RECENT WRITING ON THE SPANISH CONQUEST

Benjamin Keen
Santa Fe, New Mexico

THE TRANSITION TO STATEHOOD IN THE NEW WORLD. Edited by GRANT D. JONES and ROBERT R. KAUTZ. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. 254. $27.50.)

THE INCA AND AZTEC STATES, 1400–1800: ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY. Edited by GEORGE A. COLLIER, RENATO I. ROSALDO, and JOHN D. WIRTH. (New York: Academic Press, 1982. Pp. 475. $47.00.)

SPANIARDS AND INDIANS IN SOUTHEASTERN MESOAMERICA: ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF ETHNIC RELATIONS. Edited by MURDO J. MACLEOD and ROBERT WASSERSTROM. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. Pp. 291. $23.95.)

PERU'S INDIAN PEOPLES AND THE CHALLENGE OF SPANISH CONQUEST. By STEVE J. STERN. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982. Pp. 295. $22.75.)

JUSTICE BY INSURANCE: THE GENERAL INDIAN COURT OF COLONIAL MEXICO AND THE LEGAL AIDES OF THE HALF-REAL. By WOODROW BORAH. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Pp. 482. $45.00.)

DAUGHTERS OF THE CONQUISTADORES: WOMEN OF THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU. By LUIS MARTIN. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. Pp. 354. $29.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.)

STRUGGLE AND SURVIVAL IN COLONIAL AMERICA. Edited by DAVID G. SWEET and GARY B. NASH. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. Pp. 406. $28.50 cloth, $8.95 paper.)

DOGS OF THE CONQUEST. By JOHN G. VARNER and JEANNETTE J. VARNER. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. Pp. 256. $19.95.)

EARLY LATIN AMERICA. By JAMES LOCKHART and STUART B. SCHWARTZ. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Pp. 477. $29.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.)

The Spanish Conquest has been an inexhaustible source of interest for American scholars for almost one and a half centuries. The reasons for this interest have varied from generation to generation, and from author to author. The nineteenth-century romantic historian Wil-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

liam H. Prescott was drawn to the conquest by the sheer drama of epic struggles in which a few hundred Spaniards defeated the armies of populous, powerful empires. In our time, some scholars have sought in the conquest and its aftermath the roots of the contemporary Latin American problems of dependency, backwardness, and authoritarianism; others, moved by the fate of the vanquished, have focused on the pressures the conquest imposed on Indian communities and how they survived or adapted to those pressures.

The attitudes of students of the conquest have varied accordingly. Two common prejudices of U.S. elites and much of the public largely shaped the attitudes of nineteenth-century historians: a view of the Indians as an inferior racial group, an obstacle to the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization over an otherwise empty continent; and a view of the Spaniards as a people with a romantic past who were nevertheless backward and priest-ridden. These stereotypes produced a certain ambivalence, but because it could be argued (as Prescott in effect argued in his 1843 *History of the Conquest of Mexico*) that even the inferior Spanish variant of white civilization had a civilizing mission among the lesser breeds, on balance a favorable assessment prevailed. After the turn of the century, American writers on the subject became even more favorably disposed toward the Spanish role. This tendency may be explained in part by the fact that the United States, having launched on its own imperialist career in the Caribbean and the Far East, could regard Spain's colonial record with greater sympathy, especially after it had eliminated Spain as a colonial rival. A Yale professor of history, Edward G. Bourne, elaborated and synthesized the pro-Spanish arguments of the nineteenth-century historians in his very influential book, *Spain in America* (1904). Charles Gibson has called it "an unequivocally scholarly presentation" that laid "a positive assessment of early Spanish colonization before the American public." Yet on close inspection, the book's treatment of such sensitive subjects as Spain's Indian policy appears extremely tendentious and idealized.

Bourne's book set the tone for a half-century of "revisionist" writing on the Spanish Conquest and its sequel. Bourne's influence was reinforced by that of Herbert E. Bolton, who taught at Berkeley from 1911 until he retired in 1945. Bolton was a leading historian of the Spanish Borderlands, and his studies were models of careful factual scholarship and vivid narrative style. But Bolton's generous enthusiasm for Spain's daring conquistadores and missionaries cast a distorting romantic aura around both. Impressed by the "picturesque pageant" of the advance of the "harbingers of civilization" into the "realm of heathendom," Bolton in effect provided a "white man's burden" defense of Spanish colonialism.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Bourne and Bolton provided a favorable overall assessment of Spain's work in America, but it was little more than a sketch or outline. It remained for their disciples to flesh out that interpretation with solid monographs that would dispel once and for all the supposedly malign influence of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, intolerance, and obscurantism on the North American mind. Bolton's students—Arthur S. Aiton, John T. Lanning, and Irving A. Leonard, among others—played important roles in this work of vindication. Other historians who made large contributions to the flowering of revisionism in the period from about 1920 to 1950 were Lesley B. Simpson, Lewis Hanke, and Bailey W. Diffie. After Bourne's book, probably the most influential work in the revisionist tradition was Simpson's *The Encomienda in New Spain* (1929), a valuable pioneering study that was nonetheless marred by its extreme pro-Spanish bias. One of its highlights was a vitriolic attack on the great reformer Bartolomé de las Casas, whom Simpson, in the manner of Bourne, charged with having led astray whole generations of historians with his exaggerated accounts of Spanish cruelties.

The revisionist era produced a substantial monographic literature that corrected errors and oversimplifications in the liberal, anti-Spanish historiography of earlier centuries. But the revisionist historians also suffered from severe ideological bias and faulty methodology. Their treatment of Spanish-Indian relations often displayed a blatant partiality for Spanish and colonial elites while it lacked any anthropological perspective. A case in point is Simpson's claim in his 1929 study that prior to the conquest, the Aztecs practiced "the most hideous vices, the most abominable of which were cannibalism, idolatry, and human sacrifice" (p. x). In their eagerness to absolve Spain of charges of cruelty, intolerance, and obscurantism, the revisionists introduced embellishing distortions into their picture of Spain's work in America. A new generation of historians then had to correct these defects and begin exploration of the many subject areas that the revisionists had neglected, utilizing fresh perspectives and new methods.

Professional historians were often handicapped, however, by the conservative mind-sets that they had inherited from their teachers. A striking feature of the post-1950 historiography of colonial Spanish America is that the major impulse for its renovation came from outside the field—from anthropologists, geographers, and art historians, among others. The geographer Carl Sauer, for example, may be called the true founder of the so-called Berkeley school of demographic history because his studies of the relation between "life and land" in northwest Mexico, published in the 1930s, anticipated the revolutionary conclusions of that school with regard to the size of pre-Columbian populations. No discipline contributed more to the revival of colonial

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

historical studies than anthropology; a partial list of anthropologists who participated in that revival must include the names of Philip A. Means, John H. Rowe, Eric Wolf, Sidney Mintz, and John V. Murra.

In 1964 Charles Gibson, a historian well versed in anthropological theory and method, published his landmark book, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, which epitomized several major features of the new historiography: a focus on Indians instead of Spanish and colonial elites; the combined use of approaches and methods drawn from history, anthropology, and sociology; and the abandonment of the apologetic tone of much of the revisionist literature. Indeed, in his somber conclusion concerning the "deterioration of a native empire and civilization," Gibson went out of his way to resurrect the Black Legend that the revisionists had apparently buried. "The Black Legend," he wrote, "provides a gross but essentially accurate interpretation of relations between Spaniards and Indians. . . . It is insufficient in its awareness of the institutions of Spanish rule. But the substantive content of the Black Legend asserts that the Indians were exploited by Spaniards, and in empirical fact they were" (p. 403).

Gibson's book became an inspiration and a point of departure for other Indianist studies; it also helped to launch a whole new genre of "land and labor" studies. Gibson's unorthodox conclusions regarding the hacienda in the Valley of Mexico (among them, that the hacienda, albeit no paradise, offered many Indians a refuge from overwhelming labor and tribute burdens, and that debt peonage had little importance, at least in the late eighteenth century) spurred young scholars to undertake similar investigations. To this category of "land and labor" studies belong such important works as William B. Taylor's *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (1972) and Eric Van Young's *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (1981), to mention only two. The net result has been the discovery of a "polymorphic" hacienda whose variety reflected the great regional variations in climate, soil, and access to labor and markets in the vast Spanish Empire in America.

In the two decades since the appearance of Gibson's book, the volume of writings on colonial Spanish America has grown considerably. The inventory of research topics, methods, and resources has also grown, with scholars making increased use of quantification, prosopography (collective biography), and such hitherto neglected materials as notarial records, wills, and account books as sources for social and economic history. The books reviewed here, as well as some others that I shall cite for purposes of illustration, exemplify some trends in the literature.

The focus on Indians has grown much stronger, with a veritable explosion of writings on ethnohistory (the study of pre- and post-conquest Indian societies combining historical and anthropological ap-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

proaches). In studies of ancient America, the evolutionist, genetic approach identified with its early prophets, Leslie A. White and Julian Steward, clearly dominates. *The Transition to Statehood in the New World,* edited by Grant D. Jones, and Robert R. Kautz, offers an example of this approach. At first glance, the subject may seem remote from the conquest, but in fact, there is a crucial link: the existence of large polities on the state level, headed by divine or priestly rulers whose capture could at least temporarily paralyze native resistance and whose restless tributary peoples the Spaniards could mobilize against their native overlords, helps to explain the relatively swift conquest of the Indian heartlands.

The Transition to Statehood provides a sampler of current theorizing on its subject. Robert Carneiro argues that the only route to the state is through the chiefdom, the sufficient conditions for that transition being population pressure and warfare, which serve to consolidate centralized political control. Jonathan Haas appears closer to classic Marxist theory in an essay that brings together evidence from Andean, Mesoamerican, and other early states to show that the state arose "as a coercive internal mechanism to resolve internal conflicts" coming from stratification. Mark Cohen views the rise of the state as a worldwide trend in response to population pressures that led to the hunting-gathering way of life being replaced by agriculture; the strains produced by this new way of life in turn led to the rise of centralized authorities who could provide military and economic security. In a closely reasoned paper with a playful title, "The Transition to Statehood as Seen from the Mouth of a Cave," Richard MacNeish asks why some chiefdoms developed into states while others who were warlike, experienced population pressure, and were located in circumscribed areas (Carneiro's sufficient conditions) did not. MacNeish's answer is that these chiefdoms lacked such genuine sufficient conditions as highland-lowland interaction spheres, large food surpluses, and well-organized exchange systems. "Without these sufficient conditions the pristine national state does not arise. The necessary conditions of population pressure and warfare are not sufficient," he concludes (p. 153). Finally, a group of essays by Michael B. Coe, David A. Freidel, and Richard W. Keatinge argue with evidence drawn from the Maya and Andean areas that materialist blinders have concealed from archaeologists the importance of ideology as an independent variable in state formation. I found these papers thought-provoking, and the task of reconciling or accommodating the different points of view into a more adequate unitary explanation of the transition to the state does not seem to me impossible.

The time span assigned to the Inca and Aztec empires in the title of *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800,* reflects the view of ethnohistorians that despite the decapitation of those empires, many of their

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

institutions survived into the nineteenth century. Pedro Carrasco leads off with "The Political Economy of the Aztec and Inca States," in which he finds them essentially similar in that both were politically organized and social stratification in both states was based on the coincidence between the economically dominant group and a ruling class legitimized by its descent from a leading dynasty. I have difficulty accepting Carrasco's claim that the lands of the Aztec nobility "that have sometimes been considered private property were actually personal holdings of individuals from whom public services were expected" (p. 37). An essential attribute of private property is the power to alienate it, and such reliable sources as the chroniclers Diego Durán and Bernardino de Sahagún confirm that Aztec lords could gamble away or otherwise dispose of their lands. Two related essays are Edward Calnek's study of empire formation in the Valley of Mexico, 1200–1521, which stresses the rise of city-states, the formation of interdynastic alliances through marriage, and the large measure of local rule allowed to subject groups; and J. Rounds's essay on the rules of succession in Tenochtitlán, which argues that the growth of imperial resources and the need for a broadened base of support for the throne led to the replacement of a de facto filial system of succession by a fraternal system that permitted a corporate sharing of the royal power.

The essays on the Inca state reflect more disagreement than agreement concerning its nature. A paper by the veteran Andeanist John Rowe stresses the effect of the system of *yanaconas*, *camayos*, and *mitimas* (persons removed from their localities to serve the Inca) in weakening regional loyalties and contributing to imperial unification. Catherine Julien's study of the Inca decimal system of organizing the population makes much the same point. On the other hand, Franklin Pease asserts that there was substantial regional diversity in the degree of imperial integration and that some states retained much of their internal organization even after their conquest and the resettlement of some of their populations. The same point of view appears in John Murra's essay on the *mita* obligations of ethnic groups, which argues that indirect rule was the norm in Inca administration. But Nathan Wachtel's study of Inca colonization of the valley of Cochabamba, where the majority of the native inhabitants were expelled and the land was turned over to large-scale maize production by laborers of different ethnic origins, certainly indicates that the Inca state has the capacity and the will to intervene massively and brutally in subject areas when intervention favored its interests.

The section entitled "The Imposition of Spanish Rule" contains an especially significant paper by Karen Spalding. She contends that contrary to the traditional view, the colonial economy was a unified rather than a dual economy, one integrated by the exploitation of In-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

dian labor and the preservation of the Indian communities as a source of labor and goods for the European economy. But the strategy of preserving the Indian community and the division between Indians and Spaniards effectively prevented the rise of a true labor market and a new economic system. I would qualify Spalding's argument only by noting that the Spanish effort to preserve the Indian communities was neither strong nor consistent, as was shown by the progressive growth of Spanish estates at the expense of Indian lands, especially in the late colonial period, and the corresponding growth of Indian peonage.

Like *The Inca and Aztec States*, *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica*, edited by Murdo MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom, illustrates the current trend toward historians and anthropologists collaborating on ethnohistorical projects. The common theme is "the genesis in precolonial, colonial, and early republican society of contemporary Indian cultures in Yucatán, Chiapas, and Guatemala." Nancy Farriss's fine paper on colonial Yucatán sounds a familiar note in recent Indianist studies in its insistence that the Indians should be studied not as vestiges of the pre-Columbian past or as passive objects of colonial rule, but as independent actors whose defensive responses to Spanish pressures reshaped their communities and modified the methods of Spanish rule. In a moving account of Spanish-Indian relations in colonial Chiapas, Robert Wasserstrom shows how clerical and official greed, operating through taxes, tribute, and *repartimiento de efectos* (forced sale of goods to the Indians), radically altered Indian communities, generated rebellion and messianic movements, and in the end reinforced communal solidarity and Indian determination not to transculturate. Jan Rus shows in his revisionist study of the so-called "Caste War" of 1869 in Chiapas that the "war" was in reality an episode in the struggle between *ladino* liberals and conservatives for control of the state's land and labor and that the Indians were pawns and victims rather than aggressors. Essays by William Sherman and Murdo MacLeod offer useful panoramic surveys of ethnic relations and social change in early and late colonial Guatemala. The concluding essay by Robert Carmack reviews the literature on Spanish-Indian relations in highland Guatemala and offers a case study based on his own work in the village of Santiago Momostenango. Noting the importance of conflict in cultural change as revealed by that case study and others, Carmack complains that "conflict has been too much neglected in anthropological studies. Even Marxist studies tend to be uncomfortably 'functionalist,' that is, Indians and ladinos are seen as being in reciprocal patron-client relationships, and the problem is even more acute for the acculturation studies" (p. 246).

The tendency deplored by Nancy Farriss of casting the Indian in a passive role, as the mere object of Spanish rule or an acculturation

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

process, has largely disappeared from current ethnohistorical studies. Typically, the Indian is currently depicted as responding to Spanish pressures with a variety of defensive strategies that were not altogether unsuccessful. Steve Stern's brilliant study, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest*, traces the shifting course of Indian adaptation to the conquest in the province of Huamanga between 1532 and 1640. In the first stage, the natives adopted a policy of cooperation with their conquerors, with native elites (kurakas) acting as intermediaries between their people and the Spaniards in the provision of labor and tribute; the Spaniards in return undertook to respect the traditional rules governing Andean tribute and labor. But by 1560, this system of post-Incaic alliances was breaking down as a result of growing Spanish demands and arrogance, combined with the disruptive effect of epidemics, civil war, and a declining Indian population. The kurakas found it increasingly difficult to satisfy Spanish demands and still protect the interests of their communities.

As disillusionment set in, a widespread movement of religious revival arose that called for battle against the Christian pantheon of gods (God, Jesus, and the saints), the restoration of the Andean gods, and a general purge of Hispanic elements from native culture. This millenarian, anti-Hispanic movement, combined with the military threat from a neo-Inca state in a remote part of the Andean highlands and a decline in the Spanish economy due to Indian rebelliousness and resistance to labor demands, threatened the very existence of the colonial system in Peru. The local ruling class was saved from the consequences of its own reckless and anarchical behavior by a new viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581). Toledo imposed political stability and implemented a "grand design for economic development" based on a system of Indian tribute and rotating forced labor (the mita).

Perhaps the most original and impressive aspect of Stern's study is his demonstration that in Huamanga, at least, the Indian communities were able to lighten the burdens imposed by that "most oppressive and fearful institution" (the mita) by a defensive strategy of "engaging in aggressive, persistent, often shrewd use of Spanish juridical institutions to lower legal quotas, delay delivery of specific corvees and tributes, disrupt production, and the like" (p. 192). A new book by Woodrow W. Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (1983), provides additional evidence of shrewd, stubborn Indian use of Spanish juridical institutions in defense of Indian interests. The Indians, writes Borah, "perceived the General Indian Court as another opportunity in a complicated game of defense, redress, and even offense." However limited its potential, "the entire system afforded the natives much ground for maneuver which they were quick to use to their advantage. . . " (pp. 226,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

308). Another new work, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (1984) by Nancy Farriss, documents Maya resilience and solidarity in a process of creative adaptation that enabled the Maya community to survive the manifold strains and stresses imposed by Spanish rule.

Solidarity and collective resistance were not the only forms of Indian adaptation to the conquest. Many recent explorations of the internal dynamics of Indian society offer evidence of growing internal differentiation, stratification, and conflict. Karen Spalding has called attention to the phenomenon of "social climbing" on the part of Indians who chose to ally themselves with the local representative of Spanish authority in return for such rewards as exemption from mita service and tribute payments.[1] Stern devotes a chapter of his book on Huamanga to describing a minority of Indians who adopted Spanish strategies for enrichment. Their success, says Stern, "compounded preexisting rivalries and disunities, and on its highest levels reproduced within native society class contradictions first imposed by Spanish colonials" (p. 188). Stern also shows that even the limited gains achieved by Indians through the use of Spanish juridical institutions had their price: by dampening native militancy and promoting accommodation between Spanish and Indian elites, they actually strengthened Spanish rule.

Indians are not the sole concern of colonial social history, of course. Save for a few pioneering essays like the excellent article by Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier on women's socioeconomic role in colonial Mexico,[2] little has appeared until recently on women's history. Luis Martín's full-scale study of Hispanic women in colonial Peru, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, supports the conclusion of Lavrin and Couturier in their article that "there was repression; but repression was not the whole reality, and it did not totally impair women's ability of expression."[3] Martín goes even further, claiming that "it would be hard to find any social group in which social freedom was as visible as it was among the Spanish women who lived in the colonial cities" (p. 315). He describes the Peruvian nunnery as "a fortress of women, a true island of women, where, under the cloak of marianism, women could protect themselves from the corroding and dehumanizing forces of Don Juanism" (p. 6). One caveat is in order regarding Martín's subjects: they are upper-class Hispanic women who were surrounded by slaves and servants and who scorned and sometimes abused their lowly black and Indian sisters. We have little information on the lives of lower-class colonial women, and what is available, such as the chapter entitled "Indian Women and the Spaniards" in William Sherman's *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (1979), suggests that abuse and sexual and economic exploitation were the lot of many.

Indeed, historians have only begun to explore the lives of the so-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

called "inarticulate masses," male or female, black, white, Indian, or mixed-blood. *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, edited by David Sweet and Gary Nash, shows that rich opportunities for fruitful research exist in this field. The Spanish-American figures in this collection of essay-biographies include a Buenos Aires shoemaker and guild organizer, an Aztec priest who tried to organize a pagan religious underground, two rebellious slaves, a mulatto master of mule trains, and a mestiza pulque dealer. The editors do not claim that these ordinary people were "exceptionally wise, heroic, or virtuous," insisting instead that in the end such people are the true makers and movers of history. Many of these essays offer moving testimony to the courage, tenacity, and resourcefulness of humble individuals trying to survive or achieve modest success in an oppressive environment. They also provide a remarkable amount of detailed information on manners, relations, and the juridical mechanisms of colonial society.

Perhaps as a result of the disrepute into which colonial conquests have fallen, little has been done recently on the military history of the conquest. A work in this genre is *Dogs of the Conquest* by John G. Varner and Jeannette J. Varner. These mastiffs and greyhounds, which had been bred and trained to kill and sometimes wore armor into battle, were a "lethal weapon of war." They were also used to punish captured Indian rebels, heretics, and alleged homosexuals, whom they tore apart and devoured; in the sadistic *montería infernal* (the infernal hunt), these ferocious animals hunted down Indians like savage beasts. The story of these exploits, based on the works of Spanish chroniclers and other contemporaneous sources, confirms that the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty—like the Black Legends associated with other imperialist conquests—is no legend but essential historical reality.

Last under review here is a work of synthesis, *Early Latin America*, by James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz. I assume that the sections on colonial Spanish America were written by Lockhart, a distinguished specialist in that field. We have long needed a general survey of the subject that would bring students abreast of the mass of new information and viewpoints that has accumulated in recent decades. In part, the book fills that need. It reflects a general familiarity with the recent literature and contains a useful original feature, the many schemas illustrating the layout of Spanish cities, encomiendas, haciendas, and the like. It is clearly written, although some of the theoretical discussion may give nonspecialist readers trouble. But the book carries its stress on institutions, organization, and function to an extreme, sadly neglecting narrative background history. The result is that students without some background in Spanish medieval history or pre-Columbian history, for example, may be at a loss to understand how the "Iberian ways" or the "indigenous ways" described in the chapters

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press

on those topics were formed. There are curious omissions: the book totally ignores the major struggle over Spain's Indian policy, and the name of Bartolomé de las Casas—a towering figure in that struggle—does not even appear.

One peculiarity of the book is a consistent effort to minimize the impact of Spanish labor systems and other demands on the Indians. The mining mita, which Steve Stern calls a "most oppressive and fearful institution," is brushed away with the comment that "doubtless there were many repercussions in the Indian towns and villages, but the most apparent effect was that of cutting down drastically on the rate of Hispanization of the workers" (p. 150). The evil reputation of the repartimiento de efectos—the forced sale of goods to the Indians at artificially high prices by *corregidores* (district governors)—is conceded to be "not entirely undeserved," but the situation, "unfortunate as it is, is the more or less expectable result of market forces" (pp. 332, 336). In view of the fact that the corregidor usually enjoyed a monopoly on trade in his district and also possessed the coercive power of judge and governor, I do not see the relevance of the term *market forces* in this context.

Finally, one might expect a survey of colonial Latin America to end with some attempt to assess the significance of those three colonial centuries for the development (or nondevelopment) of modern Latin America. One might expect, for example, that the authors would address some of the issues raised by Stanley and Barbara Stein in their classic little work, *The Colonial Legacy of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (1970). Instead, the reader is left with the unrevealing observation that "the events and trends of the 'colonial period' continued to reverberate throughout the nineteenth century and still do today, not, we feel, as something necessarily negative," and the statement that the colonial period was really the "formative period" of the succeeding states. Could the noncommittal, somewhat cryptic tone of these closing remarks reflect some disagreement on the part of the authors as to just what was "the colonial legacy of Latin America"?

NOTES

1. See Karen Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50 (Nov. 1970):645–64.
2. See Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640–1790," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59 (May 1979):280–304.
3. Ibid., 304.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100034555 Published online by Cambridge University Press