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BIANCA PREMO

HOW LATIN AMERICA'S HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD CAME OF AGE

Bianca Premo introduces readers in her complex, challenging essay to the field of childhood studies that emerged officially in Latin America in the 1990s. But, reiterating the theme of Joseph Hawes's "Hidden in Plain Sight," Premo lays out the substantially longer history of the field as scholars of family history, of slavery, of illegitimacy, and of gender have been actually tracking childhood and children for many decades. Premo delineates the interactions among these disciplines while also indicating some of the distinguishing characteristics of Latin American childhood. She introduces notions of "circulating" childhoods passed in a variety of institutions and contexts rather than within one family, and of children adjusting to the economic pressures of globalization by multiplying the meanings of family and in the process, gaining more mothers.—M.S.

*A*s my title reveals, historians of childhood in Latin America sometimes cannot resist a pun. But we normally prefer to play on words when describing our "nascent" subfield, which claims a historiography on childhood that is still in its "infancy."¹ Indeed, compared to the history of childhood in Northern Europe and the United States, in which studies of children grew relatively steadily after the pioneering efforts of historians such as Philippe Ariès and Lawrence Stone in the 1960s and 70s, the study of children *qua* children in Latin America's past chiefly dates from the late 1990s on.

While there may be multiple explanations for Latin America's apparent late arrival to the field, one most certainly has to do with the way that the history of childhood has been defined and developed as a "Western" narrative of modernization. In this essay, I seek to do more than insert Spanish America and Brazil into this narrative by cataloging the recent contributions from south of the border. I also wish to make the case that, in fact, historians of Latin America have long been writing a history of children and youths, particularly in their studies of the family, slavery, illegitimacy, and gender.

Much of this history has run a parallel, rather than intersecting, course with the approach taken by scholars of the U.S. and Northern Europe. Nevertheless, Latin American historians recently have begun to consider their own work on

children and youths within the broader academic literature on children—both the historical works produced in the U.S. and Europe and the anthropological and sociological scholarship on children in the twentieth century that Latin Americanists themselves have generated.² In other words, there has of late appeared a more conventional “history of childhood” for Spanish America and Brazil, a development that is ultimately most valuable in illuminating what is and has been unique about growing up in Latin America.

Traditionally, historians of the West have been concerned with that pivotal moment in which the “modern” notion of childhood itself was invented. Of course, the precise moment of invention has been toggled forward and backward ever since Ariès first tried to pinpoint it. But, regardless of where scholars placed the “invention of childhood” on a timeline, and regardless of whether they celebrated or bemoaned that it was invented all, most have shared in Ariès’s conviction that we now live in modern times. Thus, for many of these historians, modernity as much as childhood has been the subject of analysis.³

The history of childhood and youth in Latin America fits uneasily into the teleology that ends with “modern,” “Western” ideologies and practices associated with children.⁴ That much is obvious in the chapter title Peter Stearns assigns to the region in his recently published *Childhood in World History: “Alongside the modern model.”*⁵ Not outside or inside this paradigm, but *alongside*. The hallmarks of modern childhood as historians have identified them—the rise of romantic notions of youthful innocence, practices involving segregating children from adults and protecting them from work, the replacement of charity with welfare, etc.—are not missing in Latin American history. Yet at the same time, the key phenomena that served as midwives for modern notions of childhood, including large-scale industrialization, massive urbanization, and the growth of an influential middle class, occurred in later periods or only in certain regions of Latin America. Furthermore, the cultural phenomena that profoundly transformed the experience of childhood in the “West,” such as the introduction of Enlightenment-inspired pedagogies at the turn of the nineteenth century or mass media advertising aimed at young consumers in the twentieth, could hardly be expected radically to transform the lives of children in the remotest and poorest regions of Latin America. Even if such trends did reach these children, they took hold alongside Amerindian, African-descended or Catholic-colonial rites of passage, pastimes and rearing customs.

It is, I contend, precisely Latin America’s uneasy relationship to “modernity” and its status as both part of the “West” and as one of the “rest” that accounts for the relative absence of histories of childhood in the region until recently. From the 1960s-1980s, as Latin Americanists developed their own

national historiographies, much of the social history they produced tended toward overtly politicized, structural approaches to institutional, family and ethno-history, often written with the end of explaining economic underdevelopment rather than the advent of modernity.⁶

Historians, particularly those writing from within Latin America, nonetheless were acutely tuned into trends in the history of childhood in the "West." The Annales-inspired study of "mentalities," which had spawned the first examinations of European childhood as a modern ideology, was warmly embraced in Latin American countries such as Mexico and Chile during the 1980s, generating some scholarship on topics such as the religious iconography of the saintly child in religious writings, or ideologies of death generated by high rates of child mortality.⁷ Mary del Priore's breakthrough 1991 edited volume on the history of childhood in Brazil clearly drew much of its inspiration from the mentalities approach.⁸ But even if the Annales approach to childhood did prompt the occasional foray into the topic during the 1970s and 80s, there was a notable absence of monographic treatments of the topic, and the scholarship certainly never amounted to a substantial subfield.

Thus the "history of childhood" was "undeveloped." But in other historiographical arenas, historians who would not have classified themselves as historians of childhood generated knowledge about Latin America's young and about its unique historical role. And because of their distance from the field as it had been developed in the "West," they did so relatively free of the demands to engage the topics that once dominated much of the history of childhood elsewhere, such as the "affection question," or the issue of whether parents in the past loved their children.⁹ Instead, children appeared as important actors, or at least childhood appeared as an important factor, in a variety of subfields ranging from family history to slave studies, to the history of women, marriage, and gender.

Our earliest vistas of children were taken in the aggregate or at an angle. Historians peered in through the windows of institutions such as schools or foundling homes or spied on families in crisis by poring over legal sources, sources chosen sometimes out of necessity rather than preference.¹⁰ Finding children's "voices" in historical documentation is a well-recognized challenge in writing their history. But in Latin American history, this challenge is not at all exclusive to historians of childhood. The region claims a unique (non) literary heritage, which combines non-alphabetic indigenous systems of communication with a Catholic logo-centrism and reliance on authority for interpreting scripture. As a result, diaries and other kinds of personal writings are scarcer in much of Latin America's history than they are in the U.S. and Northern

Europe.¹¹ Yet institutional and legal sources—many very much like the kinds of sources that historians of medieval and early modern Europe relied on in the early days of the history of childhood—abound. When historians in fields such as family history explored these sources, they inevitably stumbled across the region's young.

Family history was the largest and most obvious historical subfield where children—usually as a demographic category rather than individuals—first found their home in Latin American history. During the 1970s and 80s, scholars of the family and kinship networks produced a relatively large corpus of work drawing from census rolls, parish registries and vital records.¹² Many expended considerable energy ascertaining the existence and number of children in individual households in order, ultimately, to gauge levels of economic development, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when booming export economies transformed many Latin American nations. Scholars scrutinized Latin Americans' living arrangements, population statistics, and concepts and networks of kinship for signs of modernity, such as nucleation and lowered child mortality. They found that the Latin American family and kinship networks weathered dramatic change, often through creative adaptation. For example, during the beginnings of commercialization and urbanization in the early nineteenth century, while their counterparts in Europe or the U.S. were scaling back on births, the elite and middle-sectors in Buenos Aires continued to reproduce many children. At the same time, poor, often female-headed households in Brazil swelled with young “add-ons” (*agregados*).¹³

Children also began to make an appearance in a most unlikely subfield: slave family history. Historians long had argued that New World African bondage prevented slaves from forming anything close to stable family relationships, pointing to the high prevalence of men and low number of children within slave populations.¹⁴ But in the 1980s, a new generation of scholars demonstrated that, by the early nineteenth century at the latest, plantation slave populations had stabilized, and in cities women outnumbered men. As a result, more and more children were counted among slaves of African descent who resided and worked in diverse areas, from the gold mines in Colombia to the frontier towns of São Paulo to the streets of Lima.¹⁵ How exactly these children lived and worked remained somewhat shrouded in mystery, but one only needed to look to early studies of manumission patterns to observe that childhood was an important commodity in the freedom market.

Slave masters, and especially slave-owning women, freed enslaved children at a phenomenal rate in Latin America. In the 1970s, Frederick Bowser and Stuart Schwartz revealed in their studies of Lima and Salvador—the Spanish

and Portuguese colonial capitals of South America, respectively—that roughly 40 percent of all slaves manumitted from 1600–1750 were younger than fifteen.¹⁶ Based on the language of free papers, Schwartz postulated that emotional attachment between masters and children—what he called “surrogate paternity”—lay at the root of the high proportion of slaves who received liberty during their first decades of life. Though historians did not immediately pursue these findings, their implications for our understanding of Latin American society were broad.¹⁷

For example, these findings implicated slave childhood in the unique nature of race relations in Latin America. Slaveholders’ propensity to free slaves during their youths clearly seems to be a factor in explaining Latin America’s historically high population of free people of African descent compared to North America. In addition, as Elizabeth Kuznesof observed of Brazilian slavery, the failure to segregate children under the age of seven during play meant that the sons and daughters of masters and slaves—black, mixed-race and white—all grew up near one another. Consciously or not, she followed the famous mid-twentieth century Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in claiming that integrated childhood playtimes resulted in the “relative comfort that Brazilians ordinarily feel with race mixture.”¹⁸

Miscegenation, a defining feature of Brazil and indeed all Latin American society, has generated an enormous amount of scholarly attention from Anglophone scholars since the post WWII-period (when many looked southward for comparisons and contrasts to the troubled racial pasts in the U.S. and Europe). But in the 1980s and 1990s, studies of race in Latin America took a decidedly intimate turn. It was then that the longstanding U.S. scholarly fascination with race merged with the previous work on family history and with Latin Americans’ interest in the history of mentalities. The result was clearly detectable in one arena: a surge in studies probing the causes, racial undertones, and cultural meanings of high rates of illegitimacy throughout Latin America’s past.

In the 1980s, scholars began rejecting views of illegitimacy as a “family pathology”¹⁹ symptomatic of economic underdevelopment, and seized on the fact that in many regions and most periods of Latin American history, illegitimates far outnumbered legitimates. They showed illegitimacy to be the result of an alchemy of unique and often contradictory cultural elements in Latin America: sexual violence against Amerindian women during conquest, and the rape of African slave women after; relatively permissive popular attitudes toward consensual—and often mixed-race—sexual relations; rigid gender norms rooted in Catholicism; strong normative systems of honor and shame.

By the 1990s, scholars from both north and south explored these very themes to produce outstanding social histories on illegitimacy, sex and marriage that still today constitute what most approximates a “history of childhood” for Latin America’s colonial and early republican periods.²⁰ Pilar Gonzablo Aizpuru, Pablo Rodríguez, María Emma Mannarelli, and Ann Twinam led us into the homes of colonial inhabitants and into the lives of their children. We glimpsed eighteenth century elite *hijos naturales* (children born of two non-wed lay parents) secretly birthed and passed to a relative to be reared, only later to petition the king as adults to erase their natal “stain.” We witnessed poor Indian infants in seventeenth century Tula who were abandoned if they were unlucky enough to be born during harvest season. And we examined “families” made up of foundlings and non-white wet nurses hired by Latin America’s foundling homes, where chances that babies might perish in the first year of life sometimes rose to 70 percent.²¹

It is important to note that this bumper crop of studies about illegitimate children grew from examinations of women, sexuality, and marriage rather than the history of childhood, strictly defined. Nevertheless, the concentric overlap between the histories of the family, gender, and the history of youth encompassed more than studies of illegitimacy.

As one example, in the late 1980s, a veritable cottage industry began putting out studies of intergenerational conflict over marriage in Spanish America, with particular attention to a 1778 royal order that strengthened secular jurisdiction over marriage by permitting elders to object to minors’ choices of spouse. These were studies of legal battles between elders and youths from groups as diverse as the Pueblo Indians, Mexico City’s middle sectors, and a new elite in Córdoba, Argentina. They traced a complicated network of connections—and disjunctures—between local, royal and ecclesiastical views on adolescence and the age of majority, notions of racial and class “equality” between marital partners, and new concepts of patriarchal power at the end of the Old Regime.²²

At the same time, studies of gender in the twentieth century also began to circle around children and youths as subjects in their own right. Even those only fleetingly familiar with Latin America’s political history surely can conjure up images of middle-aged women in white kerchiefs courageously confronting dictatorial military governments in search of their disappeared children. Indeed, children and youths always seemed to linger on the margins of the pages of books about Latin American women. Historian of Argentina Donna Guy, a scholar at the front of the recent group that self-identifies as historians of Latin American childhood, points out that feminist historians of the

region have been looking “through” children for several decades to understand the history of “modern” issues such as welfare, law, and health policy.²³

It is, therefore, no coincidence that when Latin Americanists first began to identify their scholarship with the larger field of the history of childhood in the 1990s, feminist scholars—and particularly women historians—took the lead.²⁴ It is also no coincidence that the interaction between nation-state and family during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries formed the heart of the questions they posed. As an example, the 1998 issue of the *Journal of Family History* showcased historical scholarship in the burgeoning field of the history of children in Latin America, yet none of its six articles treated the colonial period.²⁵

What lay behind historians’ explicit turn toward the history of childhood was a new perspective on modernity in Latin America in general. After social and cultural history eclipsed economic and demographic approaches in the region, it became clear that Latin America’s overarching story was not one simply of economic failure. Thus, modernity began to emerge in historical scholarship not as a real thing that Latin Americans somehow lacked or missed, but rather as an ideology that they have generated, experimented with, and sometimes rejected at various junctures in the past.²⁶

Within this context, Latin Americanists began to ask how ideologies of modernity espoused by the elite and government officials affected the lives of ordinary Latin Americans, primarily women and the young. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the heyday of liberalism in the region, drew special attention from scholars. Many saw the positivist projects that Latin American governments aimed at children as perfect yardsticks for measuring the impact of modernizing ideologies and for tracing the rise of the welfare state.²⁷ Thus, the scholarly turn toward “the history of childhood” involved a focus on state policies toward marginal children, and facilities for juvenile delinquents and orphans. In some ways, this simply continued the long-standing relationship between the study of children and institutional histories, but it made uncovering the experiences of children a more explicit endeavor.

The same desire to understand the modern(izing) Latin American state also reinvigorated studies of education. The history of education has a long past in Latin America, but prior to the 1990s, historians only occasionally considered actual children and ideologies of childhood in their analyses of national school systems. Mark Szuchman, one such scholar, presciently examined schooling in nineteenth century Buenos Aires as an elite social control mechanism for disciplining a new citizenry.²⁸ More recent considerations of children and education have continued to view educational policies from a social control perspective, many arguing that it was in the early twentieth century that the child became a

national symbol, a small embodiment of the larger nation. As a result, hygiene programs aimed at creating a healthy body politic and educational programs based on “whitening” populations were intertwined with programs for compulsory schooling.²⁹

Works on education tend to emphasize the manner in which officials of modern states lay claim to children, in the process shouldering out parents as the chief authorities in children’s lives.³⁰ The focus on modern state formation has, however, left it unclear when, exactly, state interest in youths—whether as symbols, students or economic and political subjects—first had a significant impact on the definition of childhood and the real lives of children in Latin America. For example, Patience Schell suggests that, in Mexico, discursive constructions of children as the nation and the assertion of state power over the family were something new to the regime of strongman President Porfirio Díaz at the end of the nineteenth century.³¹ Yet, as Szuchman showed over fifteen years ago, state attempts to exercise hegemony over the family stretch back into the immediate post-Independence era in the nineteenth century.

Indeed, several recent studies of the legal rights of parents, particularly to custody over their children, straddle the colonial-national divide precisely in order to trace the development of the state’s intrusion into the family.³² Based on the findings of these and other recent works, it even might be argued that the eighteenth century Spanish Bourbon monarchy “invented” a kind of modern Spanish-American childhood as it began to promote new ideologies of children as potential producers for the state and usurped the legal privileges of individual patriarchal heads of household.³³

Recent studies of childhood and the state thus, ironically, have moved toward their own questions about the origins of modern constructions of childhood. But while these questions may be similar to those that once dominated the history of childhood in the “West,” they are not the same. Indeed, the circuitous route that the development of the “history of childhood” in the region has taken—passing through family history, slave history, women’s history and, more recently, cultural and social historical approaches to the state and public institutions, particularly in the twentieth century—means that the new, self-proclaimed history of childhood in Latin America finds itself still both inside and outside scholarship on the history of childhood elsewhere.

Given this trajectory, it is, perhaps, no longer accurate to characterize the history of childhood in the region as anything but “mature.” But we do not have to end our wordplay. There exist other metaphors historians of childhood in Latin America might consider, metaphors less dangerously close to theories of the region’s perpetual infancy and underdevelopment. For

example, the circuitous routes that Latin Americanists have taken to arrive at this history share something in common with the very children about whom we write. Just as the study of childhood can claim many homes within the broader historiography, children in the region historically grew up in their natal households far less frequently than we might presume; instead “child circulation,” or the passing of children through a number of households or institutions for economic and socialization purposes was a common, popular strategy for rearing.³⁴

And there is one more similarity between our subjects and our historiography. In an excellent recent study on children in nineteenth century Chile, Nara Milanich demonstrates how that country’s orphanage, the Casa de Huérfanos, an ostensibly “modern” public institution, did not so much compete with private, “traditional” modes of childrearing and child circulation as capitalize on those practices in “synergistic” relationship. In a similar vein, Elizabeth Kuznesof has reviewed scholarship on globalization’s perceived eradication of the “traditional” family in Latin America and found that—as always—Latin Americans are not being remade by their interactions with the “West” but are creatively adjusting to the challenges of the new economic realities by pluralizing the meaning of family, for example, with children involved in street-selling claiming many “mothers.”³⁵

What is becoming obvious is that one of the most unusual features of growing up in Latin America is precisely the fluctuating interplay, at different historical moments, between “traditional,” and popular modes of childrearing and “modern,” often elite, ideologies that attempt to universalize the definition of childhood. In the end, the fact that Latin America’s roots are entangled with, and yet separate from, the “West” might explain not only the way children’s history has been written in the region but also something important about how children have actually experienced their youth.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Tobias Hecht, “Introduction,” in ed. Tobias Hecht, *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 5; Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, “Latin America: Overview,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood*, vol. 2, ed. Paula Fass, (New York: MacMillan, 2004), 530; and my own comments in Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005), 2.
2. Twentieth century Latin American childhood and children claim short histories in fields such as sociology and anthropology. Limitations of space prevent me from exploring these histories but, in brief, three topics of acute interest within those fields are street children, children’s rights, and youth culture. For exemplary recent treatments of those themes see, for example, Tobias Hecht, *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeastern Brazil* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1998); Francisco Pilotti, ed., *Infancia en riesgo social y políticas sociales en Chile* (Montevideo, Uruguay: Instituto Interamericano del Niño, 1994); Aldo Panfichi, *Juventud: Sociedad y Cultura* (Lima: Universidad Pontificia Católica, 1999).

3. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, Robert Baldick, trans. (New York: Vintage, 1962), 125, 413. For commentary on the entwining of the history of childhood with modernity, see David Archard, *Children: Rights and Childhood* (New York: Routledge: 1993), 20–21.
4. This is a point I also make in “Conclusion: The Little Hiders and Other Reflections on the History of Children in Imperial Iberoamerica,” *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America*, eds. Ondina González and Bianca Premo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming 2007).
5. Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 65–72.
6. See for example, the discussion of the development of an “alternative” historiography or what Paulo Drinot calls “*la nueva historia*,” in Peru in his “Historiography, Historiographic Identity and Historical Consciousness in Peru,” *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina* 15, no.1 (2004): 65–88; and Paulo Drinot and Leo Garafalo, eds. *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: Estudios de historia peruana, siglo xvi-xx* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 9–21.
7. Cristina Ruiz Martínez, “La memoria sobre la niñez y el estereotipo del niño santo. Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII” in *La memoria y el olvido: Segundo simposio de Historia de la Mentalidades* (México, 1985); and “La moderación como prototipo de santidad: una imagen de la niñez,” in ed. Sergio Ortega, *De la santidad a la perversión. O de por qué no se cumplía la ley de Dios en la sociedad novohispana* (Grijalbo, México: Enlace, 1986), 49–66. For an excellent summary review of this early literature in Chile, and the historiography beyond Chile, see Jorge Rojas Flores, “Los niños y su historia: un acercamiento conceptual y teórico desde la historiografía,” in *Pensamiento Crítico, Revista Electrónica de Historia* 1, <http://www.pensamientocritico.cl>, 1–35.
8. Mary del Priore, ed., *História da criança no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editoria Contexto, 1991). For a comprehensive listing of symposia and publications on the history of mentalities from the Instituto de Antropología e Historia in Mexico during the last 35 years, many of which contain studies that touch directly upon the history of childhood, see Sueann Caulfield, “The History of Gender in the Historiography of Latin America,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, 3–4, 449–490; 450, n. 4. Even advocates of the *mentalidades* approach in Latin America tend to remain more anchored to its structuralist roots. See Ronaldo Vainfas, “De la historia de las mentalidades a la historia cultural,” trans. Pablo Rodríguez, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y Cultural* 23 (1996): 219–33.
9. On this point, see Hecht, “Introduction,” 5. Nancy Scheper-Hughes is a notable exception, with her argument that the historical legacy of slavery and colonialism for Brazilian mothers was a kind of psychological inoculation to grieving over the deaths of infants. See *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
10. On the institutional nature of the history of childhood in the region, see Hecht, “Introduction,” 5; Kuznesof, “Latin America,” 530. On the legal nature of colonial Spanish American sources in general, and methods for historians of childhood who wish to use them in particular, see Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 5–9.

11. On the absence of diaries and other forms of writing and the mediated nature of colonial documentation, see Kathryn Burns, "Notaries, Truth and Consequences," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005), 350.
12. A 1978 special issue of the *Journal of Family History* (2, no. 3) dedicated to the "family in Latin America" represents this trend. There were other trends, as well, which divulged important characteristics of family history that would relate to children and youth. Among these was the trend in ethnohistory and anthropology toward examining divergent local—often indigenous—definitions of kinship. See, for example, Ralph Bolton and Enrique Mayer, eds. *Andean Kinship and Marriage* (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1977); Raymond T. Smith, ed., *Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).
13. Mark Szuchman, "Household Structure and Political Crisis: Buenos Aires, 1810–1860," *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 3 (1986): 55–94; Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, *Household Economy and Urban Development in São Paulo, 1765–1836* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986). Also see Susan Socolow, "Marriage, Birth and Inheritance: The Merchants of Eighteenth-Century Buenos Aires," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (1980): 387–406; Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, "Family Clusters: Generational Nucleation in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Chile," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (1979): 231–261.
14. See, for example, Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) and Mary Karasch, "Anastacia and the Slave Women of Rio de Janeiro," in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*, ed. Philip D. Curtin and Paul E. Lovejoy, (Madison, WI: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986).
15. See Alida Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992) and "Searching for the Slave Family: A Reconstruction from São Paulo," *Journal of Family History* 16, no. 3 (1991): 283–297; Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800–1854* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); David L. Chandler, "Family Bonds and Bondsman: The Slave Family in Colonial Colombia," *Latin American Research Review* 16, no. 2 (1981): 107–131.
16. Stuart Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil, Bahia, 1684–1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1974): 603–635; Frederick P. Bowser, "The Free Person of Color in Mexico City and Lima: Manumission and Opportunity, 1580–1650," in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 331–63.
17. More recently, Frank "Trey" Proctor III has followed up on the assumption that many of these manumitted children were the offspring of slaveholding fathers, finding instead that in colonial Mexico, women frequently manumitted children who had been born into the mistresses' households, "Gender and the Manumission of Slaves in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (2006): 309–336.
18. Kuznesof, "Brazil," 168; Gilberto Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties: A Study of the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (New York: Knopf, 1956).
19. Robert McCaa, "Introduction," *Journal of Family History*, Special Issue on the Latin American Family 16 (1991): 211–214.

20. See Pilar Gonzablo Aizpuru and Cecilia Rabell, eds. *La familia en el mundo iberoamericano* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994); María Emma Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos. La ilegitimidad en Lima, siglo XVII* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 1994); Guiomar Dueñas Vargas, *Los hijos del pecado: Ilegitimidad y vida familiar en la Santafé de Bogotá colonial* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1997); Pablo Rodríguez, *Sedución, amancebamiento y abandono en la colonia* (Bogotá: Fundación Simón y Lola Grubeck, 1991) and *Sentimientos y vida familiar en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1997); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), esp. 126–183. Pioneering work on illegitimacy also includes Muriel Nazzari, “An Urgent Need to Conceal,” in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 103–126; Nara Milanich, “Historical Perspectives on Illegitimacy and Illegitimates,” in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, pp. 72–101; Linda Lewin, *Surprise Heirs I: Illegitimacy, Patrimonial Right, and Legal Nationalism in Luso-Brazilian Inheritance, 1750–1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003) and *Surprise Heirs II: Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822–1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
21. See in particular Twinam, *Public Lives*, especially 126–83; Elsa Malvido, “El abandono de los hijos: Una forma de control del tamaño indígena y del trabajo indígena. Tula (1683–1730),” *Historia Mexicana* 29, no. 4 (1980): 521–61. In Spanish America, the mortality rates at founding homes figured between 40 and 70 percent. See Dueñas Vargas, *Los hijos del pecado*, 199; Ondina González, “Down and Out in Havana: Foundlings in Eighteenth-Century Cuba,” in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 103; Salinas Meza, “Orphans and Family Disintegration,” 323–325. It is worth noting that Malvido’s study is one of the very few on the meaning and causes of illegitimacy among colonial Indian populations.
22. Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor and Obey: Conflicts over Marriage Choice in Colonial Mexico, 1574–1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Ramón Gutiérrez, “Honor, Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690–1846,” *Latin American Perspectives* 12, no. 1 (1985): 81–104 and *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Susan M. Socolow, “Acceptable Partners: Marriage Choice in Argentina, 1778–1810,” in ed. Asunción Lavrin, *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 209–46. Also see Edith Couturier, “Women and the Family in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: Law and Practice,” *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (1985), 293–304; Robert Mc Caa, “Gustos de los padres, inclinaciones de los novios y reglas de una feria nupcial colonial: Parral, 1770–1814,” *Historia Mexicana* 40, no. 4 (1991): 579–614. This historiography built on foundational studies from the 1970s that examined the issue of marriage and race, as well as the 1778 Pragmatic Sanction, including Verena Martínez-Alier (Stolcke), *Marriage Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Daisy Rípodaz Ardanaz, *El matrimonio en Indias: Realidad social y regulación jurídica* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia, y la Cultura, 1977).
23. Donna Guy, “The State, the Family, and Marginal Children in Latin America,” in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 139. Also see her *White Slavery and Mothers Alive and Dead: The Troubled Meeting of Sex, Gender, Public Health, and Progress in Latin America* (Lincoln:

- University of Nebraska Press, 2000). Readers interested in the historiography of women and the state in the twentieth century should consult the works Guy lists in her "Introduction" to the special issue on the welfare state, *The Americas* 58, no. 1 (2001), 1–6; n. 4.
24. Note that all of the authors in Hecht's pioneering *Minor Omissions*, aside from the editor himself, are women. Also note that two pioneers of history of women and the family in Latin American wrote the "research guides" on Mexico and Brazil that appeared in a world history-focused 1991 handbook on the study of children. See Asunción Lavrin, "Mexico," in *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspectives: An International Handbook and Research Guide*, ed. N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), and Elizabeth Kuznesof, "Brazil," 147–177, 421–446.
 25. See Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Introduction," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (July 1998): 221–224.
 26. See Jeremy Adelman, "Introduction: The Promise of Persistence in Latin American History," in ed. Jeremy Adelman, *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 1–13.
 27. See, for example, Salinas Meza, "Orphans"; Donna Guy, "Ninos abandonados en Buenos Aires (1880–1914) y el desarrollo del concepto de la madre" in *Mujeres y cultura en la Argentina del siglo XIX*, ed. Lea Fletcher (Feminiaria: Buenos Aires, 1994); Maria Luiza Marçilio, *Historia social da criança abandonada* (São Paulo, 1998); José Luis Moreno, *La política social antes de la política social: Caridad, beneficencia, y política social en Buenos Aires, siglos XVII a XX* (Trama/Prometeo: Buenos Aires, 2000); Gabriel Salazar, "Ser niño guacho en la historia de Chile (siglo XIX)," *Proposiciones*, 19 (1990): 55–83; Sandra Poblete, "Abandono y vagabundaje infantil en Santiago 1930–1950," *Revista de la historia social y de las mentalidades* 4 (2000): 197–228. Also see Guy, "The State, Family." The focus on state policies toward children is also evident in more recent studies of children in the colonial period. See, for example, Cynthia Milton, "Wandering Waifs and Abandoned Babes: the Limits and Uses of Juvenile Welfare in Eighteenth-Century Audiencia of Quito" *Colonial Latin American Review*, 31, no. 1 (2004): 103–128; Bianca Premo, "Minor Offenses: Youth, Crime and Law in Eighteenth-Century Lima," in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, 114–138.
 28. Mark D. Szuchman, *Order, Family, and Community in Buenos Aires, 1810–1860* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).
 29. See, for example, James E. Wadsworth and Tamera Marko, "Welfare State Ideologies at the 1922 Rio De Janeiro International Centennial Exposition," *The Americas* 58, no. 1 (2001): 65–90; Patience Schell, "Nationalizing Children through Schools and Hygiene: Porfirian and Revolutionary Mexico City," *The Americas* 60, no. 4 (2004): 559–587. Also see Elizabeth A. Kuznesof, "The Puzzling Contradictions of Child Labor, Unemployment, and Education in Brazil," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (July 1998): 225–240; Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
 30. The trajectory of my historiographical narrative forces me to leave out a small but important strain of scholarship, which might be seen as an intervention from the south to the "Birmingham School" of youth studies, that considers students and youths as important agents in both national cultural and international (diplomatic) history. See, for example, Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Alan McPherson, "From Punks to Geopoliticians: US and

- Panamanian Teenagers and the 1964 Canal Zone Riots," *The Americas* 58, no. 3 (2002): 395–418; Andrew Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002).
31. Schell, "Nationalizing Children," 560.
 32. Hector Ricardo Cicerchia, "Minors, Gender and the Family: The Discourses in the Court System of *Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 172–193; Jeffrey M. Shumway, *The Case of the Ugly Suitor and Other Stories of Love, Gender and Nation in Buenos Aires, 1770–1870* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Marriage and Family Relations in Mexico during the Transition from Colony to Republic," in Victor Uribe-Uran, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001), 121–148. Also see Donna Guy on child custody battles in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Argentina, "Parents Before the Tribunals: The Legal Construction of Patriarchy in Argentina," in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 172–193.
 33. This is my argument in *Children of the Father King*.
 34. Nara Milanich, "The *Casa de Huérfanos* and Child Circulation in Late-Nineteenth-Century Chile," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 2 (2004) 311–340; Ann Blum, "Public Welfare and Child Circulation, Mexico City," *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (July 1998): 240–271; Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 44–58, 80–108, and several of the chapters in the forthcoming González and Premo, *Raising an Empire*.
 35. Milanich, "The Casa;" Elizebeth Anne Kuznesof, "The House, the Street, Global Society: Latin American Families and Childhood in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 859–872.