

of different things brought from Macau, only one, silver, is listed as going into Macau. For the period 1701–1744, for all ports, cloth led in trade with forty-seven percent, food followed with thirty-one percent, manufactured products about ten percent, and drinks about six percent. The statistics show the amount of cash transactions, credit granted, commissions, and other expenses. Rio de Janeiro did the largest trade for Pinheiro.

Occasionally there were cargoes of slaves, as for example into Rio de Janeiro in 1715 when 111 were imported. Of the original cargo of 116, four died at sea and one on land—a much smaller proportion than usually indicated in statistics of the slave trade (p. ccxvi). One section of twenty-five pages (beginning cdxix) on the slave trade shows numbers, ages, prices, costs of food and clothing, caloric content of food consumed, medicines and other particulars. For Minas Gerais there is shown the production of gold per capita of slave from 1716 to 1814.

Dr. Lisante has preceded each letter with a summary in French. The letters often make observations on such things as religious festivals, political and international events, personal relationships of families and other matters not directly related to commerce.

Few publications can match the usefulness of this one. The great gap that exists between what we would like to know and what we know is greatly narrowed by the abundant information herein contained. Dr. Lisante has made a major contribution not matched since the publication of *Séville et l'Atlantique* by Huguette and Pierre Chaunu.

The City College, New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

Encomenderos y estancieros. Estudios acerca de la constitución social aristocrática de Chile después de la conquista, 1580–1660. By MARIO GÓNGORA. Santiago de Chile, 1970. Universidad de Chile at Valparaiso. Tables. Illustrations. Appendices. Bibliography. Pp. xii, 244. Paper.

To the lengthening and often theoretical debate on the inter-relationship between encomienda and hacienda in the Spanish Indies, Mario Góngora now contributes the valuable results of what someone has called “confusing research.” Based, as is all his work, on assiduous and methodical archival research, Góngora takes us beneath neat legal categories to the more complex social reality of colonial settlement. The picture that emerges from a mass of judicial and notarial

records shows the gradual intermingling of the two main “prizes of the Indies”—land and Indians—into a seignorial society which by 1660 had given Chile its most fundamental structural feature.

Encomenderos y estancieros actually consists of three inter-related studies. The first of these points out the peculiar nature of Central Chile where from the beginning a “seignorial vision” floated before the eyes of its conqueror. Pedro de Valdivia—and Hernán Cortés as well—knew at first hand, and took as their model of rural organization, the great seignorial estates of the military orders of Extremadura. This did not imply, as the Crown envisioned, a settlement pattern where European farms would coexist alongside villages of free-holding Indians; but rather, a system in which land and labor were juridically, and in practice, mixed. Valdivia’s goal was possible because unlike in Mexico, for example, where royal authority could curb the ambitions of a Cortés, Chile was on the outskirts of empire: legislation was cheerfully ignored or systematically violated; and the Crown could hardly pressure the encomenderos on whose knightly services it depended in the interminable Araucanian wars on the southern frontier. Under the circumstances, a rudimentary native culture in central Chile was quickly obliterated, the native population drawn within the boundaries of the newly staked-off estancias. This practice was encouraged and confirmed by local authority in Santiago; in fact, land and Indians were frequently awarded in the same decree.

The second study, together with its ample appendices, demonstrates in subtle detail the roads to wealth and prestige, the shifting fortunes, and the increasingly complex mix of resources controlled by the colonial elite. This section is capped with a descriptive census of the 164 principal encomenderos in 1655. From this it is clear that the original conquering families have given way to a new elite for whom landownership is now the main resource, but the control of labor—black and Indian slaves as well as encomienda Indians—is still essential. In effect, the encomienda has been absorbed by the land: almost all of the population now resides within, and is subordinate to, the sprawling rural estates. Contrary to imperial aim and law, and very distinct from the free-holding village communities of Mexico and Peru, men and land in Chile blended together to form a seignorial society—an “hacienda community”—which endured, one imagines, beyond Valdivia’s fondest dreams.

Góngora’s final essay attempts to place the Chilean case in American and European context and to point out parallels with other rural estate systems. He rejects the “feudal” label on juridical grounds

(the State never relinquished its formal jurisdiction over all subjects, *encomendero* and *encomendado* included) while recognizing the *de facto* control of landowner over peon; he eschews the term “gentry” arguing that Chilean landowners had neither the capitalist impulse of sixteenth-century Englishmen nor the cultural refinement of the Chinese ruling class. The closest parallel, Góngora believes, can be found in the estate systems of Prussia and Poland; but the problem with this, in my view, is the absence in Chile of an authentic peasant community and culture.

In the end, Chilean rural settlement and development was certainly unusual if not unique. When examined inductively, from the sources, we are able to understand not only its peculiar features but, through comparison, the larger pattern of Spanish American settlement and society. No one has contributed more to this understanding over the past three decades than Mario Góngora; and this recent book, patiently researched, carefully thought through, and plainly written is a valuable addition.

University of California, Davis

ARNOLD J. BAUER

The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands. By MAX L. MOORHEAD. Norman, 1975. University of Oklahoma Press. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xiii, 288. Cloth. \$9.95.

At Santa Fe during the initial meeting of the Western History Association, in 1961, France V. Scholes, dean of the Borderlanders, in reviewing the historiography of that segment of American history, noted that the narrative story has been well told but called attention to the fact that the field was in serious need of institutional studies, beyond that of the mission. Professor Moorhead has answered that challenge for one of the key institutions of the northern frontier of New Spain, and done so with skill and much insight.

Part I of his study traces the “Historical Evolution” of the presidio from the years of the Chichimeco War of the sixteenth into the busy decades of the later eighteenth century, when it became the major agency of Spanish control in the north. The presidio had already been “Americanized” by the time of the Great Northern Revolt, but in the eighteenth century the development was even more pronounced. Using the *Reglamentos* of 1729 and 1772, resulting from the visitations of Pedro de Rivera and the Marqués de Rubí, respectively, the various reforms of Teodoro de Croix, the *Instrucción* of 1786 (Bernardo de Gálvez), and finally the policies of later Commandants of