

Review article

Rethinking Conquest: The Colonial Experience in Latin America

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LESLIE BETHELL (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America: Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 2 vols. Pp. xx + 645 and xx + 912. Vol. 1 £45.00 and \$65.00, vol. 2 £55.00 and \$75.00)

The impact of Europe on America, ever since people first began to discuss the encounter, has been depicted primarily in terms of victory and defeat. Not surprisingly, such crude and unequivocal thinking runs through the accounts of European champions like Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, early and well-known protagonists in the Old World's sustained violation of the New.^[1] If Spanish *conquistadores* cried out triumphant, the voices of the vanquished were brittle and hushed, their words poignant and fatalistic, choked with doom:

Truly do we live on earth?
Not forever on earth; only a little while here.
Although it be jade, it will be broken,
Although it be gold, it is crushed,
Although it be *quetzal* feather, it is torn asunder.
Not forever on earth; only a little while here.^[2]

Let us die, then,
Let us die, then
For our gods are already dead.^[3]

With respect to the work of Spain in America, one of the most striking features of recent historiography is the portrayal of colonial reality as a variable condition not of, but somewhere *between*, victory and defeat. Hegemony is seldom established and maintained without provoking some form of resistance. Only rarely is there conquest without survival, challenge without response. An intellectual framework that would facilitate this kind of interpretation was laid down, beginning in 1932, in the *Ibero-Americana* monographs of the Berkeley School, but more than thirty years elapsed before the pioneering studies of Sauer, Simpson, Borah, Cook and Kroeber (among others) found an articulate "ethnohistorical" spokesman. When, in 1964, Charles Gibson published *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, a benchmark was cut that has since enabled hundreds of scholars, by the power and grace of example, to reconstruct colonial relations between Europeans and Amerindians in ways that emphasize continuity as much as change, resilience as much as transformation, endurance as much as destruction.^[4]

Perhaps no one has reiterated the essence of Gibson's thinking, or has provided a case study of equal stature and sophistication, better than Nancy Farriss.^[5] In the context of

colonial Yucatán, she argues that the Indian be viewed properly as an independent subject rather than the anachronistic vestige of a pre-Columbian past or the passive object of colonial or neocolonial rule.^[6] This perspective, Farriss contends, allows indigenous peoples to be seen not so much as relicts or victims (which of course they are or can be) but as actors who have responded to events in such a way as to help shape no small part of their reality. The capacity to respond creatively to invasion and domination is one Farriss likens to “strategic acculturation”, whereby concessions are made and certain changes are undertaken “in order to preserve essentials”.^[7] Revisionist depictions by Farriss and others, over the past two decades, have resulted in the emergence of a distinctive genre of research that embraces diverse disciplines, ideologies and interests.^[8] The first two volumes of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* may be said to reflect and embody this revisionist thrust, albeit in an uneven and rather inconsistent manner.^[9]

Volume 1 is a collection of fifteen essays divided into three constituent parts: ‘America on the Eve of Conquest’; ‘Europe and America’; and the ‘Church in America’. Miguel León-Portilla, in *Mesoamerica before 1519*, offers at first a sweeping panorama that later, somewhat predictably, focuses discussion on the history of the Mexicas (Aztecs). A curious statement that conquest “in Guatemala was completed in 1525 and in Yucatán in 1546” (p. 13) not only exaggerates the rapidity with which Spanish domination was extended but conflicts with historical fact; the Itz’ás of the central Petén were not defeated until 1697, and the Lacandones to the west of them were never brought to heel.^[10] Veteran anthropologist John Murra, in *Andean Societies before 1532*, provides a trenchant survey of pre-Inca and Inca culture. Although much has been accomplished, Murra contends that knowledge of Andean civilizations is incomplete and fragmentary. Archaeology in particular—in sharp contrast to Mexico—lags well behind.^[11] Contributions by Mary W. Helms, Jorge Hidalgo, and John Hemming deal respectively with the contact situation in the Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean, southern South America, and Brazil. Squeezed into 140 pages, these five essays collectively set the scene for European entry, but in no way do justice to the richness and complexity of the pre-Columbian New World. Plans for a Cambridge History devoted exclusively to the native peoples of America, a project mentioned in the General Preface as being “under consideration” (p. xiv), deserve encouragement and support.

Part two, ‘Europe and America’, forms the core of Volume 1, and groups together eight essays that examine in detail conquest, settlement, economic organisation and the administration of empire. The two essays penned by J. H. Elliott are a joy to read, erudite, impeccably crafted, and very much the fruit of a singular mind in enviable command of his subject. Imperial Spain, Elliott maintains, may indeed have been a powerful force, but in the pursuit of empire “success was not inevitable, nor was it attained without a struggle” (p. 149). The basic challenge, one the Crown never solved, was “how to impose stability in a world where almost everything was immediately in flux” (p. 162). In assessing imperial enterprise in the Caribbean, Elliott concurs with Carl Sauer that the end result was to turn populous and well-managed islands into “a sorry shell”.^[12] He asserts that “with each new forward movement by the Spanish intruders, the radius of devastation was enlarged” (p. 169). But the pattern of the islands proved to be something of an extreme. The colonial experience varied considerably from place to place, and “different regions posed different problems and demanded different responses” (p. 176).

If, unlike their Antillean counterparts, Indians throughout the mainland escaped demographic extinction, there remained the matter of cultural survival. In this regard, defence of the community as a corporate unit was crucial. Elliott (p. 313) follows closely the line of reasoning first developed for Mesoamerica by Eric Wolf:^[13]

The Indians congregated into settlements did in fact assimilate certain elements of Christianity; they appropriated for their own use European techniques, plants and animals and entered the monetary economy of the surrounding world. At the same time they preserved many of their indigenous characteristics, so that they remained genuinely Indian

communities, conducting their own lives under the supervision of royal officials but through their own largely autonomous municipal institutions. The more successful of these Indian municipalities developed their own forms of resistance against encroachments from outside. Their *cajas de comunidad*, or community chests, allowed them to build up financial reserves to meet their tribute and other obligations. They learnt how to secure their lands with legal titles and how to engage in the petitioning and lobbying techniques which were essential for political survival in the Hispanic world. As a result, these indigenous communities, consolidating themselves during the seventeenth century, came to act as breakwaters against the engulfing tide of the large estate, or *hacienda*, which swept around them without ever quite submerging them.

Much in the same vein as Elliott, Nathan Wachtel in *The Indian and the Spanish Conquest* stresses successful native resistance to European pressures, but not simply “continuity of tradition, as well as synthesis by adaptation” (p. 234). The focus here is much more physical, that of armed rebellion. Indian uprisings occurred throughout the colonial period, especially in the Andes, and served only to strengthen aboriginal identity while the invader was held at bay. Wachtel summarizes the events, and explores the meaning, of four prolonged cases of resistance and revolt, those involving the Incas and the Chiriguano in the heart of the Spanish empire and the Araucanians and the Chichimecas along its southern and northern limits.^[14]

The successes and failures of early Portuguese settlement in Brazil are reviewed in a tight essay by H. B. Johnson. That Indian actions subverted or tempered imperial aspirations is again much in evidence. With Portuguese interests geared mainly towards the Atlantic coast, flight to the vast interior beyond the Serra do Mar, whether to escape the sugar planter or evade the missionary, was an option resorted to repeatedly. Johnson writes: “Indians often ran away: like minnows they wriggled through the net of Jesuit acculturation” (p. 271). Since only 2.5% of royal revenues in 1588 came from Brazil, as opposed to 26% from India, Johnson concludes that “the Portuguese crown found its Brazilian rewards, at least in the sixteenth century, not in the economic realm but rather in that of status and prestige” (p. 286).

The political economy of Brazil from 1580 to 1750 and from 1750 to 1808 is analysed by Frédéric Mauro and André Mansuy-Deniz Silva. During the first period, a boom in sugar production followed by the discovery of gold and diamonds dramatically increased the economic worth of Brazil, even if Britain profited more than did Portugal from the output of mines and plantations. In the course of the second period, a series of reforms engineered by the Marquês de Pombal sought to reorganize aspects of the Brazilian economy so as to boost the proceeds directed towards royal coffers. Similar preoccupation with the vicissitudes of imperial finance consumed the energies of Bourbon Spain, a subject that draws careful scrutiny from David Brading. In the capable hands of Murdo MacLeod, the structure and evolution of Spain’s trade with its American possessions, particularly the flow of silver and gold, is evaluated and placed in European “world system” context.

Volume 1 ends with two contributions on the role of the Church in America. Writing on Catholicism in the Spanish Indies, Josep M. Barnadas presents a rather bland institutional history. His concern is more with changing relations between Church and State than in analysis of the mixing of Christianity and native religions to produce unique, New World hybrids that few Old World devout would barely recognize, let alone accept as legitimate offspring. The same kind of distant approach characterizes Eduardo Hoornaert’s treatment of Catholicism in colonial Brazil, where African as well as Amerindian elements made for even more exotic syncretism. Neither contribution has the depth or texture of Robert Ricard’s classic treatise, nor imparts a sense of what took place at the parish level, the target of an insightful dissertation by the late Adriaan Cornelis van Oss.^[15]

Volume 2 gathers together nineteen essays organized thematically in four parts: ‘Population; Economic and Social Structures in Spanish America’; ‘Economic and

Social Structures in Brazil'; and 'Intellectual and Cultural Life'. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz summarizes findings and reviews trends in colonial-period research dealing with the population of Spanish America. His analysis of the causes of massive post-conquest collapse on the part of native Americans is satisfactory, but it lacks the skillful discussion of the context and implications of decline recently displayed by Linda A. Newson.^[16] Innovation is also conspicuously absent from Maria Luiza Marcilio's anaemic appraisal of the population of colonial Brazil. Unlike mainland Spanish America, where Indians in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Peru at some juncture recovered demographically from the impact of conquest, Indians in Brazil embarked on a trajectory towards extinction as inexorable as, even if more prolonged than, the fate of native Caribbean islanders.^[17]

Part two, 'Economic and Social Structures in Spanish America', offers much to absorb and reflect. Richard M. Morse contributes a polished essay on urban development, lately the focus also of solid historiographic pieces by Woodrow Borah and Fred Bronner.^[18] The technical and socioeconomic aspects of mining, the mainstay of imperial finances, are assessed by Peter Bakewell, a scholar highly regarded for his studies of colonial silver operations at Zacatecas and, more recently, at Potosí.^[19]

Aspects of rural economy and society receive meticulous attention from Enrique Florescano, Magnus Mörner and Murdo MacLeod. Debate centres on the nature of the *hacienda* and the land-labour relations brought into being because of its existence. Whereas Florescano, in the context of New Spain, argues that "robbing the Indians of their land came to be the best way of creating a labour force and also the best indirect way of multiplying consumers of the hacienda's products" (pp. 175-6), Mörner asserts, in the context of Peru, that "the size and relative importance of the great landed estates . . . should by no means be exaggerated. First, most estates so called were probably quite modest and small with just a handful of workers. Secondly, Indian villages, reorganized as *reducciones* or *pueblos de indios* from around 1600 onwards, long controlled most of the land in highland areas" (p. 193). It is left for MacLeod to observe that "in Latin American historiography until quite recently, peonage was almost synonymous with entrapment by debt and with forced servitude. This simple picture has now dissolved and a new synthesis, if one is any longer possible, has not yet emerged" (p. 230). MacLeod also has some cogent things to say concerning native community life:

What we do know is that many peons did not have to be coerced. By the late sixteenth century, and certainly when population growth among the lower classes began to increase, from the mid-seventeenth century in New Spain and the early eighteenth century in Peru, the Indian village became an oppressive place in many parts of Spanish America. Tribute payments, tasks such as the labour *repartimiento* and work on village common lands, payments to village *cofradías* and community chests, the exactions of passers-by and of the Indian village leadership, land hunger in the eighteenth century, all made the Indian village less of a place providing community and protection and more of a place from which to escape. Often the Indian voted for the hacienda with his feet.

The central issue here is one that was addressed several years ago by William B. Taylor. His resolution, in the context of conflicting viewpoints about landed society in New Spain, will be music to the ears of most historical geographers. An awareness of regional variation, Taylor declares, is all important: "What holds for the Valley of Oaxaca in 1750 is unlikely to hold for Colima in 1800".^[20] The need for those who study Spanish America to be ever-mindful of the nuances of time and place also figures prominently in the incisive essay by James Lockhart on 'Social Organization and Social Change' and permeates a stimulating contribution by Charles Gibson on 'Indian Societies under Spanish Rule'. Discussion of colonial society is effectively rounded-off with a chapter by Asunción Lavrin on the role of women and a chapter by Frederick P. Bowser on the role of blacks.

Part three, Economic and Social Structures in Brazil, opens with an exhaustive study by Stuart B. Schwartz in which, once again, the theme of regional variation is

highlighted. Schwartz sees the work of Portugal in America as forging a geography of “core” plantations which faded north and south into coastal “peripheries” and disappeared quickly westwards into even more marginal, interior backlands. Sugar and slaves dominate the 78-page discourse. Schwartz points out that a sugar harvest (*safra*) which lasted 8–10 months meant “virtually no ‘dead period’, no time when slaves were unprofitably left without any useful occupation. Slaves could be used almost throughout the year, and they were. Given the length of the *safra*, the nature of the labour, and the rhythm of the working day, it is little wonder that high slave mortality was a constant feature of the Brazilian sugar industry” (p. 435). By 1600, Brazil’s black slave population numbered between 13,000 and 15,000. Eighty years later it numbered 150,000, but annual “imports” of 7,000 to 8,000 attest to horrendous rates of mortality and low fertility among African slaves. Between 1734 and 1769 “Rio de Janeiro received 156,638 slaves from Luanda alone” (p. 437). As with Indians, so with blacks “the most common form of resistance was flight, which was endemic” (p. 441).

Resistance in the form of flight is a theme manifest throughout John Hemming’s provocative reconstruction, ‘Indians and the Frontier in Colonial Brazil’. Hemming, an eloquent master of narrative, does not hold with conventional designations as to which side of the frontier lay darkness and barbarism. He writes: “It was often the Indians beyond the frontier who were more civilized. In most forms of artistic expression and often in political organization and social harmony, the Indians had the advantage over the frontiersman, who were usually tough, brutal, ignorant, and uncultured” (p. 501). With humanistic concern for the social costs of wanton destruction, Hemming recounts the dreadful incursions of the *bandeirantes*, roving thugs who raided the backland *sertão* in search of Indians to enslave. He threads nicely into his account Jesuit testimony that describes the *bandeirantes* as being “more like wild beasts than rational men. They go without God, without food, naked as the savages, and subject to all the persecutions and miseries in the world. Men venture for 200 or 300 leagues into the *sertão*, serving the devil with such amazing martyrdom, in order to trade or steal slaves” (pp. 507–8). By the end of the colonial period, an expanding frontier had turned Brazilian Indians into “pathetic creatures at the bottom of society, half acculturated, stripped of most of their tribal traditions and pride, but entirely failing to adapt to European ways or to grasp the finer points of European civilization” (p. 545). If, as Farriss has convincingly argued, Indians could be actors and shapers of destiny, so also could they be—as in the tragic case of Brazil—victims and objects of rapacious exploitation.^[21] Part three closes, on the European side of the frontier, with an essay on the gold cycle of 1690–1750 by A. J. R. Russell-Wood and a discussion of government, economy and society between 1750 and 1808 by Dauril Alden.

The fourth and final part of Volume 2, ‘Intellectual and Cultural Life’, begins with Jacques Lafaye exploring the world of colonial ideas. In the fields of literature and ethnography he finds “some great works” (p. 686), among them Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana* (1569) and Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España* (1565?). Art and architecture are contemplated by Damián Bayón and J. B. Bury. Both writers direct inquiry primarily towards ecclesiastical manifestations, an orientation which results understandably, but unsatisfactorily, in “top down” contributions devoid of ordinary people whose backs must have hurt and whose bones must have ached. One is moved to recall the lines of the Brecht poem Karen Spalding chose as an epigraph for *Huarochiri*:^[22]

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
 The books are filled with names of kings.
 Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
 And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
 Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima’s houses,
 That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?

Young Alexander conquered India.
 He alone?
 Caesar beat the Gauls.
 Was there not even a cook in his army?
 Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
 Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
 Each page a victory,
 At whose expense the victory ball?

The undertaking ends, if not in actual concert then at least symbolically so, with an engaging piece by Robert Stevenson (complete with discography) on the music of colonial Spanish America and Brazil.

That these two volumes represent a considerable investment—financially and intellectually, to say nothing of sheer hard work—is self-evident. Equally obvious is that an ambitious project is under way: the two-volume set on the colonial period has already been followed by a third (*Latin America: Independence and Post-Independence*) and five more are planned that will trace Latin American history from c. 1870 through until the present day. On the basis of the two volumes here reviewed, *The Cambridge History of Latin America* is off to an impressive start. Everyone involved, whether editor or contributor, printer or translator, designer or proof-reader, is to be commended on a job well done. None the less, a number of criticisms may be raised.

First, the self-congratulatory tone which greets the reader in the opening paragraph of the General Preface is neither appropriate nor necessary. Cambridge University Press may have been publishing for over four hundred years, and multi-volume Cambridge Histories may have been around since the beginning of this century, but marshalling scholarly excellence and setting “the highest standards” (p. xiii) is hardly the divine calling of one institution.

There is next the matter of cartography. The map-work in these volumes is shoddy, unimaginative and inadequate. It is disrespectful of contributors who toiled over the place specificity of their writing. Moreover, it deprives geographically oriented readers of the right to know exactly *where* certain events and processes unfolded. Referring a lost reader to another source (p. xvi) is a poor and unacceptable second choice. There is simply no excuse for not having expended more creative energy on cartographic representation.

A third point of contention concerns inconsistencies in how words are spelled or accented. Many examples could be singled out, but two will suffice. In Volume 1, the word “Yucatan” is printed without an accent on page 8, yet appears with an accent (“Yucatán”) in the same essay on page 36. On page 210 “Inca” and “Inka” occur within a sentence of each other. These are certainly unimportant items in the larger scheme of things, but they recur throughout and are noticeable.

With several contributions translated into English from Portuguese, Spanish or French, some features of the original communication (structure, flow of thought, stylistic expression) have inevitably been sacrificed. While care has been lavished—we are told, for instance, that the essay by Jorge Hidalgo was translated, reduced in length, and then revised by two editors—results are not always commensurate with the effort exerted. If Hidalgo’s piece on The Indians of Southern South America reads well, others (for example, the essays by Nathan Wachtel and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz) do not have such a natural, appealing rhythm.

Finally, a comment relating to subject matter. Two positive features of these colonial-period volumes are the scrutiny afforded Brazil (eleven essays out of a total thirty-four) and the worthy attempt to see the march of history through Indian eyes, the so-called “vision of the vanquished”. If European perspectives and discussion of Spanish America still emerge predominant, at least the imbalance is far less pronounced than in most other general histories of Latin America.^[23]

Writing over a decade ago about the opportunities represented by a commitment to research in Latin America, David Robinson asked: "How could any historical geographer not wish to enjoy the fruits of study in such a land?"^[24] A perusal of *The Cambridge History of Latin America: Colonial Latin America* will reveal that, although much has been accomplished, even more remains to be done. Anyone who still wishes to take seriously Robinson's challenge will not be disappointed.

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Notes

- [1] Hernán Cortés, *Five Letters of Cortés to the Emperor*, translated by J. Bayard Morris (New York 1962) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, translated by A. P. Maudslay (New York 1966)
- [2] Lines from an Aztec manuscript cited in Miguel León-Portilla, *Mesoamerica before 1519*, in Leslie Bethell (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America: Colonial Latin America 1* (Cambridge 1984) 33
- [3] Lines from an Aztec manuscript cited in Nathan Wachtel, *The Indian and the Spanish Conquest*, in *ibid.* 211
- [4] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford 1964)
- [5] Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton 1984)
- [6] Nancy M. Farriss, *Indians in Colonial Yucatán: Three Perspectives*, in Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (Eds), *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations* (Lincoln and London 1983) 1–39
- [7] *Ibid.*, 34. An excellent example of the approach Farriss espouses is John M. Watanabe, "We Who Are Here": The Cultural Conventions of Ethnic Identity in a Guatemalan Indian Village, 1937–1980, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge: Harvard University 1984)
- [8] Numerous contributions are evaluated, with authority and insight, in Benjamin Keen, *Recent Writing on the Spanish Conquest*, *Latin American Research Review* 20 (1985) 161–71 and *Main Currents in United States Writings on Colonial Spanish America, 1884–1984*, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65 (1985) 657–82. Recent developments on the work of Portugal in America are appraised in A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *United States Scholarly Contributions to the Historiography of Colonial Brazil*, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65 (1985) 683–723. Trends in the historiography of Latin America are informally discussed in James W. Wilkie and Rebecca Horn, *An Interview with Woodrow Borah*, *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1985) 401–41
- [9] James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge 1983) also synthesizes much of the revisionist literature of the past two decades
- [10] Grant D. Jones, *The Last Maya Frontiers of Colonial Yucatán*, in Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (Eds), *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations* (Lincoln and London 1983) 64–91 and Jan de Vos, *La Paz de Dios y del Rey* (Mexico 1980)
- [11] For a stimulating exchange of ideas on Andean archaeology and ethnohistory, see John Howland Rowe, *An Interview with John V. Murra*, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (1984) 633–53
- [12] Carl O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969) 294
- [13] Eric Wolf, *Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957) 1–18 and *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago 1959) 202–32
- [14] For further discussion of native rebellion, see Leon Campbell, *Recent Research on Andean Peasant Revolts, 1750–1820*, *Latin American Research Review* 14 (1979) 3–50; William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford 1979); and Victoria R. Bricker, *The Indian Christ, the Indian King: The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual* (Austin 1981)

- [15] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966) and Adriaan Cornelis van Oss, *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524–1821*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Austin: University of Texas 1982)
- [16] Linda A. Newson, Indian Population Patterns in Colonial Spanish America, *Latin American Research Review* **20** (1985) 41–74
- [17] Charles Wagley, *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirapé Indians of Central Brazil* (New York 1977) 272–304
- [18] Woodrow Borah, Trends in Recent Studies of Colonial Latin American Cities, *Hispanic American Historical Review* **64** (1984) 535–54. Fred Bronner, Urban Society in Colonial Spanish America: Research Trends, *Latin American Research Review* **21** (1986) 7–72
- [19] Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge 1971) and *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor at Potosí, 1545–1650* (Albuquerque 1985).
- [20] William B. Taylor, Landed Society in New Spain: A View from the South, *Hispanic American Historical Review* **54** (1974) 389. See also Eric van Young, Mexican Rural History since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda, *Latin American Research Review* **18** (1983) 5–61
- [21] Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (Cambridge 1977)
- [22] Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford 1984)
- [23] Within Spanish American historiography, research on the “core” regions of Mexico and Peru is pre-eminent. More “peripheral” regions, however, increasingly constitute the theatre of inquiry. A good example of historiographical shift from core to periphery is Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (Eds), *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations* (Lincoln and London 1983)
- [24] David J. Robinson, Historical Geography in Latin America, in Alan R. H. Baker (Ed.), *Progress in Historical Geography* (Newton Abbot 1972) 186