INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETY IN COLONIAL MEXICO

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LAS MUJERES EN LA NUEVA ESPAÑA: EDUCACION Y VIDA COTIDIANA. By Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru. (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1987. Pp. 323.)

THE MAKING OF A STRIKE: MEXICAN SILVER WORKERS' STRUGGLES IN REAL DEL MONTE, 1766–1775. By Doris M. Ladd. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Pp. 205. $21.95.)

BUREAUCRACY AND BUREAUCRATS IN MEXICO CITY, 1742–1835. By Linda Arnold. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988. Pp. 202. $25.00.)

INQUISITION ET SOCIETE AU MEXIQUE, 1571–1700. By Solange Alberro. (Mexico City: Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centramericaines, 1988. Pp. 491.)

TO LOVE, HONOR, AND OBEY IN COLONIAL MEXICO: CONFLICTS OVER MARRIAGE CHOICE, 1574–1821. By Patricia Seed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988. Pp. 322. $39.50.)

MAN-GODS IN THE MEXICAN HIGHLANDS: INDIAN POWER AND COLONIAL SOCIETY, 1520–1800. By Serge Gruzinski. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989. Pp. 223. $32.50.)

The decade of the 1980s witnessed a continuing advance in the historiography of colonial Mexico. Building on the solid methodological foundations and research agenda established in the 1960s and 1970s, some scholars have continued to sketch the broad contours of social and economic change through careful examinations of specific regions or sectors of society. Others have contributed to the evolving sophistication of the debate over the relative weight of "caste" and "class" in social stratification.[1] Still other historians, however, have pointed the way toward a new emphasis on the ways in which "ordinary" men and women perceived the social reality in which they lived—what historians of modern Europe call *mentalités*—and the ways in which subordinate peoples, especially Indians, molded colonial institutions and practices to serve their own purposes.[2] The studies under review here provide a representative sampling of all these tendencies in recent historiography.

Of these six works, Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru's *Las mujeres en la Nueva*

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España is the most conventional in its methodology and conclusions. In this comprehensive treatment of the colonial institutions and social processes dedicated to the formal and informal education of women, Gonzalbo ably summarizes, amplifies, and refines earlier work of such scholars as Asunción Lavrin, Silvia Arrom, Josefina Muriel, and Luis Martín.[3] One particularly insightful contribution is her stress on the obvious, yet often overlooked, role that women played as transmitters of culture throughout the colonial period. Because the Spanish women who emigrated to Mexico came largely from the southern reaches of the peninsula, Gonzalbo suggests that they were responsible for the strong Andalusian flavor of Mexico's evolving popular culture. Indian women, for their part, were agents of cultural as well as biological *mestizaje* as they taught their languages and served traditional foods to the young creoles placed in their care. Meanwhile, they also instructed their own daughters in traditional skills.

More than many general works on colonial Latin American women, Gonzalbo's book offers considerable detail on the special history of Indian women. She presents an informed treatment of the idealistic, but short-lived, efforts of the sixteenth-century clergy to provide comprehensive educational systems for Indian boys and girls. After 1550, especially in rural areas, formal education for Indians quickly became reduced to a smattering of catechism. What they learned of Spanish mores reinforced Aztec culture's emphasis on female submission and confinement to domestic duties.

Doris Ladd's evocative case study, *The Making of a Strike: Mexican Silver Workers' Struggles in Real del Monte, 1766–1775*, combines careful attention to detail with an interpretive analysis of the workers' attitudes toward the power relationships of their society. In 1765, silver magnate Pedro Romero de Terreros suddenly cut his peons' wages by 25 percent and began altering the customary manner in which workers received their *partidos*, the portions of ore that they could keep after fulfilling the daily quotas demanded by their employers. A year later, his workers struck to protest these and other abuses, chiefly the use of *recogedores*, labor recruiters who rounded up supposedly idle men and forced them to work against their will.

Ladd recounts the strike vividly and concludes that its outcome represented a substantial victory for the workers. In response to their complaints, Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix sent Francisco de Gamboa, the foremost authority on mining in New Spain, to investigate conditions at Real del Monte and settle the dispute. Essentially, Gamboa made only two concessions to Romero de Terreros: he allowed the continued use of recogedores and the practice of mixing partido ore with quota ore, to prevent workers from taking only the best for themselves. Meanwhile, he ordered the restoration of peons' wages to their previous levels, oversaw the dismissal of the most hated managers, and canceled a newly imple-

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mented speed-up in work routines. Even more significantly, Gamboa's ordinances upheld for the first time in writing workers' rights to the partido, guaranteed heretofore only by custom. Reinforced by a subsequent viceregal edict, the partidos remained in effect at Real del Monte for another hundred years. Moreover, substantial elements of the Real del Monte accord found their way into the ordinances for the mining guild of New Spain, drafted in 1778.

Ladd identifies several factors that accounted for the workers' victory at Real del Monte. Much as governmental authorities valued the tax revenues generated by silver magnates such as Romero de Terreros, they understood that the scarcity of labor could easily imperil mining throughout the colony unless workers were sufficiently humored. Harsh sentences for the strikers were out of the question because their labor was too valuable to squander. Moreover, a substantial body of Spanish law recognized workers' rights to equitable treatment and sanctioned a system of rule by "protection and proportion, a balancing of diverse interests" (p. 97). Gamboa's settlement therefore recognized the workers as "cobeneficiaries in the industrial enterprise" (p. 118).

Yet none of the concessions contained in Gamboa's ordinances would have been won had the workers of Real del Monte not walked off the job in the first place. Without unions or ideology, they staged a genuine industrial strike. Accustomed to working together in cooperative teams or *barras* in the mines, the workers found that the principles of organization implicit in their daily routines served them well when they decided to strike. Ladd concludes that the workers of Real del Monte succeeded in defining their own interests yet stopped short of full-fledged class consciousness because their ideas failed to spread to other silver mining centers and, more important, because the Spanish colonial system provided them with a legal and fairly easy road to victory.

While otherwise favorable to Ladd's study, reviewers have faulted her for failing to compare events at Real del Monte with contemporary developments in other Mexican mining centers and therefore assuming that workers elsewhere continued to enjoy the customary partidos.[4] Nevertheless, her analysis of the workers' level of social and political awareness represents a significant contribution to the emerging historiography of colonial mentalités. She effectively shows that social practices predate the development of ideology and that persons seemingly lacking in political sophistication in fact possessed an accurate understanding of the power realities they were encountering in their daily lives.

Before the emphasis on social and economic topics took hold of colonial historiography in the 1960s, scholarly studies focused heavily on the institutions of the Spanish empire. Surprisingly enough, however, they largely neglected the inner workings of the bureaucratic machinery that held the empire together. Linda Arnold's *Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats in*

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Mexico City, 1742–1835 admirably fills that gap in its careful survey of the daily proceedings of the Mexico City secretariats, the judicial system, and the fiscal bureaucracy. To this extent, her methodology is soundly traditional. At the same time, however, she succeeds in stepping back from the minutiae of administration to discern the principles that governed the operation of the colonial bureaucracy. Although less extensive than Susan Socolow's recent book on the bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, Arnold's study also offers fascinating and well-chosen details on the career patterns and lifestyles of Mexican functionaries.[5]

Perhaps Arnold's greatest contribution is her thoughtful examination of continuity and change in governmental practice from the late colonial period through the 1830s. After independence, the national executive branch borrowed the organizational scheme developed by the highly professionalized personnel of the viceregal secretariat during the final eight decades of colonial rule. As a result, the new republic enjoyed a degree of operational stability despite the troubled politics of the 1820s and 1830s. The leaders of independent Mexico also followed colonial precedent in adopting fiscal policies. But in other respects, they broke with tradition. Intent on establishing a government based on separation of powers, they weakened the judiciary and stripped it of the administrative functions exercised by the colonial *audiencias*. Republican politicians also discarded the collegial principle, which (contrary to popular notions of viceregal authority) had characterized colonial decision making. Meanwhile, the successive political changes of the early national period undermined both the morale and the professionalization of the late colonial bureaucracy.

Until now, the political historiography of the early national period has been largely biographic and episodic in character, focusing on the machinations of Antonio López de Santa Anna and other lesser-known caudillos who alternated with him in power. Arnold's *Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats* points the way toward a far more sophisticated analysis of the troubled politics of the era. Moreover, she has capably demonstrated that colonialists still have much to learn from the so-called institutional approach.

Like Arnold's book, Solange Alberro's richly detailed *Inquisition et société au Mexique, 1571–1700* is more than just a fine portrait of the operation of a well-known colonial institution. Building on the work of previous Inquisition scholars, Alberro skillfully reveals how operations of the Holy Office reflected less-obvious characteristics of colonial society.[6] Like Ladd, she offers fascinating glimpses of the ways in which subordinated individuals fashioned strategies of coping appropriate to their situation.

Inquisition dockets reveal that women, slaves, and others denied access to formal structures of power within colonial society attempted to compensate for their weakness by resorting to sorcery and magic. Among

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women, *mulatas* or *mestizas* typically served as intermediaries, obtaining supposedly magical substances or procedures from Indian women and transmitting them to Spanish women seeking supernatural means of influencing situations they were otherwise unable to control. In particular, they hoped that the use of magic would render their husbands easier to live with. Slaves also proved adept at using the Inquisition as a tool for escaping abusive masters. Some deliberately courted prosecution, knowing that they would receive better food, clothing, and medical treatment in Inquisition jails and also that if their owners were unable to pay the costs of their incarceration, they might be sold to another master.

Perhaps the Mexican Inquisition's best-known targets were the "New Christians," who fell victim in the 1640s to a spectacular wave of repression that effectively destroyed their community. Alberro uses the tribunal's records effectively to reveal the types of accommodations these *judaizantes* made to Christian society. In general, a person's degree of assimilation varied in direct proportion to his or her access to the power structure of New Spain. Thus men adopted Christian modes of behavior more often than women, the rich more readily than the poor. Most, however, tried to maintain at least a semblance of fidelity to Jewish traditions. Like Gonzalbo, Alberro finds that women played key roles in transmitting knowledge of ancestral rites from one generation to another. Ironically, the Inquisition's edicts, which often related proscribed practices in detail, also periodically refreshed the crypto-Jewish community's knowledge of Mosaic custom. Inevitably, however, the passage of time, the absence of synagogues or other formal means of instruction, and the need to go through the motions of participation in at least some Christian rituals produced a syncretism that drew freely on both Catholicism and Judaism.

Alberro concludes that the Inquisition served as a safety valve in colonial Mexican society, channeling discontent and defusing conflict through its cumbersome and often deliberately sluggish procedures. She too has shown that a study grounded in an "institutional" perspective can in fact illuminate many facets of the operation of colonial society.

To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821 is a carefully documented and elegantly written study of parents' attempts to influence their children's choices of marriage partners. Patricia Seed breaks new methodological and conceptual ground by showing how a careful examination of the operations of colonial institutions can reveal far-reaching shifts in social attitudes and behavior. Using applications presented by couples wishing to marry and records of cases in which individuals sought ecclesiastical intervention to impede or permit a marriage, Seed explains how the gradual erosion of young people's liberty to choose their spouses reflected profound changes in colonial Mexican society.

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Until the end of the seventeenth century, couples could count on formidable cultural and institutional support to guarantee their freedom to marry despite parental objections. Tridentine Catholicism's emphasis on free will reinforced Spanish cultural norms that favored marriage for love based on individual choice and rejected matches arranged for the aggrandizement of self or family. The traditional Spanish concept of honor further supported the right of couples to marry whomever they pleased. The code of honor not only acknowledged the sacred character of all promises but also obliged a man who had violated a woman's virginity to save her reputation by marrying her, whatever the preferences or social status of either family.

This concept of honor easily transferred itself to New World society, which presupposed the fundamental equality of all Spaniards regardless of differences in wealth or social standing. Moreover, the prestige and autonomy of the church provided couples with powerful institutional backing for nearly two centuries of colonial rule. Often assisted by secular officials and sympathetic neighbors, church authorities routinely removed young people from the custody of meddlesome parents so that they could pursue their marriage plans without interference. Priests also performed secret ceremonies, omitting the formality of publicizing a marriage when family opposition seemed likely. The sources available to Seed show that until the end of the seventeenth century, 93 percent of those couples who appealed to church authorities to escape their parents' wishes succeeded in having their freedom to marry upheld.

Beginning in the final decade of the seventeenth century and gathering momentum after 1700, the ideological and institutional infrastructure supporting this freedom of choice deteriorated. Priests abandoned the practice of secret marriages and could no longer call on the state to force parents to surrender custody of their children. Moreover, neither church nor state considered promises of marriage as binding as in the past. A man who dishonored a woman could now discharge his responsibility by paying her financial compensation rather than marrying her.

As the eighteenth century advanced, parents found it increasingly easy to prevent an offspring's marriage to someone of inferior social or economic standing. As state authorities willingly buttressed parental power, the church gradually moved in the same direction. Finally, promulgation of the royal pragmatic on marriage in 1778 signaled the decisive victory of patriarchal authority over individual free will. That document required persons under twenty-five to secure their parents' consent in order to marry.

A complex series of political, social, and economic factors combined to produce this dramatic change. As the church's former institutional autonomy crumbled before the energetic regalism of the Bourbon monarchs, ecclesiastical personnel saw their chances of promotion ever

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more dependent on governmental goodwill. Ambitious clerics therefore became less willing to challenge secular officials on the question of patriarchal authority over marriage. Meanwhile, the growth of the *casta* population and the upward social mobility of its more fortunate members undermined cultural support for the freedom of young people to select their mates. Implicitly restricted to those of Spanish descent, the traditional concept of honor-as-virtue had acknowledged informal liaisons between Spanish men and nonwhite women while jealously guarding the sexual honor of Spanish women, especially from the pretenses of nonwhite men. By the early eighteenth century, however, more castas sought to have their unions sanctified by the church. Moreover, increasing numbers of Spanish women were marrying men of mixed racial ancestry, to the evident chagrin of Spanish men. Finally, eighteenth-century economic growth triggered the emergence of a new definition of honor, one based on status and wealth rather than virtue.

In this climate of far-reaching social and institutional change, patriarchal authority over children's marriage choices rapidly gained respectability. When a son or daughter contemplated marrying someone of inferior social standing, parents increasingly asserted the precedence of the family's honor-as-status over a young woman's honor-as-virtue. Parents also found growing cultural support for the notion that young people's mutual attraction reflected irrational sexual passion rather than the force of individual will once respected as the only sound basis for marriage. Without the strong support children formerly had found in the church, they were less able to defy their parents' wishes. Seed therefore concludes that the movement toward capitalistic relations of production, evident in many sectors of the Mexican economy by the eighteenth century, did not inevitably lead to the decline of patriarchal authority, as some students of European family history have assumed.

While these changes affected both men and women, they were particularly devastating for females. No longer backed by powerful institutional and cultural support to compel men to fulfill promises of marriage, women became solely responsible for the consequences of their sexual encounters. Indeed, a premarital pregnancy, once a compelling reason for marriage, now furnished incontrovertible proof of the woman's unworthiness and a convenient excuse for a man or his family to cancel an engagement. Although women might still appeal to the church in such situations, they now carried both the burden of proof and the cost of initiating action against the men who had betrayed them.

Through an innovative and imaginative use of sources, Seed has produced in *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico* a splendid exemplar of the social historian's craft. While presenting vivid vignettes of colonial life in the poignant personal histories of ordinary men and women, she is ever alert to the larger patterns of social change that shaped

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the outcome of their individual stories. Even more extensively than Doris Ladd, she shows how attitudinal change often failed to keep pace with social reality. Although social distinctions were increasingly based on wealth, a culturally accepted means of describing those differences had yet to emerge. Like the workers of Real del Monte, the late-colonial upper classes were moving toward class consciousness, even though the word *class* "as a marker of distinctions of rank within society, did not exist" (p. 223).

Serge Gruzinski's new book, *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800*, dramatically demonstrates that even though Indians were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Mexican Inquisition after 1571, they did not always escape prosecution for religious heterodoxy. Ordinary ecclesiastical judges regularly investigated cases of Indian idolatry, taking testimony that now offers a valuable and hitherto overlooked source for social historians. In reviewing these materials, Gruzinski has consciously and successfully followed the example of Carlo Ginzberg and other students of popular attitudes in early modern Europe.[7] In so doing, he has pointed the way toward a greater historiographical emphasis on Indians' intellectual responses to the experience of conquest.

Although less comprehensive than its sweeping subtitle might suggest, Gruzinski's work is nonetheless an ambitious attempt to probe Indian consciousness through case studies of four remarkable men who styled themselves as gods at various critical junctures of the colonial period. Gruzinski maintains that each of these individuals expressed to one degree or another the Nahua concept of power (derived from direct communication with the gods) that characterized Mesoamerican consciousness from postclassical times onward. Europeans consistently failed to understand this concept of power.

Baptized in 1532, Andrés Mixcoatl of Texcoco was prosecuted for idolatry in 1537, a time of "poverty in ritual" (p. 48). While indigenous religious practice had been stripped of its external pomp and driven underground, Christian rites had not yet taken hold as a viable alternative. This climate of religious uncertainty evoked a traditional solution: the emergence of a man-god such as Andrés, who claimed to be Telpochtli (a manifestation of the god Tezcatlipoca) as well as an intimate associate of both the Nahua rain god Tlaloc and Martin Ocelotl, a Texcocan notable also prosecuted for resisting Christianity and Spanish rule. Andrés Mixcoatl attracted a large following of Indian *macehuales* (commoners) by promising them favorable weather and threatening disaster for those who failed to heed him. By exaggerating the tyrannical aspect of his power, European observers seriously underestimated his charismatic appeal.

Gregorio Juan and Juan Coatl lived in the mid-seventeenth century, a "period of generalized, intensified syncretic contraband among

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the marginal and clandestine sectors of colonial culture" (p. 69). This culture contained elements of European witchcraft, African magic, Indian shamanism, and popular, heterodox Christianity. Both men claimed to be gods but freely adopted Christian terminology in constructing their cosmologies, and each in his own way expressed the psychic bondage that colonial society imposed on Indians. Gregorio Juan rejected identification with indigenous deities in favor of calling himself "the almighty God who made heaven and earth" (p. 84) because, according to Gruzinski, this mantle of omnipotence provided an outlet for his paranoic struggles with his own father as well as the power of colonialism. In Gruzinski's words, Gregorio Juan "lived out the twofold minority condition of a blocked adolescent and a macehual Indian in a society that tried to infantilize the autochthonous peoples morally, legally, and mentally" (p. 81).

Juan Coatl's juxtaposition of human sacrifice with Christian rituals is contradictory only when viewed from a Western perspective. Like their counterparts throughout Mexico, Juan and his followers in Huamantla had appropriated selected elements of Christianity and made them their own through the vehicle of their *cofradías*. As Gruzinski describes it, "the Christianity of the *fiscales* and the *mayordomos* of the confraternities, the sacred topography, the hermitages, and the chapels cut across the cults of mountains, springs, rivers, and the hearth . . . " (p. 101). Moreover, Indians stubbornly resisted efforts by the institutional church to tamper with the popular religion they had fashioned for themselves.

A century later in 1761, Antonio Pérez opposed one such campaign to remove community religious observances from Indian control. Centered in the highlands of Morelos and adjacent sectors of the *tierra caliente,* Pérez's cult articulated Indian opposition to recently renewed efforts to oust the regular clergy from Indian parishes and to reorient local religious practice in a more orthodox European direction. He urged his followers to abjure the veneration of Christian saints and to refuse to contribute money to the church. At the same time, his rituals more faithfully mimicked those of Roman Catholicism than did those of Juan Gregorio and Juan Coatl. Claiming to be the Christian God, Pérez acted as a priest, performing parodies of most of the sacraments. Although few traces of these indigenous rites or mythology survived, Gruzinski asserts that Pérez's monstrous, castrating Virgin of Popocatepetl laid a vaguely Christian veneer over vestigial cultural remembrances of vengeful goddesses. The profound insecurity of Indian life in eighteenth-century Mexico, exacerbated by recurring epidemics, famines, and other hardships, helped keep these collective memories alive. Meanwhile, Catholicism reinforced the negative image of women embodied in the Virgin of Popocatepetl: the manuals used by priests in hearing Indian confessions "vilified the infanticidal mother, the bad spouse, and the woman who performed or who had abortions" (p. 129).

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Calling for the annihilation of all non-Indians and the consequent abolition of tribute and other abuses, Antonio Pérez proclaimed a millenarianism that would destroy the entire colonial social order. He identified the Spanish civil and ecclesiastical bureaucracies as the source of the Indians' troubles, reportedly even burning the archbishop in effigy. Yet Pérez proposed a new political order reminiscent of European models, claiming for himself the title of pope and naming an associate as king of Mexico. In reality, this illiterate shepherd possessed considerable political sophistication. According to Gruzinski, he was "able to grasp the stakes and the rules of colonial society and to fix the crucial objectives of emancipation: the conquest of civil and ecclesiastical power, elimination of the sectors that were exploiting the Indian peoples, and passage from the religious dissidence of a man-god to political and social liberation" (p. 165). The arrest of Pérez and some 160 of his followers in the summer of 1761 brought his movement to an abrupt halt.

In a survey of English-language historiography published a few years ago, Eric Van Young urged scholars of colonial Latin America to pay closer attention to the study of popular attitudes, drawing inspiration from such works as Robert Darnton's explorations in French cultural history and John Demos's study of witchcraft in colonial New England.[8] Substantial indications suggest that the field is in fact moving in the direction he suggested. Even as Van Young's comments went to press, Gruzinski was pointing the way toward the study of colonial mentalités with the French edition of *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands*.[9] Van Young himself has since followed suit with his studies of popular messianism in the early nineteenth century.[10] Moreover, to varying degrees the other titles under review here demonstrate that even more traditionally crafted works can show sensitivity to the perceptions of the men and women who appear in the sources.

Van Young concluded his historiographical essay with the sensible caveat that this shift toward the study of the "symbolic, the ideological, and the affective" should not entail neglect of the more traditional themes of social, economic, and institutional change. As Gruzinski explicitly reminds us, we cannot appreciate the attitudes and perceptions of colonial men and women without acknowledging the power relationships of the society in which they lived. The most fruitful approach to Latin American social history, then, weds the new emphasis on mentalités to an understanding of the ways in which "ordinary" people interacted with representatives of colonial institutions on a daily basis.[11]

NOTES

1. For excellent reviews of recent historical scholarship on colonial Latin America, see Rodney Anderson, "Race and Social Stratification: A Comparison of Working-Class

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Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico, in 1821," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (May 1988):209–44; John Kicza, "The Social and Ethnic Historiography of Colonial Latin America: The Last Twenty Years," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, vol. 45, no. 3 (July 1988):453–88; Eric Van Young, "Recent Anglophone Scholarship on Mexico and Central America in the Age of Revolution," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (Nov. 1985):725–44; and Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda," *LARR* 18, no. 3 (1983):5–62.

2. See, for example, William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1979); Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Spanish Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); and Robert S. Haskett, "Indian Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca: Persistence, Adaptation, and Change," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 2 (May 1987):203–31.
3. Asunción Lavrin, "Ecclesiastical Reform of Nunneries in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century," *The Americas* 22, no. 2 (Oct. 1965):182–203; Lavrin, "In Search of the Colonial Woman in Mexico: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, edited by Lavrin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978), 23–59; Silvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985); Josefina Muriel, *Los recogimientos de mujeres: respuesta a una problemática social novohispana* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1974); and Luis Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
4. Steve J. Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (Oct. 1988): 829–72, 856–57, n. 72; and review by John Kicza, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69, no. 1 (Feb.1989):164–65. In 1730, workers in Chihuahua fought and ultimately lost a similar struggle over the issue of the partido. See Cheryl E. Martin, "Labor Relations and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Chihuahua," paper presented to the American Historical Association, Chicago, 27–30 Dec. 1986.
5. Susan Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810: Amor al Real Servicio* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987).
6. For previous scholarly work on the Mexican inquisition, see such examples as Richard E. Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); and Stanley Hordes, "The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain, 1620-1649: A Collective Biography," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1980.
7. See, for example, Carlo Ginzberg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, translated by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (New York: Penguin, 1982); and Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
8. Van Young, "Recent Anglophone Scholarship"; Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*; and John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
9. Serge Gruzinski, *Les Hommes-dieux du Mexique: Pouvoir indien et société, XVe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 1985).
10. Van Young, "Millenium on the Northern Marches: The Mad Messiah of Durango and Popular Rebellion in Mexico, 1800–1815," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 3 (July 1986):385–413; and Van Young, "Quetzacoatl, King Ferdinand, and Ignacio Allende Go to the Seashore; or Messianism and Mystical Kingship in Mexico, 1800–1821," in *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation*, edited by Jaime E. Rodríguez 0. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center and the Mexico/Chicano Program, University of California, Irvine, 1989), 109–28.
11. For a fuller discussion of this approach, see William B. Taylor, "Between Global Process and Local Knowledge: An Inquiry into Early Latin American Social History," in *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, edited by Olivier Zunz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 115–90.

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