacy for what became Reagan administration policies in Central America and the Caribbean is David Ronfeldt, *Geopolitics, Security, and U.S. Strategy in the Caribbean Basin* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1983). And the best scholarly critique is Lars Schoultz, *National Security and United States Policy toward Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For an analysis of a turning point in the history of arms transfers, Luigi Einaudi, Hans Heymann, Jr., David Ronfeldt, and Cesar Sereseres, *Arms Transfers to Latin America: Toward a Policy of Mutual Respect* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1973). For a different sort of turning point, see Donald J. Mabry (ed.), *The Latin American Narcotics Trade and U.S. National Security* (Westport, Conn., 1989), as well as the March 1990 issue of *Military Review.*

On inter-American economic issues, see Albert Fishlow's various articles and also his *The Mature Neighbor Policy: A New United States Economic Policy for Latin America* (Berkeley, 1977). See also Robert Williamson, William Glade, and Karl Schmitt (eds.), *Latin American–U.S. Economic Interactions* (Washington, D.C., 1974), and Joseph Grunwald (ed.), *Latin America and the World Economy* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Certain works are more narrowly focused on bilateral U.S.–Latin American relations on important matters. These include Richard Welch, Jr., *Response to Revolution: The U.S. and the Cuban Revolution, 1959–1961* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Abraham Lowenthal, *The Dominican Intervention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); William Jorden, *Panama Odyssey* (Austin, Tex., 1984); Robert Pastor, *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); and Robert Pastor and Jorge Castañeda, *Limits to Friendship: The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1988). See also the 'Working Papers' series of the U.S. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development.

In addition to those that appear in edited collections and journals, single-country studies that shed light on that country's relations with the United States and other major powers include Mario Ojeda, *Alcances y límites de la política exterior de México* (Mexico, D.F., 1976) and *México: El surgimiento de una política exterior activa* (Mexico, D.F., 1986); Joseph Tulchin, *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston, 1990); Robert Bond (ed.), *Contemporary Venezuela and Its Role in International Affairs* (New York, 1977); Ronald Schneider, *Brazil: Foreign Policy of a Future World Power* (Boulder, Colo., 1976); Wayne Selcher, *Brazil in the International System* (Boulder, Colo., 1981); and Jorge I. Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

There are few works that compare intellectual approaches to these topics. The most comprehensive is Julio Cotler and Richard Fagen (eds.), *Latin America and the United States* (Stanford, Calif., 1974). See also Jorge I. Domínguez, 'Consensus and divergence: The state of the literature on inter-American relations in the 1970s', *LARR*, 13/1 (1978), 87–126 and 'The foreign policies of Latin American states in the 1980s: Retreat or refocus?', in Samuel Huntington and Joseph Nye (eds.), *Global Dilemmas* (Lanham, Md., 1985).

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008