



# Latin American and Caribbean Section

*Southern Historical Association*

## **LACS/SHA Newsletter Spring 2010**

### *From the President...*

Saludos and warm greetings to all! I am honored to have been elected as this year's President of the Latin American and Caribbean Section of the Southern Historical Association (LACS-SHA) and I follow a series of excellent predecessors, most recently, Matt Childs.

LACS was created in 1998 as an organization devoted to promoting Latin American and Caribbean history in the South and it has since expanded to include the related fields of Borderlands and Atlantic World histories. In recognition of the strength of these scholarly fields and their natural connections to the history of the U.S. South, the Southern Historical Association welcomed us as an affiliate in 2002 and it now allots LACS five panels on its annual program. In addition, LACS-SHA also organizes at least one Phi Alpha Theta panel of graduate students doing research in Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands, or Atlantic World history.

The highlight of our annual meeting at the SHA is our luncheon which features talks by noted scholars (see Ralph Lee Woodward's moving 2009 address beginning on p. 10 herein). This year we are honored that Lyman Johnson, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte, has accepted our invitation to be the keynote speaker. Lyman is the recipient of two Fulbright awards and numerous other distinctions, including most recently the First Citizens Bank Scholars Medal for contributions to the knowledge and understanding of colonial Latin American history. He is the author or co-author of 40 articles and book chapters and three books, including one of the most widely used single volume histories of colonial Latin America. He is known also for his lively wit and we look forward to what will surely be an engaging presentation.

At the luncheon we also announce the winners of our annual book and article prizes. The Murdo J. MacLeod Book Prize honors the best book by a LACS member in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands, or Atlantic World History that appeared in print the previous year; the Kimberly Hanger Prize (named in honor of our sorely-missed friend and the first president of LACS) recognizes the best article by a LACS member in those fields that appeared in print the previous year. In addition, the Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Paper Prize honors the best graduate student paper in those fields presented at the annual meeting. We are proud that many of our winners have also been honored by their peers in other venues.

LACS-SHA has an exciting program scheduled for our 2010 meeting which will be held from November 4-7 at the Westin Hotel in Charlotte. As president, I encourage all of you to attend. It is an opportunity to renew old friendships and make new ones and to enjoy the stimulating new scholarship our members have to offer. I look forward to seeing you all there.

Jane Landers  
Vanderbilt University

## LACS Officers, 2009-10

President	Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University (jane.l.landerson@vanderbilt.edu)
Vice-President	Juliana Barr, University of Florida (jbarr@ufl.edu)
Past-President	Matt Childs, University of South Carolina ( <a href="mailto:childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu">childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu</a> )
Treasurer:	Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu)
Secretary:	Theron Corse, Tennessee State University (tcorse@tnstate.edu)
Managing Editor, LACS Newsletter	Richmond Brown, University of Florida (rbbrown@latam.ufl.edu)
LACS Program Chair (Charlotte, 2010)	Thomas Rogers, UNC Charlotte (tomrogers@uncc.edu)
LACS Program Chair (Baltimore 2011)	Ben Vinson, III Johns Hopkins University (bvinson2@jhu.edu)
SHA Representative (2008-10)	Sherry Johnson, Florida International University ( <a href="mailto:johnsons@fiu.edu">johnsons@fiu.edu</a> )
SHA Representative (2011-13)	Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University (bganson@fau.edu)

For further information visit the SHA/LACS website, hosted by Theron Corse of Tennessee State University:

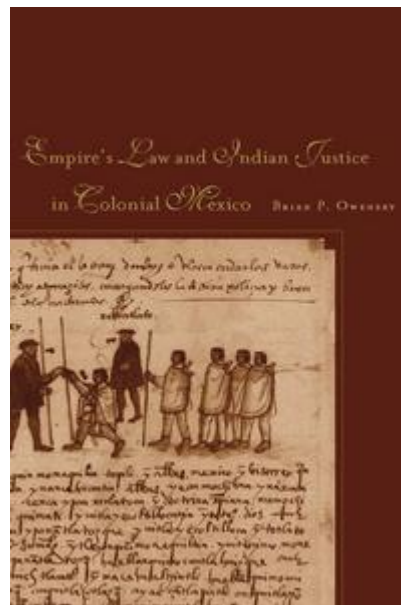
<http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/>

## Recent LACS Prize Winners

**2009 Murdo J. MacLeod Prize**, for the best book by a LACS member in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands and Atlantic World History that appeared in 2008:

**Brian Owensby, University of Virginia**

***Empire's Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2008)**



**Committee Citation:** In *Empire of Law and Indian Justice*, Brian Owensby provides an illuminating discussion of Indian subjects' engagement with Spanish law and legal institutions in 17th-century colonial Mexico. He argues that their search for justice helped to forge the legal meaning of royal protection, possession of land, liberty, guilt, local governance, and vassalage. Owensby reveals law to be a conversation through which a community negotiates how to live, what norms to obey, and what things they value. This approach enables him to reveal indigenous people's intrinsic and fundamental role in shaping expectations and dispensation of justice in colonial Mexico without ever losing sight of the unfavorable conditions and real constraints they experienced under colonial rule. Owensby's carefully researched and argued analysis of a constraining legal environment, whose contours were nonetheless forged through the contentious interactions between various colonials actors (complainants, witnesses, advocates, interpreters, notaries, and judges) stands out, however, for its innovative approach to understanding the nature of colonial societies. Instead of focusing on the opposition between dominant institutions and the actions of dominated peoples, he emphasizes the need to foreground the complex and delicate negotiation over the meaning and limitations of domination that took place within those societies.

**Thanks** to committee members Donna Guy (chair), Juliana Barr, Mariana Dantas.

**2009 LACS/SHA Article Prize**, for the best article published by a LACS member in the fields of Latin America, Caribbean, Borderlands and Atlantic World history in 2008:

**David Carey, University of Southern Maine**

"Oficios de su raza y sexo' (Occupations Consistent with Her Race and Sex): Mayan Women and Expanding Gender Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Guatemala." *Journal of Women's History* vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 114-48.

**Prize Committee's comments:**

Carey's article combines archival research and oral history to examine the historical and cultural context in which women might choose to transgress gender norms and their possible motivations. The result is a methodologically innovative and theoretically rich analysis of Mayan women's gender identities that is well written, coherent, and effectively argued. Particularly important is Carey's use of female Kaqchiquel-speaking voices. The article suggests that possibly women had more freedom to violate gender norms than did men (even if there was more room for men within those norms).

*Thanks* to committee members Ida Altman, Trey Proctor and Justin Wolfe.

**2009 Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Prize**, for the best graduate student paper presented at the annual meeting:

**Sitela Álvarez, Florida International University**

"Cuban Exiles' Rejection of Imperialist Catholicism in Key West, 1870-1895"

**Prize Committee's Comments:** Sitela Álvarez presents a fascinating portrait of a rapidly growing south Florida town that saw a significant influx of Cuban exiles in the post-bellum period, many of whom professed or converted to Protestantism. Using contemporary accounts and archival documents, Álvarez deftly explores the political aspects of the religious activity of Cuban exiles in Key West.

*Thanks* to committee members Richmond Brown (chair), William Van Norman, and Theron Corse.

## 2010 LACS Prizes and Committees

**2010 Murdo J. MacLeod Book Prize**, for the best book by a LACS member in the fields of Latin American and Caribbean, Borderlands or Atlantic World History that appeared in print in 2009

**Deadline for submissions: May 31, 2010**

Committee:

Juliana Barr, University of Florida (chair)  
Brian Owensby, University of Virginia  
Yanna Yannakakis, Emory University

*Submitters should contact LACS/SHA Treasurer Matt Childs at [childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu) to inquire about the author's membership status or for the author to join LACS.*

Submitters should send one copy of the book to each committee member (3 in total) at the following:

Juliana Barr  
Department of History  
University of Florida  
Keene Flint 021  
PO Box 117320  
Gainesville, FL 32611-7320  
[jbarr@ufl.edu](mailto:jbarr@ufl.edu)

Brian Owensby  
Department of History  
University of Virginia  
P.O. Box 4000180  
Charlottesville, VA 22904-4180  
[bpo3a@virginia.edu](mailto:bpo3a@virginia.edu)

Yanna Yannakakis  
Department of History  
Emory University  
Atlanta, GA 30322  
[yanna.yannakakis@emory.edu](mailto:yanna.yannakakis@emory.edu)

*Kimberly Hanger Prize*, for the best article by a LACS member in the fields of Latin American, Caribbean, Borderlands, or Atlantic World History in 2009

**Deadline for Submissions: May 31, 2010**

Committee:

Louis Pérez, Jr., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (chair)

Barry Robinson, Samford University

Jane Mangan, Davidson College

*Authors should contact LACS/SHA Treasurer Matt Childs at [childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:childsmd@mailbox.sc.edu) to inquire about their membership status or to join LACS.*

Authors should send an electronic version or a hard copy of the article to each of the following:

Louis Pérez, Jr.  
Department of History  
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
CB # 3195, Hamilton Hall  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195  
[perez@email.unc.edu](mailto:perez@email.unc.edu)

Barry Robinson  
History Department  
Howard College of Arts and Sciences  
Samford University  
800 Lakeshore Drive  
Birmingham, AL 35229  
[bmrobins@samford.edu](mailto:bmrobins@samford.edu)

Jane Mangan  
Department of History  
Davidson College  
Box 6990  
Davidson, NC 28035-6990  
[jamangan@davidson.edu](mailto:jamangan@davidson.edu)

### **The 2010 Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. Paper Prize**

Graduate student presenters at the SHA meeting in Louisville will be eligible for the Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., Prize, presented for the best graduate student paper on Latin American and Caribbean, Borderlands or Atlantic World history presented at the 2010 SHA meeting. The committee is as follows:

Michael Francis, University of North Florida  
Pablo Gomez, Texas Christian University  
Marc Eagles, Western Kentucky University

For more information, contact:

Michael Francis  
[jfrancis@unf.edu](mailto:jfrancis@unf.edu)

## **PROGRAM OF THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN SECTION (LACS) OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

### **CHARLOTTE, 2010**

*LACS/SHA 2010 Program Committee:*

**Tom Rogers**, UNC Charlotte (chair)  
**Andrew McMichael**, Western Kentucky University  
**Rosanne Adderley**, Tulane University

#### **1. Slavery and the Atlantic World in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University, chair

Alexandra Cornelius-Diallo, Florida International University: 'A Well-Constructed Female Figure': Science, Beauty, and Labor in the Atlantic World

Joanna Elrick, Vanderbilt University: A Recalcitrant Bishop, Cabildos de Nación, and Religious Creolization in Eighteenth-Century Cuba

Mark J. Fleszar, Georgia State University: "...to see how happy the human race can be": A Colonization Experiment on Haiti's Northern Coast, 1835-1845

David Barry Gaspar, Duke University: "Very Proper People": British Recruitment of Slaves in the Leeward Islands During the Seven Years' War (1761-1763)

Matt Childs, University of South Carolina, commentator

## **2. Family and Kinship in the Atlantic World**

Lyman Johnson, UNC Charlotte, chair

Mariana Dantas, Ohio University: Family, inheritance, race, and social mobility in a Brazilian slave society: the case of the Vieira da Costa family in 18th-century Minas Gerais

Sarah Franklin, University of Southern Mississippi: The Slave Family in Sancti Spiritus: A Quantitative Analysis

Karen Y. Morrison, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: Afro-Cuban Families under Slavery: The State of the Research

Tyler Parry, University of South Carolina: 'Africanizing' the Slave Family: Marriage and Kinship in an Atlantic Perspective

Charlotte Cosner, Western Carolina University, commentator

## **3. Women, Performance, and the Politics of Biography in Latin America, 1920s-1940s**

Jurgen Buchenau, UNC Charlotte, chair

Jocelyn Olcott, Duke University: Performing Motherhood: Concha Michel and the Politics of Mexican Maternalism

Christine Ehrick, University of Louisville: "Chaplin in Skirts"?: Niní Marshall and the Female Comic Voice in Argentina, 1935-1945

Ivonne Wallace Fuentes, Roanoke College: The Final Fraud: Magda Portal and the Break from APRA, 1945-1948

Gregory Crider, Winthrop University: Organized Labor, Luis Napoleón Morones, and the Assassination of Alvaro Obregón

Mary Kay Vaughan, University of Maryland, commentator

## **4. Sport's Agency: Sport as a Creative Force in Latin America**

Enver Casimir, UNC Chapel Hill: "Racial Hierarchies, National Hierarchies and the Perception of Sport in Republican Cuba"

Jeffrey Richey, UNC Chapel Hill: "Playing at Nation: Buenos Aires, the Provinces and the *Campeonato Argentino* Soccer Tournament, 1916-1930"

Joshua Nadel, North Carolina Central University: "Something New?: Women's Soccer and Gender in Latin America"

Jeffrey Kerr-Ritchie, Howard University, chair and commentator

## **5. Politics, Politicians, and the Political in Authoritarian Brazil and Mexico**

John D. French, Duke University: Brazil's Lula, the "Bearded Toad," in 1989: From the "Republic of São Bernardo" to President of the Republic?

Bryan Pitts, Duke University: "The Funeral of Democracy": The Moreira Alves Case, Elite Political Culture, and the Birth of Dictatorship in Brazil

Derek Bentley, University of Georgia: The Cultural Politics of Capital in Post-1968 Mexico

William Kelly, Texas Christian University: Intellectuals and the Fourth Break in Mexican History: A Legacy of Tlatelolco

Jerry Dávila, UNC Charlotte, chair and commentator



**Phi Alpha Theta Graduate Student Panel**  
**Brazil in Atlantic Perspective, from the Colonial Period to the First Republic**

Richmond Brown, University of Florida, chair

Roberto Chauca, University of Florida: Drawing Borderlines: Jesuit Cartography and the Configuration of Space in Maynas

Andréa Ferreira, University of Florida: Transfiguring the Amazon: Euclides da Cunha and Rio Branco on the Incorporation of the Amazon and the Consolidation of Brazilian State

Daniel Domingues da Silva, Emory University: The African Origins of Slaves Leaving Angola in the Nineteenth Century

Cari Sloan Williams, Emory University: From Military Forts and Military Men to Slave Depots and Slave Traders: Illegal Slave Trading in Guanabara Bay, Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1840

Marshall Eakin, Vanderbilt University, commentator

**2011 Call for Papers (*deadline, October 1, 2010*)**

The Latin American and Caribbean Section (LACS) of the Southern Historical Association welcomes individual papers and panels for its meeting in Baltimore, Md. November 2011. LACS accepts papers and panels on all aspects of Latin American and Caribbean History, including the fields of the Borderlands and the Atlantic World. Panels and papers that highlight the connections between people, cultures, and areas of these regions are especially welcome. Submissions should include a 250-word abstract for each paper and brief curriculum vitae for each presenter. We encourage faculty as well as advanced graduate students to submit panels and papers. Graduate students are eligible for the Ralph Lee Woodward Jr. Prize, awarded for the best graduate student paper in a panel organized by LACS. Please note that the Program Committee may revise proposed panels. All panelists are required to be members of LACS. For information about membership, please visit the website: <http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/> or contact Matt Childs at the University of South Carolina ([mdchilds@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:mdchilds@mailbox.sc.edu)). For more information about the Southern Historical Association, visit the website: <http://www.uga.edu/~sha/>

Deadline for submissions is **October 1, 2010**. Complete panels are appreciated, but not required.

Submit panels and papers (with a preference for electronic submissions) to:

Ben Vinson, III, Director  
Center for Africana Studies  
The Johns Hopkins University  
Greenhouse 118  
3400 N. Charles Street  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
Phone: (410) 516-4384  
[bvinson2@jhu.edu](mailto:bvinson2@jhu.edu)

Latin American and Caribbean Section Luncheon Address  
Southern Historical Association Louisville, 6 November 2009

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LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: REFLECTIONS ON A HALF-CENTURY OF TEACHING  
AND RESEARCH

©Ralph Lee Woodward Jr.  
Professor Emeritus, Tulane University

Self-examination of my now more than half-century in Latin American history has been a humbling experience and one that I might not have ever done had Richmond Brown not invited me to do so here. I have had to do this almost entirely from memory, since nearly all of my records and personal papers were swept away by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. At my age, I am not confident that my memory is always accurate, but I shall do my best here. I've often been asked, as I'm sure have many of you, how and why I became interested in Latin American history. In my case, it's not a simple answer, for it was not so much a conscious decision on my part as it was a drifting into this field over a period of several years. Aside from a family genealogist's contention that I am a descendant of the thirteenth-century Alfonso el Sabio, I had no family or other links to the Hispanic world. Yet as an undergraduate at what today is Central Methodist University, I had a remarkably effective and influential Spanish professor. I thought I was merely satisfying the language requirement with him, but Jim Cullen, who emphasized speaking the language, after one year in his class encouraged me to go to a Mexican summer school in 1954. My language and Mexican history courses at the Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás Hidalgo, in Morelia, were excellent, but getting to know Michoacán and other areas of central Mexico was even more important to shaping my interests, as was the U.S.-backed overthrow of the Guatemalan government of Col. Jacobo Arbenz during that summer. That was a topic of active discussion with the Mexican students I met in Morelia and with the family with whom I boarded. A massive anti-American demonstration on the central plaza of Morelia left an indelible impression on me and initiated my long interest in Guatemala.

More immediately, however, I finished my history major with a general intention of applying to law school once I had completed the military obligation demanded by the Korean War. Two years in the Marine Corps did not bring me much closer to Latin America, but they greatly widened my vision of this country and the world, as I spent training time in Virginia and Oklahoma and then served in the Fleet Marine Force as an artillery officer in Hawaii and in a special brigade sent to assist the Philippine army in its counter-insurgency against remnants of the Huk Rebellion.<sup>1</sup> My principal task there, in northern Luzon, was to assure local residents –

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1. See "Huk Rebellion," *GlobalSecurity.org*, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/philippines1.htm>, accessed 3 June 2009; see also Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

who despite more than a half-century under U.S. rule, and recently independent, still spoke more Spanish than English – that whatever we destroyed in our campaign would be paid for. If not Latin America, the Philippines made me more aware of the lasting effects of Spanish colonialism, and it was while I was there that I submitted several applications to graduate schools in Latin American studies, which eventually brought me to Tulane in the fall of 1957. I had lost my interest in the law in favor of a career in the foreign service and had decided that area studies in Latin America might be a good preparation for that.

At Tulane, under the guidance of William J. Griffith, I quickly gravitated toward Guatemalan studies, owing both to Griffith's area of expertise and the magnificent Guatemalan collection in Tulane's Latin American Library. My preference at that time for contemporary affairs led me to a master's thesis that traced Guatemalan urban labor organization from 1920 to 1954. That fueled my first scholarly publication, a chapter of the thesis dealing with the Guatemalan Communist newspaper of the 1950s, *Octubre*, and its appeal to urban labor.<sup>2</sup>

Griffith's long residence in Guatemala in the 1940s and his insight and many contacts in that country were enormously helpful to me throughout my career. He urged me to look further back in Guatemalan history, arguing persuasively that contemporary history had serious limitations of perspective and sources. He had, in fact, already picked out my dissertation topic, a study of Guatemala's *consulado de comercio*, or merchant guild, from its establishment in 1793 to its final suppression in 1871. Apart from the importance of this institution in the economic and political history of Central America, the topic proved highly beneficial to my understanding of the region's history. By forcing me back into the late colonial period and forward across the struggles for independence well into the early national period, the topic gave me a substantial breadth of Central American history beyond the usual categorization of historians as colonialists or national period specialists. It also led me to inevitable comparisons of Bourbon Spanish rule with policies pursued by both Liberals and Conservatives after independence, as well as a better understanding of the role of institutions in the Spanish world. A year in Guatemala (1960-61) with some travel to the other Central American states was my first extended residence in Latin America and taught me much more than just what I found in the Guatemalan national archives.

I still remember vividly my first day in Guatemala. My wife and I had driven across Mexico, the last 200 miles on a railroad flatcar from Ariaga to Tapachula, the Inter-American Highway not yet completed. Traveling in mid-May, 1960, we had hoped to precede the rainy season, when many Guatemalan roads suffer landslides or become otherwise impassable. We were unsuccessful in that endeavor and after clearing customs at the border – facilitated by gifts of Mexican rum and American cigarettes – we proceeded in heavy rain along the new Pacific coast highway. We had not gone far, however, before we came to our first "NO HAY PASO" sign and proceeded to follow a series of poorly marked detours through coffee *fincas* on the Pacific slopes, getting new directions from the inhabitants at each indigenous village we passed through. Crossing over rickety and swinging bridges, we were immersed in the most beautiful and luxuriant green foliage I had ever seen. The indigenous people protected themselves from the rain with giant banana leaves, although in more recent years these would be replaced with

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2. "Octubre: Communist Appeal to the Urban Labor Force of Guatemala, 1950-1953," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 4 (1962):363-374.

great sheets of plastic. Somehow, we came out at Mazatenango, where we found a squalid little hotel in which to spend the night before progressing more easily the next day to the capital.

My dissertation revealed the dominance of the Guatemala City merchants over the economic development of Guatemala and led me to search for the nature of the merchant guild's relationships with the other provinces of the Kingdom and in the Central American federation. In the archives, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to Don Joaquín Pardo, the long time director of what is now the Archivo General de Centroamérica. He not only shared his vast knowledge of the records held there, but also gave me valuable tips and insight on interpreting what he helped me find. One incident that occurred when I was nearing the end of my time in Guatemala was illustrative of his help. I mentioned to him that I was going through a large *legajo* of documents relating to the end of the colonial era and wasn't sure I'd have time to get through it before I left. So he told me to take it home for the weekend, which I did, and to my amazement found included in this *legajo* the original Central American Declaration of Independence of 15 September 1821. That document now is preserved behind glass in the archive's exhibition area.

In December of 1960 I made an automobile trip through the other Central American states at a time when the Inter-American highway was still more a project than a reality. Although my time in each of the other states of the isthmus was brief, it gave me a first-hand sense of the differences and similarities among the five states, as well as some experience in their respective archives. This trip included an unscheduled interview with Luis Somoza. I was searching for the Nicaraguan National Archives, which were reportedly in the National Palace, although most of its documents had been destroyed by fire in 1931. On the main floor of the Palace I found no sign of them. There were the offices of the various ministries and one labeled "Presidencia." Schooled in the idea that its often best to start at the top and work down, I presented myself to President Somoza's attractive secretary, who graciously informed me that the National Archives – what was left of them after fires and earthquakes – were in a small wooden shack on the roof of the palace, but she also asked me if I wouldn't like to meet President Somoza. She ushered me into the plush executive office and introduced me to his excellency as a "distinguished scholar from the United States." We chatted for about half an hour about politics in our respective states. When Luis learned that I was from Louisiana he took special interest. He told me that Nicaragua was now having elections just like Louisiana. Opening the drawer of a little table, he pulled out a pile of bumper stickers to prove that he knew how things were done in Louisiana.

The ease of visiting Central American chiefs-of-state would eventually erode, but not before I had found presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala equally accessible, not to mention other high officials of church and state. During that same trip, Nicaragua and Costa Rica were in an undeclared war along their common border. This delayed our passage somewhat, but without mishap, while we listened to tirades from either Nica or Tica officials about their counterparts across the border.

Later in that year I made an auto trip to El Salvador in order to renew my Guatemalan vehicle permit. I took the new Pacific coastal highway, but when I reached the Río Paz that divides the two states to my dismay the bridge was not yet finished. Moreover, reflecting fundamental problems among the Central American states at the time, failure to coordinate between the engineers had resulted in the Salvadoran highway arriving at the Río de Paz about a mile downstream from the Guatemalan terminus. The rainy season had not yet begun, so I was with some difficulty and the assistance of the bridge building crew able to ford the Río Paz. On

the Salvadoran side a lone soldier defended his country's border, and told me that they had not yet established an immigration or customs station at this crossing, but he had no objection to my proceeding. A local *campesino* volunteered to guide me on a rough road through the cornfields to the Salvadoran highway and in due course I reached the port of Acajutla, at that time El Salvador's principal port of entry on the Pacific. It was late in the day by this time and in any case it turned out that it was a national holiday and the customs house there was closed, although it was in fact quite open and a festive party was in progress. The Captain of the Port, a bright young officer, invited me to join in, while telling me that he could not provide me with the appropriate stamp in my passport to show that I had entered my car into El Salvador because he only had a stamp indicating "Entrada por mar," and I had entered "por tierra." In any case, over a glass of rum punch, he suggested that I should join in the festivities and offered me a bed for the night. In the morning, after a splendid breakfast, he decided that he could stamp the passport "Entrada por mar," but striking out "mar" and writing in "tierra." I proceeded on to San Salvador and on my return to Guatemala via the highland route I received my new 30-day permit for my car.

Numerous revisions to my dissertation demanded by Bill Griffith left me with a manuscript that was ready for publication. Nevertheless, I faced the unhappy reality of having it rejected, despite very favorable readers' reports, by two university presses (Florida and Texas if I remember correctly), on the grounds that the market for such a book would be too limited. I was eventually vindicated, however, for by that time I had joined the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and its press published my dissertation as a volume in the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. The book received runner-up recognition for the Herbert Eugene Bolton Prize for 1966 and soon was out of print.<sup>3</sup> A subsequent edition in Spanish, published by EDUCA in San José de Costa Rica, also sold well.<sup>4</sup>

My move to Chapel Hill came after two temporary replacement posts at the universities of Wichita and Southwestern Louisiana, both of which were enjoyable interludes. The Cuban Revolution had sparked great interest in Latin America. Having finished my dissertation and limited in what research materials were immediately available in Wichita or Lafayette, I turned my attention toward Cuba, essentially applying the methodology I had used in my master's thesis to that country's labor movement, greatly aided by the cooperation of Blas Roca and the Cuban Ministry of Labor with documents and publications. The resulting article in *Caribbean Studies*<sup>5</sup> was my only publication in Cuban history, but I continued to teach Caribbean history throughout my career, often combining it with Central America in a two-semester course that at Tulane we called "Middle America."

The spring of 1963 was an especially career-defining time for me, for I had also applied to the State Department for a foreign service appointment. That process had taken more than a year, with a written exam and subsequent interview. Coincidentally, I received offers from the State Department and from the University of North Carolina in the same week, forcing me to

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3. *Class Privilege and Economic Development: The Consulado de Comercio of Guatemala, 1793-1871* (The James Sprunt Studies in History & Political Science, Vol. 48) (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

4. *Privilegio de clase y desarrollo económico, Guatemala: 1793-1871* (San José de Costa Rica: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1981).

5. "Urban Labor and Communism: Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* 2 (1963): 363-374.

decide whether I would pursue a diplomatic or academic career. I decided in favor of academia and moved to Chapel Hill in the fall. I've never regretted that decision and have subsequently realized that I am not a very diplomatic person and would probably have been a disaster in the foreign service.

The decade of the 'sixties was an exciting time at UNC. It was one of those campuses that was alive with reaction to the political assassinations of that decade and to the Vietnam War. It was also a campus where the faculty played a strong role in university governance, and where I developed a strong sense of a united faculty's strength and its obligations to protect the institution. Under the enthusiastic direction of Federico Gil, a dynamic Latin American Studies program was emerging that included collaboration with nearby Duke University. That collaboration encouraged my close association with John Tate Lanning, John TePaske, and Robert Sydney Smith at Duke, which I treasured greatly. My research, by agreement with my appointment, shifted to the Southern Cone. My limited knowledge of that region encouraged me to seek grants to spend some time there, resulting in 15 months in Chile and 6 months in Argentina as a Fulbright lecturer at both national and Catholic universities in those countries. After being back from Chile only a year before I requested leave again for the Buenos Aires Fulbright, my dean, Lyle Sitterson, a distinguished historian for whom I gained great respect at Chapel Hill, tried to discourage me from returning to South America so soon, but he eventually relented. I had also spent a summer at the AGI in Seville in 1967. My principal research in both Chile and Argentina, as well as in Spain, focused on the *consulados de comercio* in those countries. Some of that work found its way into several articles I have written on the history of the merchant guilds, but most of it remains as yet unpublished, destined for inclusion in a history of that institution throughout the Spanish world on which I am still working. Much more frivolous, stemming from an excursion aboard a lobster schooner, was an episodic history of Chile's Juan Fernández islands that I put together during my time in Valparaíso and which the UNC Press subsequently published.<sup>6</sup> The focus of my new research did not prevent me from completing some articles spun from my dissertation research including one in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* that was cited as runner-up for the Robertson Prize in 1965.<sup>7</sup> Quite apart from my own research while at North Carolina, I began to direct graduate students, primarily M.A. theses, but eventually three doctoral dissertations resulted, the first by a nun, Sister Anna Marie Rhodes,<sup>8</sup> who went on to distinguish herself on the faculty of Spalding

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6. *Robinson Crusoe's Island: A History of the Juan Fernández Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

7. "Economic and Social Origins of the Guatemalan Political Parties (1773-1823)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 45 (1965): 544-66. Other related articles by the author included "Guatemalan Cotton and the American Civil War," *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 18 (Winter 1964): 87-94; "The Guatemalan Merchants and National Defense: 1810," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 45(1965): 452-62; "Mercantile Justice in Guatemala (1793-1871): El Tribunal del Consulado." *Inter-American Law Review* 8 (1966): 293-313; "The Merchants and Economic Development in the Americas, 1750-1850: A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 10 (1968): 134-53.

8. "The Argentine Policy of Fernando VII" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1973). Rhodes was named U.S. Professor of the Year for Kentucky in 1994 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

College here in Louisville; a second by Wilbur Meneray,<sup>9</sup> who recently retired from a long and productive career in the Tulane University Library; and Hank Ackerman, who went on to a highly successful career with the Associated Press, from which he recently retired.<sup>10</sup> Another exciting and gratifying activity that we carried on at Chapel Hill was training of Peace Corps volunteers for Latin America.

Also researching in the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires during my semester there was the late Jim Scobie. We often lunched together. Jim was editing a series of national histories for Oxford University Press of which his own *Argentina: A City and a Nation*<sup>11</sup> had been the pilot. In the course of things, he invited me to write the volume on Central America.

Acceptance of the Oxford contract for that book figured heavily in my decision to leave Chapel Hill and the Southern Cone in 1970 to accept an offer to return to Tulane and Central American studies following the retirement of Bill Griffith. It allowed me to focus again on Central America, which I did for most of the next thirty years. The Chapel Hill years, however, were extremely valuable to me in giving me a much broader perspective of Latin America than I would have ever had if I had not had that experience in Chile and the Argentine. Becoming actively involved in research and/or teaching with regions and periods outside the narrow focus of one's dissertation is essential, I believe. I almost always taught the Latin American survey, which I think helped me to keep a broader Latin American focus, even as my research became more narrowly focused on nineteenth-century Central America. Until returning to Tulane, I had always taught the Latin American survey as a 2-semester course, but with curriculum changes and increasing demands on students to take more courses in international studies, we experimented with offering the survey as a one-semester course. It attracted many more students than before and provided a gateway to more advanced courses in Latin American studies. Another innovation in curriculum that we applied at Tulane was to get a requirement in the curriculum for all undergraduates to take at least one social science course outside the traditional areas of United States and Europe.. Latin American enrollments gained greatly from this innovation and helped Tulane maintain a larger faculty of Latin Americanists.<sup>12</sup>

Before I left UNC, Ed Lieuwen had invited me to put together a reader on Positivism in Latin America for his "Problems in Latin American Civilization" series with D. C. Heath. This

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9. On "The Kingdom of Guatemala during the Reign of Charles III" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1975).

10. "A History of *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires" (Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1970). Ackerman successively held positions at *The New York Times*, as a 1st Lieutenant, U.S. Army Signal Corps in Panama, and United Press International in Argentina before joining The Associated Press (1972-2007). He worked as a writer, editor, news editor, chief of bureau in six different offices in Latin America and the United States.

11. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

12. See the author's "Undergraduates and Latin American Studies: Latin American History Since Independence," *Annals of the Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies* 2(1971): 5-11.

drew me further into nineteenth-century studies as well as economic history. That book came out soon after my arrival in New Orleans.<sup>13</sup>

From Griffith, I inherited several splendid graduate students who completed their work with me, notably David McCreery,<sup>14</sup> Steve Webre,<sup>15</sup> Ken Finney,<sup>16</sup> Fred Edwards,<sup>17</sup> Gene Yeager,<sup>18</sup> and Patricia Brady.<sup>19</sup> Except for Edwards, who was working on nineteenth-century Chile, all of these were deeply into Central American history, ranging from the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and their direction quickly brought me back into isthmian studies. Others followed, sometimes in too great numbers. Among the others I directed in the 1970s at Tulane was the late Lancelot Lewis, a Panamanian of West Indian descent, who studied the condition of West Indian blacks in the construction of the Panama Canal.<sup>20</sup> Soon after, Tom Fiehrer completed a massive dissertation on the Barón de Carondelet, Spanish governor of El Salvador, Louisiana, and Ecuador.<sup>21</sup> John Melzer studied the consulado de comercio during the independence movements in Perú.<sup>22</sup>

From Tulane I was able to spend considerable time in Central America during the next three decades, both on my own research and in directing a series of summer school programs in Guatemala and Costa Rica. My Central American history for Oxford came out in 1976, with

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13. *Positivism in Latin America, 1850-1900: Are Order and Progress Reconcilable?* (Problems in Latin American Civilization, No. 4) (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1971).

14. *Development and the State in Reforma Guatemala, 1871-1885* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1983).

15. "The Social and Economic Bases of Cabildo Membership in Seventeenth-Century Santiago de Guatemala" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1980). Webre's MA thesis was published as *José Napoleon Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in San Salvadoran politics, 1960-1972* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

16. *In Quest of El Dorado: Precious Metal Mining and the Modernization of Honduras, 1880-1900* (New York: Garland, 1987).

17. *Chilean Economic Policy Goals, 1811-1829: A Study in Late Eighteenth-Century Social Mercantilism and Early Nineteenth-Century Economic Reality* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1971).

18. "The Honduran Foreign Debt, 1825-1853" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1975).

19. "Guatemalan Political Parties: Development of Interest Groups, 1820-1822," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1977).

20. Lancelot S. Lewis, *The West Indian in Panama: Black Labor in Panama, 1850-1914* (Washington: University Press of America, 1980).

21. Thomas M. Fiehrer, "The Baron de Carondelet as Agent of Bourbon Reform: A Study of Spanish Colonial Administration in the Years of the French Revolution," 2 vols., unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1977.

22. John T. S. Melzer, *Bastion of Commerce in the City of Kings: The Consulado de Comercio de Lima, 1593-1887* (Lima: Editorial Concytec Perú, 1985). Melzer's doctoral dissertation was more limited in scope: "Kingdom to Republic in Peru: The Consulado de Comercio of Lima and the Independence of Peru, 1809-1825," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1980.



subsequent editions in 1985 and 1999.<sup>23</sup> I also spent a year in Paris (1975-76) directing Tulane's Junior-Year-Abroad program in Europe. That year opened up many new opportunities for learning and broadening perspectives, not the least of which was learning Parisian French. Much of my spare time in Paris, however, was spent on a volume I had agreed to do commemorating the bicentennial of the American Revolution. I edited and translated a group of documents honoring Spanish Louisiana Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, along with an essay of my own on Gálvez's role in the American Revolution.<sup>24</sup>

In the 'eighties the turbulent events in Central America led to a great increase in the number of graduate students. Among those who received PhDs, Peter Lampros investigated the consulado de comercio of Havana.<sup>25</sup> The late Jorge Mario Salazar studied the political history of his native Costa Rica in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> Derek Kerr, who studied criminal justice in colonial Louisiana,<sup>27</sup> was the first of a wave of great Canadian students who invaded Tulane in the 'eighties and 'nineties, several of them sent from Saskatchewan by Guatemalan historian Jim Handy. Among those Canadians were Jim Bingham,<sup>28</sup> Sonya Lipsett,<sup>29</sup> Karen Racine,<sup>30</sup> Heather Thiessen-Reilly,<sup>31</sup> and Wade Kit.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, Paul Dosal wrote a brilliant analysis of the

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23. *Central America, A Nation Divided* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, 1985, & 1999).

24. *Tribute to Don Bernardo de Gálvez: Royal Patents and an Epic Ballad Honoring the Governor of Spanish Louisiana* (Baton Rouge & New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 1979).

25. Peter J. Lampros, "Merchant-Planter Cooperation and Conflict: The Havana Consulado, 1794-1832," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1980.

26. Jorge Mario Salazar Mora, "Las políticas reformistas en Costa Rica, 1940-1958," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1980. Salazar published a somewhat broader study, incorporating this dissertation, as *Política y reforma en Costa Rica, 1914-1958* (San José de Costa Rica: Porvenir, 1981).

27. Derek N. Kerr, *Petty Felony, and Frontier Villany: Crime and Criminal Justice in Spanish Louisiana, 1730-1803* (New York: Garland, 1993).

28. James Bingham, "Guatemalan Agriculture During the Administration of President Manuel Estrada Cabrera, 1898-1920," unpublished M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1974.

29. Sonya A. Lipsett, "Study of the Spanish Administration of Louisiana: Collective Biography of Post Commandants," Unpublished M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1984. Lipsett went on to write a doctoral dissertation, "Water and Social Conflict in Colonial Mexico: Puebla, 1680-1810" in 1988 under the direction of Richard Greenleaf, later published as *To Defend our Water with the Blood of our Veins: The Struggle for Resources in Colonial Puebla* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

30. Karen Racine, "Life and Social Thought of a Latin American Pensador: Alberto Masferrer of El Salvador," unpublished M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1991. Racine went on to write a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Trudy Yeager, "Imagining Independence: London's Spanish American Community, 1790-1829," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1996.

31. Thiessen wrote her doctoral dissertation under the direction of Trudy Yeager, "Puertas muy altas para gente tan baja: Mnuel Isidoro Belzu and the Pursuit of the Modern Bolivian Nation, 1848-1855," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 2002.

32. Wade A. Kit, "Costumbre, Conflict, and Consensus: Kekchí-Finiquero Discourse in the Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, 1880-1930," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1998.

Guatemalan power structure in the Liberal era.<sup>33</sup> Wayne Anderson examined Guatemalan transportation and port development in the same period.<sup>34</sup> Ginny Garrard-Burnett established herself as the leading expert on Protestantism in Guatemala,<sup>35</sup> while Arthur Carpenter visited the question of New Orleans' efforts to maintain its status as the gateway to Latin America in the face of serious competition from Miami and Houston.<sup>36</sup> Michael Fry explored the peculiar relation between land and power in eastern Guatemala in the early nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> In collaboration with Maurice Brungardt at next-door Loyola University, we directed Pamela Murray's study of Colombia's Escuela Nacional de Minas.<sup>38</sup> In the 1990s Regina Wagner studied the impact of German immigration in her native Guatemala.<sup>39</sup> Richmond Brown completed his seminal study of the origins of the Aycinena family in 1993.<sup>40</sup> Steve Gillick looked at labor unionization in Guatemala's banana industry.<sup>41</sup> Jorge González unraveled the complex political history of the Los Altos region of Guatemala,<sup>42</sup> Todd Little wrote a pioneering study of regional limitations on the Liberals' efforts to create national awareness in Guatemala.<sup>43</sup> Oscar Peláez wrote a history of Guatemala City<sup>44</sup> and has followed with a prolific number of books and articles. Blake Pattridge detailed the history of the Universidad de San Carlos de

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33. Paul J. Dosal, *Power in Transition: The Rise of Guatemala's Industrial Oligarchy, 1871-1944* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995).

34. Wayne F. Anderson, "The Development of Export Transportation in Liberal Guatemala, 1871-1920," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1985.

35. Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

36. Arthur E. Carpenter, "Gateway to the Americas: New Orleans's Quest for Latin American Trade, 1900-1970," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1987.

37. Michael Forrest Fry, "Agrarian Society in the Guatemalan Montaña, 1700-1840," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1988.

38. Pamela S. Murray, *Dreams of Development: Colombia's National School of Mines and its Engineers, 1887-1970* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

39. Regina Wagner, *Los alemanes en Guatemala, 1828-1944* (Guatemala: Editorial IDEA, 1991).

40. Richmond Forrest Brown, *Juan Fermín de Aycinena: Central American Colonial Entrepreneur, 1729-1796* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

41. Steven S. Gillick, "Life and Labor in a Banana Enclave: *Bananeros*, the United Fruit Company, and the Limits of Trade Unionism in Guatemala, 1906 to 1931," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1994.

42. Jorge H. González, "History of Los Altos, Guatemala: A Study of Regional Conflict and National Integration," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1994.

43. Todd R. Little-Siebold, "Guatemala and the Dream of a Nation: National Policy and Regional Practice in the Liberal Era, 1871-1945," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1995.

44. Oscar Guillermo Peláez Almengor, "La ciudad de Guatemala, 1776-1954: una panorámica histórica," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1996.

Guatemala in the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Jacqueline Kent traced the exciting career of Alejandro Ramírez,<sup>46</sup> and Peter Szok pioneered study of the popular culture of Panama in the twentieth century.<sup>47</sup> In my final year at Tulane three more finished, including Philippe Seiler with a dissertation on Spain's policy toward rebellion between 1763 and 1783,<sup>48</sup> David Carey, who studied Kaqchiquel conceptions of Guatemalan history,<sup>49</sup> and Timothy Hawkins, with his fine biography of José de Bustamante.<sup>50</sup> There were also some memorable undergraduates along the way that went on to success, notably John Britton at UNC, and Rodolfo Pastor<sup>51</sup> and at Tulane.

Persuaded of the need for better bibliographical tools for Central American history, I compiled a series of volumes in Clio Press's "World Bibliographical Series."<sup>52</sup> These volumes inevitably took more time than they were probably worth and distracted me from working on two major projects I had planned, 1) a biography of Rafael Carrera and 2) a general history of the *consulados de comercio* in the Spanish world. A further distraction from these projects, of course, was the civil wars and turmoil of the 1980s in Central America. I spent a lot of time in Central America in the 80s, especially in Nicaragua and Guatemala, and also traveled greatly in the United States lecturing on the Central American crises.

In Nicaragua, Jimmy Carter's ambassador prior to the Sandinista revolution was a University of Illinois sociologist, Mauricio Solaún, whom I came to know fairly well in Managua. There was obvious U.S. concern over the Sandinistas and their connections to Cuba and the Soviet Union, so that Carter sought to ease Somoza out in favor of a pro-business group representing both the old Conservative and Liberal parties. I recall a dinner at the ambassador's residence, at which, among others including *La Prensa* editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, three prominent Managua businessmen were present. Ambassador Solaún openly encouraged them to

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45. Blake D. Patridge, *Institution Building and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: The University of San Carlos, Guatemala* (New York & Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004).

46. Jacqueline Briggs Kent, "The Enlightenment and Spanish Colonial Administration: The Life and Myth of Alejandro Ramírez y Blanco in Guatemala, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, 1777-1821," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1997.

47. Peter A. Szok, "'La patria es el recuerdo--': Panamanian Nationalism (1903-31)," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1998. Much of this work is reflected in Szok's first book, *La última gaviota: Liberalism and Nostalgia in Early Twentieth-Century Panamá* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001).

48. Philippe L. Seiler, "Response to Rebellion in Bourbon Spain: Colonial Revolt and Imperial Reaction, 1763-1783," unpublished PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1999.

49. David Carey, *Our Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives: xkib'ij kan qate' qatata'* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001).

50. *José de Bustamante & Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

51. Pastor's undergraduate honor's thesis at Tulane, "Desarrollo urbano en la Honduras colonial, 1500-1650" (1975) was of a quality comparable to many doctoral dissertations.

52. *Belize* (WBS, vol. 21) (Oxford: Clio Press, 1980); *Nicaragua* (WBS, vol. 44) (Oxford: Clio Press, 1983); *El Salvador* (WBS, vol. 98) (Oxford: Clio Press, 1988); *Guatemala*, rev. ed. (WBS, vol. 9) (Oxford: Clio Press, 1992); *Nicaragua*, rev. ed. (WBS, vol. 44) (Oxford: Clio Press, 1994).

step up their anti-Somoza activity, suggesting that a business strike aimed at shutting down the economy might force the dictator's resignation. The businessmen, however, expressed great reluctance to make any overt moves against the government without the assurance that the U.S. would send in troops to defend them against expected reprisals. As long as the National Guard remained loyal to Somoza, they felt, it was too dangerous to move overtly against the regime. Ambassador Solaún could not give such an assurance.

To say the least, Tachito Somoza was much less cordial to me than had been his brother nearly two decades earlier. At one point in a televised speech, he labeled me by implication a "communist" and declared me a *persona non grata* in Nicaragua. This put me in rather good company, of course, with all those who opposed the dictator.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after the Sandinista ouster of the Somoza dynasty, I accidentally ran into Daniel Ortega. With the earthquake and war, Managua had all kinds of temporary and makeshift buildings, often with inadequate signs or directories. On one occasion I was searching for the government publications office and went into a temporary building that appeared to be government offices of some kind. Probably it was lunch or siesta time, for although the door was open there was no one in the outer office, so I cautiously walked through an adjacent doorway and called out to anyone who was there. That room was also empty except for a beautiful, large ocelot lying on the floor, eyeing me suspiciously. Before I could retreat, Daniel Ortega bounced in through another door and assured me not to worry, that the cat was harmless. It turned out that I had found the office of the Sandinista Directorate. Ortega asked me what I was looking for. When I told him, he didn't know where it was either, but he invited me in for a chat, which was particularly helpful to me as I was just finishing up an article on contemporary Nicaragua and Ortega's comments were illustrative. I saw Daniel several times after that both before and after he became president in a landslide victory in 1985. He was always friendly and expressive, eager to share his views.

Also during the 'eighties, I directed several summer seminars for high school and college teachers. The 1986 NEH seminar was especially productive, followed up by a field trip to Guatemala, and produced a volume on *The Contemporary Crises in Historical Perspective* with articles by all of the participants: Tom Leonard, Tom Schoonover, Lawrence Yates, Marillyn Moors, Hugh Miller, Edward and Donna Brett, George Castile, John Heyl, David Whisnant, Kai Schoenhals, Hugh Campbell, and Frank Kendrick.<sup>54</sup>

The 'nineties were somewhat quieter, and especially with the help of a Fulbright research grant and a Tulane sabbatical in 1990-91 I was able to complete my biography of Carrera,<sup>55</sup> which in many ways was a history of Central America from 1821 to 1871, I like to think in the

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53. This occurred after I had been interviewed by a Managua TV channel following a popular demonstration against Somoza.

54. *Central America: The Contemporary Crises in Historical Perspective* (Contributions to the Study of World History, No. 10) (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988). This volume included an introduction by Woodward, and articles by Thomas Leonard, Thomas Schoonover, Lawrence Yates, Marillyn Moors, Hubert Miller, Edward and Donna Brett, George Castile, John Heyl, David Whisnant, Kai Schoenhals, Hugh Campbell, and Frank Kendrick.

55. *Rafael Carrera and the Emergence of the Republic of Guatemala, 1821-1871* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993).

tradition of MacLeod's *Spanish Central America*,<sup>56</sup> Wortman's *Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840*,<sup>57</sup> Dunkerley's *Power in the Isthmus*,<sup>58</sup> and perhaps Bulmer-Thomas' *Political Economy of Central America since 1920*.<sup>59</sup> Completion of the Carrera story allowed me to turn to new projects. Although I never turned away completely from Central America, and spent considerable time revising my *Central America, A Nation Divided* for its 3<sup>rd</sup> edition in 1999, I also moved beyond the isthmus. Editing the Central American and Caribbean sections of the *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, working closely on that project with Barbara Tenenbaum of the Library of Congress, took considerable energy and put me more closely in touch with many of you who contributed to those five volumes that came out in 1996.<sup>60</sup> In that same year, I lost my companion of 35 years, Sue Dawn McGrady, to lymphoma. Shortly before her illness, Sue had begun a project of editing a fascinating travel manuscript of Mexico during the Porfiriato by a New Orleans woman, Mary Ashley Townsend. I felt compelled to complete this project and in my only contribution to Mexican history it came out as *Here and There in Mexico* in 2001.<sup>61</sup>

I eventually turned more of my attention to the writing of a general history of the Spanish merchant guilds (*consulados*). I spent two semesters in Spain – in Barcelona in 1997 and Seville in 2000 – adding to the already voluminous notes I had compiled over the past 40 years on this institution that had begun in the thirteenth century and extended well into the nineteenth. In fact, it still exists in Valencia and in a very abbreviated form in Barcelona. I retired from Tulane in 1999, but soon after accepted the Penrose chair at Texas Christian, where I spent my final four years of academic teaching. Being a Texan was a new experience for me, but one that was not at all unpleasant. There I directed four more PhDs, two of whom I had already known as undergraduates at Tulane: Sophie Burton, who wrote a fine social history of colonial Natchitoches, Louisiana,<sup>62</sup> and Heather Judge Abdelnur (better known simply as “Amber”), who explored female criminal justice in late colonial Guatemala.<sup>63</sup> In addition, David Johnson studied

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56. Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

57. Miles Wortman, *Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

58. James Dunkerley, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London: Verso, 1988).

59. Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

60. *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture* (General Editor, Barbara A. Tenenbaum, Associate Editors: Georgette Magassy Dorn, Mary Karasch, John Jay TePaske, and Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr.), 5 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1996).

61. *Here and There in Mexico: The Travel Writings of Mary Ashley Townsend*, edited by Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2001).

62. H. Sophie Burton and F. Todd Smith, *Colonial Natchitoches: A Creole Community on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008).

63. Heather Judge Abdelnur, “A History of Highland Guatemalan Textiles: Lost Opportunities and Colonial Legacies, 1780-1820,” unpublished PhD dissertation, Texas Christian University, 2005.

aspects of the coffee industry in Guatemala,<sup>64</sup> while Aaron Argüedas examined in great detail the administration of Captain General Matías de Gálvez in Guatemala during the American Revolution.<sup>65</sup>

Following my second retirement, from TCU in 2003, new wife, Janice Chatelain, and I settled in beneath nine great live oaks in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. For two years we led an idyllic life and by the summer of 2005 I had begun to write the *consulado* book. Hurricane Katrina interrupted not only that project, but everything else in our lives as well, as the center of the storm passed over Bay St. Louis and a 30-foot storm surge destroyed our house and everything in it. There was little left to salvage. My entire library, most of my notes and other research materials were gone. Six of seven boxes of *consulado* notes, however, while damp, had not been inundated as they had been on the very top shelf of a bookcase in my study on the second floor and may provide enough material to permit the completion of some kind of work on the merchant guilds.

The devastation of the storm persuaded us that at our age rebuilding in Bay St. Louis would be a longer process than we wanted to undertake. After a month in Lafayette, Louisiana, an old friend let us know about a completely furnished house available in Fayette, Missouri, where I had been an undergraduate 50 years earlier. We moved there in October 2005. On the heels of this disaster, Janice suddenly contracted leukemia – perhaps Katrina related – and after a long and courageous struggle to survive, she died in February 2008. Janice’s illness and her treatment at M. D. Anderson Cancer Center in Houston, was in part responsible for my return to Texas as the Joseph and Teresa Long Professor at Tarleton State University in Stephenville, where I taught my final course, a survey of U.S.-Latin American relations in the spring of 2007.

I confess a certain lethargy in resuming my academic pursuits, but my recovery has been greatly enhanced by the new woman in my life, Delores Bland (“Dee”), a classmate from my college years. My *Short History of Guatemala* had gone to press only a few days before Katrina, and I have revised that in an edition that came out last year.<sup>66</sup> Now, after some delays, I’ve begun to look more positively toward the future. I’ve resumed writing the *consulado* book and hope to have it ready for a press within a year or two. Looking back over what is now 52 years of teaching and research, I can say that the most memorable part of it has been the wonderful colleagues I have known throughout this country and Latin America along the way, some of whom are here this afternoon. I am most grateful to so many of you in so many ways. Best wishes to you all.

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64. David C. Johnson, “Confronting a Catch-22: The Guatemalan Coffee Economy during the Era of the International Coffee Agreement, 1961-1989,” unpublished PhD dissertation, Texas Christian University, 2005.

65. Aaron Argüedas, “The Kingdom of Guatemala Under the Military Reform, 1755-1808,” unpublished PhD dissertation, Texas Christian University, 2006.

66. *A Short History of Guatemala* (Antigua Guatemala: Editorial Laura Lynn, 2005, 2008).

## THE HISTORY OF LACS

### *About LACS*

LACS was formally established in 1998, at the SHA meeting in Birmingham, Alabama. Founded in 1934, the Southern Historical Association is the professional organization of historians *of* the South, but also of those *in* the South. In recent decades it has perhaps become more recognized as the former, but through the European History Section and the Latin American and Caribbean Section, and the affiliated groups, the Southern Association for Women Historians (SAWH) and the Southern Conference on British Studies, it also supports the work of historians located in the US South whose research and teaching areas fall outside of the region in which they happen to be employed.

Although historians of Latin America, the Caribbean and the Spanish Borderlands have long been active in the SHA, particularly through the aegis of the Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies (SECOLAS, founded in 1954), the relationship has sometimes been an awkward one. LACS was established to formalize relations between historians of Latin America and the Caribbean, on the one hand, and the SHA on the other hand, and to secure a place for Latin American and Caribbean specialists at the annual meeting. The late Kimberly Hanger, a talented young historian at the University of Tulsa who played an important role in establishing the group, was elected its first president. Tragically, Kim died just a few months into her term, at the age of 37 (each year a LACS panel is designated in her honor). Jürgen Buchenau of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, another key figure in the establishment of LACS, completed Kim's term in office and then his own term the following year. Jürgen later became the first LACS representative to the SHA Executive Council in 2002. The LACS representative was accorded full voting rights beginning with the 2005 meeting.

In addition to these and other founders of LACS, longtime SHA Secretary-Treasurer John Inscoe of the University of Georgia has been especially helpful in supporting LACS' participation in the SHA and advancing the exchange of ideas among historians of the US South and the historians of Latin America, the Caribbean and the Spanish Borderlands. For more on the history of LACS, see John Britton's piece in the September 2008 newsletter at the LACS/SHA website: <http://www.tnstate.edu/lacs/>

### *LACS/SHA Officers and Awards, 1998-present*

#### *President*

Kimberly Hanger, University of Tulsa (1998-9)  
Jürgen Buchenau, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (1999-2000)  
Todd Diacon, University of Tennessee (2000-1)  
Tim Henderson, Auburn University Montgomery (2001-2)  
Richmond Brown, University of South Alabama (2002-3)  
Marshall Eakin, Vanderbilt University (2003-4)  
Virginia Gould, Tulane University (2004-5)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2005-6)  
Sherry Johnson, Florida International University (2006-7)  
Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University (2007-8)  
Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (2008-9)  
Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University (2009-10)  
Juliana Barr, University of Florida (president-elect for 2010-11)

### *Treasurer*

Rosemary Brana-Shute, College of Charleston (1998-2003)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2003-2005)  
Michael LaRosa, Rhodes College (2005-2009)  
Matt Childs, University of South Carolina (2009-)

### *Secretary*

Rosemary Brana-Shute, College of Charleston (1998-2003)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (2003-2005)  
Theron Corse, Tennessee State University (2005-present)

### *Program Chairs*

Todd Diacon, University of Tennessee (Louisville, 2000)  
Tim Henderson, Auburn University at Montgomery (New Orleans, 2001)  
Richmond Brown, University of South Alabama (Baltimore, 2002)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (Houston, 2003)  
Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University (Memphis, 2004)  
Michael Polushin, University of Southern Mississippi (Atlanta, 2005)  
Jay Clune, University of West Florida (Birmingham, 2006)  
William Connell, Christopher Newport University (Richmond, 2007)  
Rosanne Adderley, Vanderbilt University (New Orleans, 2008)  
Andrew McMichael, Western Kentucky University (Louisville, 2009)  
Thomas Rogers, University of North Carolina at Charlotte (Charlotte, 2010)  
Ben Vinson, III, The Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 2011)

### *SHA Executive Council Representative*

Jürgen Buchenau, UNC Charlotte (2002-2004)  
Richmond Brown, University of Florida (2005-2007)  
Sherry Johnson, Florida International University (2008-10)  
Barbara Ganson, Florida Atlantic University (2011-13)

### *Luncheon Speakers*

- 2000 Murdo MacLeod, University of Florida: “Native Cofradías in Colonial Guatemala”
- 2001 Thomas Skidmore, Brown University: “Confessions of a Brazilianist”
- 2002 Franklin Knight, The Johns Hopkins University: “Regional vs. Global History”
- 2003 Thomas F. O’Brien, University of Houston: “Inter-American History from Structuralism to the New Cultural History”
- 2004 John Chasteen, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: “What Dance History Teaches about the Latin American Past”



- 2005 Susan Socolow, Emory University: “Constructing the Nation: Monuments in Buenos Aires and Montevideo”
- 2006 Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University: “Ecclesiastical Records and the Study of Slavery in the Americas”
- 2007 N. David Cook, Florida International University: “Anecdotes from the Archives: The Times they are A-changing”
- 2008 Dauril Alden, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington: “Terror on Land and Sea: The Barbary Corsairs and Their Rivals, 16th to 19th Centuries”
- 2009 Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., Professor of History Emeritus, Tulane University  
“Latin American History: Reflections on a Half-Century of Teaching and Research.”

*RL Woodward, Jr. Prize Winners (Best Graduate Student Paper)*

- 2001 Matthew Smith, University of Florida: “Race, Resistance and Revolution in Post-Occupation Haiti, 1934-46”
- 2002 Barry Robinson, Vanderbilt University: “Treachery in Colotlán (Mexico): The Problem of Individual Agency in Regional Insurgency, 1810-1815”
- 2003 Sophie Burton, Texas Christian University: “Free Blacks in Natchitoches”
- 2004 David Wheat, Vanderbilt University: “Black Society in Havana”
- 2005 Magdalena Gomez, Florida International University: "La primera campaña de vacunación contra la viruela y el impacto del establecimiento de las Juntas de Vacuna en la administración de la salud pública, en el Caribe Hispano y la Capitanía de Venezuela, a comienzos del siglo XIX"
- 2006 Pablo Gomez, Vanderbilt University: “Slavery and Disability in Cartagena de Indias, Nuevo Reina de Granada”
- 2007 Tatiana Seijas, Yale University: “*Indios Chinos* in Colonial Mexico’s *República de Indios*”
- 2008 Leo B. Gorman, University of New Orleans: “Immigrant Labor Strife and Solidarity in Post-Katrina New Orleans”
- 2009 Sitela Alvarez, Florida International University, Cuban Exiles’ Rejections of Imperialist Catholicism in Key West, 1870-1895”

*Book Prize Winners (now the Murdo MacLeod Prize)*

- 2003 Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001
- 2005 Barbara Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003
- 2007 Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- 2008 Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007
- 2009 Brian Owensby, *Empire's Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford University Press, 2008

*Best Article Prize Winners (now the Kimberly Hanger Prize)*

- 2002 Hal Langfur, "Uncertain Refuge: Frontier Formation and the Origins of the Botocudo War in Late-Colonial Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:2 (May 2002): 215-56.
- 2004 María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," *William and Mary Quarterly*, July 2004.
- 2006 Paulo Drinot, "Madness, Neurasthenia and 'Modernity': Medico-Legal and Popular Interpretations of Suicide in Early Twentieth-Century Lima" *Latin American Research Review*, 39:2 (2004).
- 2008 Ida Altman, "The Revolt of Enriquillo and the Historiography of Early Spanish America," *The Americas*, 63:4 (2007): 587-614
- 2009 David Carey, "'Oficios de su raza y sexo' (Occupations Consistent with Her Race and Sex): Mayan Women and Expanding Gender Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Guatemala." *Journal of Women's History* vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 114-48.