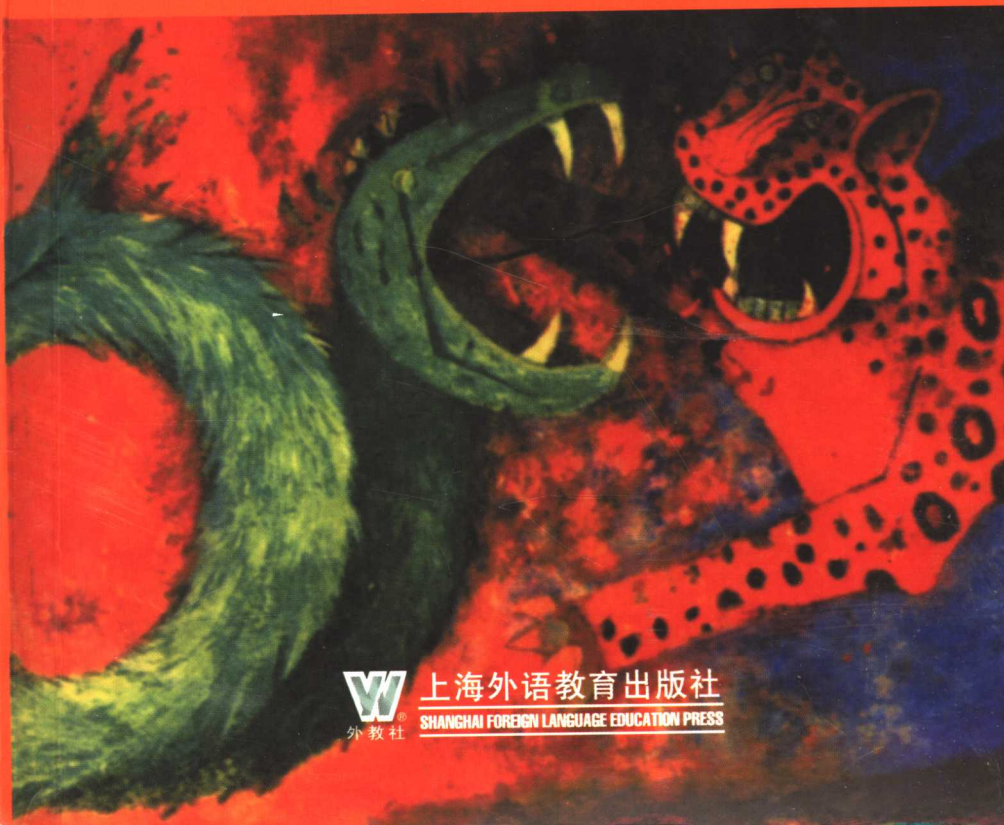


A Concise History of MEXICO

墨西哥简史

Brian Hamnett



上海外语教育出版社

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跨入21世纪后，全球一体化的发展趋势使世界各国的联系愈来愈密切，不同国家、不同民族之间的交往比以往任何时候都更加频繁和便捷。人们除了了解自己周围或自己国家的事情外，越来越多地把目光投向整个世界，关注其他国家和民族的发展与人们的生活。要了解一个国家、一个民族的现状，我们需要了解它的历史和发展沿革。由此，上海外语教育出版社（简称“外教社”）从英国剑桥大学出版社引进了这套“剑桥国别简史丛书”（*Cambridge Concise Histories*），奉献给我国广大读者，尤其是我国英语专业本科生、研究生以及具有一定英语基础并对世界历史感兴趣的读者。

“剑桥国别简史丛书”是剑桥大学出版社自上世纪八九十年代开始陆续推出的一套插图版国别简史丛书。丛书为一个开放系列，目前已经出版的品种涉及16个国家。作为第一批，我们从中挑选了英国、法国、德国、澳大利亚、希腊、印度、意大利、墨西哥、葡萄牙和南非等10个国家的简史图书，其中既有有关英语国家的，也有非英语国家的。

由于作者都是来自英国、美国、澳大利亚等国的历史学教授和知名专家，所以该丛书具有很高的学术价值和较强的权威性；作者又能采用浅显通俗的语言描述这些国家的政治、经济、文化、社会和历史，丛书信息量大、可读性强。该丛书在英国出版以后，深受读者欢迎，有的品种已重印多达10余次。

我们衷心希望该丛书的引进对我国读者学习、研究历史，了解世界有所帮助和参考作用，对掌握更多的历史文化知识有所裨益。

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PREFACE

Research on Mexico is an exciting and fast-developing topic. Perspectives are repeatedly changing. Mexico, with a population around 95 million, forms part of the North American sub-continent. Since the early sixteenth century, it has been part of the Atlantic world that resulted from European expansion. Before that time, Mexico was also part of a pre-Columbian world unknown to Europeans. For that reason, the country has a complex multi-ethnic and multi-cultural pattern that continues to have an impact on contemporary events. Nevertheless, anyone interested in Mexico quickly discovers that there are few things for the beginner to read. At the same time, those who perhaps might have returned from their first visit to the country will frequently look in vain for a book which enables them to analyse what they have seen with any thematic coherence. I myself have long been conscious of such a gap in the literature. For that reason, I decided to write this book. The bibliography should help the reader to branch out in whichever may be the preferred thematic direction. Since *The Concise History* must rise above the detailed monographic type of work and identify the broad outlines of Mexican history, I hope it will also find some resonance among fellow disciplinarians.

I first went to Mexico as a research student in January 1966. A great deal of my own history has been lived there since that time, and the country itself has in some respects changed beyond recognition. The scale of change reflects a dynamic North American society such as Mexico. Yet, at the same time, particularly in the provinces and

the villages, and in general attitudes and assumptions, a great deal of the traditional outlook, for better or for worse, still persists. In many individuals, the outward styles of the turn of the twenty-first century go together with the mentalities of the seventeenth.

Approaching Mexican history as I initially did from the geographical perspectives of the centre and south, the core zones of Mesoamerican civilisation, I was always conscious of the deeply rooted inheritance of the indigenous American past. My consciousness of the importance of the pre-Columbian era has grown over the years that I have been involved in studying Mexico. This is so particularly since the region I originally studied was Oaxaca, the centre of Zapotec and Mixtec cultures and still a state with an indigenous majority. My specialisation then was the late colonial era. When I first arrived in Mexico I came by sea from Cádiz after a long period of study in the Archive of the Indies in Seville. I sailed on a 6,000-ton Spanish ship which took two and a half weeks to reach Veracruz by way of Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. After the turbulent January winds across the Gulf of Mexico, I certainly didn't arrive on Mexican soil feeling like a Conquistador. Nevertheless, I had come to Mexico to study the colonial era, and bold decisions had to be made as to how to go about it. In the cities and towns of the central core of Mexico from Zacatecas (where the north begins) to Oaxaca in the south, the richness of a colonial culture transforming from European to American can be immediately appreciated. Cities such as Puebla, Tlaxcala, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Morelia (then Valladolid), San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas and the capital itself all exhibit an architectural and artistic wealth comparable to European cities of the period. My experience as a 'Mexicanist' began that way. However, many other tendencies have emerged since then, the most recent being deepening interest in the north. Readers will find the north and the 'far north' (currently described in the USA as the 'American Southwest') abundantly present in the following pages.

This book adopts a number of significant positions. It does not start in 1821 with the independence of Mexico from the Spanish Empire. It does not assume that in historical perspective Mexico should be defined as the truncated political entity of the period after 1836-53, when the United States acquired half of Mexico's claimed

territory. The approach is thematic as well as chronological, allusive perhaps rather than all-inclusive. The book opens with a look at Mexico today and a few suggestions about how it came to be that way. After this, we shall then go back to the pre-Columbian era for the real historical beginning, and continue forwards from there through a combination of themes and chronology. The periodisation I have adopted corresponds more to contemporary reinterpretations of Mexican history than to traditional approaches. Even so, halfway through writing, I abandoned the notion of a 'mature colonial period', proposed by James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz, *Early Latin America. A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983), on the grounds that this was highly misleading. Those authors envisaged a broad span from 1580 to 1750, within which 'large-scale social and cultural transformation quietly, gradually took place'. I should prefer formative to mature, an entirely different concept. In any case, 1580 is too early: my preference would be for a date around 1620.

In attempting a revised periodisation, I still found I had to compromise significantly. I had originally hoped to bridge the traditional historiographical divisions at Independence (1810-21) and the Revolution (1910-40) by a more radical periodisation: 'Destabilisation and Fragmentation (1770-1867)'; 'Reconstruction (1867-1940)'; and 'The Monopoly Party (1940-2000)'. However, I still found that the dividing lines at 1810 and 1910 could not and should not be avoided. At the same time, I have compromised by placing these more traditional turning points within the context of my original broader sweeps. It seemed to me also that the collapse of the French Intervention and with it Maximilian's Second Empire in 1867 represented a major turning point in the nineteenth century. This signified the end of European attempts to recover control in Mexico and assured the survival of the sovereign state which had emerged from the War with the United States (1846-48). Similarly, 1940 and 1970 emerged as subsequent points of arrival and departure. The former initiated the period of consolidation of revolutionary changes and provided a symbolic starting point for three decades of economic expansion and political stability; the latter opened the way for descent into three decades of political division and economic dislocation. These lines of demarcation are, of course, subject to criticism

and revision. I hope that the question of periodisation will occupy part of the ongoing historical debate concerning the interpretation of Mexican (and Latin American) history.

Colleagues and friends in Mexico and elsewhere have contributed to this book, sometimes without realising it. Many rewarding conversations helped to give it shape. First and foremost, I owe Dr Luis Jáuregui (UNAM: Faculty of Economics) the debts of friendship, hospitality, and use of his broad-ranging library. Many of the ideas which we discussed in 1997–98 appear in the following text. I am grateful for his criticisms and advice both informally and in reading the manuscript. Accordingly, this book is dedicated to him by way of thanks. Dr Josefina Zoraída Vázquez (El Colegio de México) has been a continuous source of encouragement and support in many of my recent projects, and always a stimulating critic and discussant. Professor Brian Connaughton (UAM – Iztapalapa) has also been a great help in probing the problems and issues of late-colonial and nineteenth-century Mexican history, not only as a result of seminars at the UAM, but also in regular, three-hour breakfasts in Mexico City, which have ranged across the dynamics of Mexican culture. Dr Bernardo García Martínez (El Colegio de México), author of an alternative concise history of Mexico, pressed home to me the dynamics of the north in a memorable conversation in a Gallego restaurant in Mexico City in March 1996, and thereby contributed decisively to my shift in perspective. Professor Paul Vanderwood (San Diego State University), who has been a source of ideas and a good critic over two decades, gave me his hospitality in San Diego at a crucial stage of rethinking and writing early in January 1998. The libraries of the Instituto José María Luis Mora and the Centro de Estudios de Historia de México (CONDUMEX) provided agreeable places of study. Students and colleagues at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Strathclyde University, and Essex University helped refine the ideas and interpretations offered here. I am particularly grateful to Xavier Guzmán Urbiola and Carlos Silva Cázares, in Mexico City, for their help in selecting the illustrations and maps which form a significant part of this work. Sven Wair gave the manuscript a critical reading before submission to the press: his perceptive comments have made for a tighter piece of work.

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I

Mexico in perspective

Mexico may be part of the 'New World' (in the European nomenclature), but in reality much of the territory included within the present-day Republic formed part of a very old world unknown to Europeans before the end of the fifteenth century. This pre-Columbian past needs to be appreciated when attempting to explain both colonial and contemporary Mexico. We need to examine the way a distinct Mexican civilisation has expressed itself through time. The chronological and thematic sweep explains the structure and approach. The main purpose is to lay out the principal themes and issues. The detail may be found in many specific works. Contemporary Mexico presents a paradox of an ostensibly stable regime but a recrudescence of political assassinations and popular rebellions, along with globalisation but recurrent economic crises.

Modern territorial boundaries distort the cultural unities of the pre-Columbian world. The geographical dimension of Maya civilisation, for instance, included areas that would in colonial times become the south-eastern territories of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (namely Yucatán) and the core territories of the Kingdom of Guatemala. Although sites like Palenque, Bonampak, and Yaxchilán are located in Chiapas, and Uxmal and Chichén Itzá in Yucatán, both states part of the Mexican Republic, Classic Period Maya sites such as Tikal, Uaxactún, and Copán are in the Republics of Guatemala and Honduras, respectively. Today, knowledge of Maya civilisation is disseminated in Mesoamerica from the capital city museums of contemporary states, even though these cities,