

**Abstracts from the 2002 “Tangled Strands” Dissertation Workshop Participants
For more information regarding the workshop please contact:**

**Center for Race and Gender
University of California, Berkeley
2241 College, #1074
Berkeley, CA 94720 – 1074
510.643.8488
centerrg@uclink.berkeley.edu
<http://crg.berkeley.edu>**

**Bonnie J. Clark, Dissertation Abstract
UC Berkeley, Department of Anthropology
On the Edge of Purgatory:
Landscapes of Ethnicity and Gender in Hispanic Colorado**

How do people get by in times that simultaneously challenge ethnic and gender identities? That question drives, *On the Edge of Purgatory: Landscapes of Ethnicity and Gender in Hispanic Colorado*. This archaeological investigation, contextualized by ethnography and oral and documentary history, recuperates the unwritten history of landless Hispanics living in Colorado on the eve of the twentieth century. By focusing on domestic sites, this research looks at how two changing and contested identities: “Mexicano” and female were lived on a daily basis. This emphasis on everyday life places this research firmly in the center of current approaches to historical anthropology, as well as cultural geography and Chicana historiography.

Between 1880 and 1900, the majority of the population of the Purgatoire River Valley of southern Colorado were identified on the U.S. census as “Mexican.” These residents attempted to strike a balance between established cultural strategies and the exigencies of being foreigners in their homeland. Two big changes were then under way for the region's “Mexicano” or Hispanic population: the shift from multi-family, plaza-based settlements to single-family occupations, and the shift from subsistence agropastoralism to wage labor. Focusing on settlements that possess architectural evidence of Hispanic occupation but were never legally owned, the project reaches those who made up the majority of the region's population, but who are often absent from its written record. As domestic sites, they speak to how women's daily lives were imbricated with these changes.

Evidence from the two investigated sites, La Placita and The Wild Plum Site, suggests several trends from this time period. Hispanic practices of land tenure clashed with U.S. homesteading laws. This seems to have been a critical factor in the abandonment of sites and the proletarianization of a group that had formerly lived off the land. Sites in this area exhibit a delicate balance of traditional practices and innovations. Rather than villages with field crops, here women and children's labor provided the backbone of subsistence. Evidence from these sites support claims that women's social labor maintained

the communal ties necessary for isolated sites to survive. It was innovations like these that made a “traditional” lifeway possible. At these sites residents appear to have put into practice a philosophy expressed in Hispanic writings, namely that the land did not need to be tamed, but rather was nurturing. Use of natural topography and wild foods at these sites contrasts with Anglos in the region, many of whom either ignored or vastly modified the same natural resources.

This research, focusing on both macro and micro-scale processes, addresses larger social questions with theoretical ramifications. It suggests that nuanced study of material culture provides insights in the mechanisms of ethnicity in the American West. At a time when being “Mexicano” threatened their citizenship rights, the residents of these sites did not try to look Anglo. The record makes it clear they were both invoking and modifying their ethnicity. As some, but not all, members of this formerly self-sufficient society became entangled in wage economy, gender roles, as well as children's lives, changed. The cultural landscapes of Hispanic Colorado are a text in which we can read this story.

Laura Ruth Johnson

Dissertation abstract

The purpose of this investigation is to examine, using qualitative research methods, the relationship between notions of motherhood, identity, and schooling by focusing on the experiences of low-income mothers attending a family literacy program located in the Puerto Rican community of Chicago. Primary data is provided via in-depth interviews conducted with young and adult mothers participating in the program, as well as from observations of the women in program and community settings. A central aim of the study is to elaborate how mothers' past and current experiences of schooling shape their notions of themselves as mothers and learners and figure into their interactions with educational institutions, such as their children's schools. Given the focus in the past few decades on family literacy programs as possessing the potential to improve academic achievement in low-income and urban communities, it is important to document how programs address parents' varied histories and experiences with schools, as well as account for the many factors that shape their notions of schooling and parenting. Hopefully, such an examination can assist us in refashioning programmatic responses targeted at mothers and parents so as to better meet the educational and social needs of families and their communities.

Allison Pugh
Department of Sociology
"Caring Consumption: Negotiated Meanings of Childrearing and the Market"
Abstract:

My dissertation is a study of the sense mothers and other caregivers make of the intertwining of care and commodities. This research involves the buying people do as part of the "good care" of children, and focuses on the emotional processes by which these consumers define good care and decide what kinds of "things" are part of that care.

Relying on in-depth interviews with a sample of caregivers and children from diverse racial/ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, I investigate childrearing consumption as a relational, interactive practice involving negotiations, conflict and the changing meanings of things. Consumption is also explored as a site in which inequality is highly salient, and caregivers are challenged to interpret that inequality for children. These issues are considered in light of relative affluence and deprivation, with the goal of making visible intersections of care and various axes of power and difference, including race, class and gender. In addition to interviews, the investigative stage of this project involves textual analysis (of toy catalogs) and ethnographic fieldwork.

These multiple viewpoints of childrearing consumption allow for a broad and deep reckoning of the convergence of consumption and care. At stake are the cultural meanings of care, as the market continues on its way to becoming the mediator of relationships between adults and the children they rear.

Rebecca Dolhinow
Abstract

The focus of this dissertation is the development of colonia communities along the US-Mexico border and the rise of women as leaders in these predominantly Mexican immigrant communities. Colonias are defined by the federal government as infrastructure lacking subdivisions within 150 miles of the US-Mexico international boundary. This dissertation examines both specific local factors at work in this region and greater global processes, as they are interpreted locally, for their contribution to the development of colonias. Based on eleven months of ethnographic fieldwork in three colonias in Doña Ana County, New Mexico and a series of four in-depth interviews with nine women leaders, this work answers two primary sets questions. How do colonias develop along the border and why? and How do women, and not men, come to lead colonias and what are the results of their leadership for the women themselves and their communities as a whole? The answers to these questions are intricately linked when we look at both questions as local responses to the global processes of economic restructuring and the privatization of social services. As the main source of low-cost housing for the growing class of Mexican working poor, colonias are vital to the growth of the region. They provide the space for the social, cultural and physical reproduction of the region's most important class of cheap labor. Through developing and inhabiting subdivisions without even the most basic infrastructure, like water and waste water, colonia developers and residents play right into the growing neo-liberal rhetoric of privatization and self-help. Women become leaders in colonias because they experience the resource deprivation most acutely in their daily practices caring for the home and family and because pervasive gender discourses dictate that community work is women's work. Through their activism, these women leaders improve the immediate conditions in which their families live. But at the same time, they do little to change the larger picture that dictates they must live in these conditions because of who they are: Mexican immigrants. In this way their activism can be seen as creating a form of consent for their situation. As a self-reinforcing mechanism, colonias both provide necessary and affordable housing and at the same time lock colonia residents into a cycle of poverty and resource deprivation.

Ralina Joseph

**Imagining the In-Between:
Images of Black/white Women in the Post-Civil Rights United States**

The idea of a post-Civil Rights era has entered the US public sphere in the last decade. In the service of a neo-conservative agenda, post-Civil Rights America argues for an end to race, a celebration of multiculturalism, and a utilization of colorblind doctrine in law, public policy, and popular culture. Simultaneously, racial difference is feared and structural racism is ignored. In many ways the multiracial subject, embodying “all races,” is imagined to be the quintessential post-Civil Rights American. This dissertation examines how cultural representations of Black/white women, sexualized embodiments of the US racial dichotomy, rely upon two extremes: a post-racial ideology of colorblindness (being “beyond race” or raceless) and a hyper-racialized ideology of hybridity (being “in-between races” or super-raced). I examine the linkages between popular representations of Black-white women and larger US urges to ignore the “gray” role that race and gender can play in the new millennium. Current structural racism is allowed to flourish unfettered because “true” racism only happens in the Jim Crow South and between ignorant individuals. In my readings of cross-sections of cultural sites, I utilize theory in literary, cultural, women’s and ethnic studies, and rely most heavily upon history, beginning with writings by white men and women on slavery-era “mulatta” concubines in New Orleans’s Fancy Trade. In each of my readings of contemporary cultural sites, I draw upon eighteenth and nineteenth century portrayals of “the mulatta.” My dissertation argues that polarization of Black/white female images into a colorblindness/hybridity paradigm ignores the reality of contemporary race relations, which occurs in middle, in-between spaces, and not neatly polarized ends of an imagined racial spectrum.

Priya Kandaswamy

“Between State and Family:

Articulations of Race, Gender and Capital in Contemporary Social Welfare Debates”

Abstract

By looking comparatively at debates and policy shifts in the U.S. around violence against women, welfare reform and the protection of “fetal rights” during the 1990s, my dissertation examines the processes by which inequalities that are deeply rooted in the interconnected social structures of racism, patriarchy, and capitalism become understood primarily in terms of a moral crisis in “family values.” Because moral panics often work politically to mobilize consensus for conservative regimes, to manage crises at various levels of a social formation, and to enable transformations of state power, my dissertation asks, within the contemporary U.S. context, what are the specific effects of the discursive production of the family as a primary scale of analysis of social problems? Given a political context in which the social welfare functions of the state have become largely defined by the principles of austerity and punishment, how does the emphasis on family shape and contain political struggles? In each of the three case studies, my project draws out the connections between the nationalist production of racialized and gendered norms around the family, shifting definitions of the private and public spheres and transformations in the parameters of state jurisdiction, the character and function of state institutions, and the mechanisms of state power.

Center for Race and Gender Abstract
Steven M. Lee

My dissertation, entitled "Filial Feminisms: Daughter-Father Relationships in Contemporary Asian American Women's Writing," seeks to extend the current discourse on gender and sexuality within Asian American Studies by analyzing the representational development of daughter-father relationships in contemporary Asian American women's literature. Historically, issues surrounding gender and sexuality in Asian American literature have arisen most prominently via the dynamics of two intrafamilial relationships: a cultural nationalist concern with the failure of the Asian American father-son relationship and the emasculation of Asian American men in both discursive representation and as an effect of structural marginalization; and a uniquely racialized feminist politics derived from the relationship between Asian American mothers and daughters. Relatively overlooked in the focus on these sex-specific filial relationships and their concomitant political projects is the relationship between daughters and fathers. However, the past ten to fifteen years has witnessed a proliferation of Asian American women's writing that depicts with a new complexity this particular familial relationship. In this interdisciplinary exploration of Asian American daughter narratives I interrogate how the representation of the father complicates previous discourses surrounding Asian American feminism, Asian American masculinity and the construction of different nationalisms. I believe that a close examination of this filial bond will offer new insights into the interrelationship between race, gender, and nation.

The premise of my analysis is that due to the gendered history of Asian American racial formation, Asian American women and Asian American men experience different degrees of inclusion into the national body. Asian American women have been able to attain greater national acceptance via two seemingly contradictory routes. First, the conventional construction of Asian American women as embodying feminine sexuality has been a significant means of inclusion for subjects willing to conform to this sexist stereotype. Although, as Leslie Bow argues, there are definite limits to such sexualized inclusion in that the very embodiment of Asian American women is ultimately at odds with the ideals of universal abstract citizenship, sexuality nevertheless affords Asian American women a status foreclosed to their male counterparts who, due to a host of legal, socioeconomic and cultural forces, have historically been denied full participation in the nation. In fact it is the stereotypical *de*-sexualization of Asian American men that constitutes a significant part of their abjection. Secondly, the achievements of Asian American feminism over the past twenty-five years, generated in part by the literary success of mother-daughter narratives such as Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*, and Kogawa's *Obasan*, have carved out a space for Asian American women within the terrain of national cultural not equaled by Asian American men. Indeed, one could argue that the very publication and popular reception of the women-authored texts examined in this study is a result of the widespread acceptance of these literary forebears.

Given these factors, in this project I investigate how post-second wave feminist daughter

narratives represent the historically excluded Asian American father. More specifically, I examine how Asian and Asian American women, so often exploited as the objects or symbols of various nationalist projects, actively engage in the construction or deconstruction of "America." Rather than focusing on how Asian American daughter narrators uphold or subvert a masculinist discourse of nationhood through a women-centered politics, I look *across* sex lines by examining how Asian American daughters discursively re-figure their Asian American fathers. Thus I critically analyze how Asian American daughters either reinforce or reinvent the criteria for national inclusion, and, either reconfirm or reconstitute the dominant discourses of gender and nationalism under a racialized patriarchy. In this regard I will examine how contemporary attempts by Asian American daughters narrators to creatively recuperate paternal figures deviate from what Shirley Lim has described as the "traditional master plot of ethnic patriarch as villain and ethnic woman as victim." I am interested not only in the underlying politics that motivate these contemporary portrayals, but also the consequences such portrayals may have in the process of Asian American racial formation. Are these cultural productions complicit in a mainstream racial hegemony? Do they work with or against dominant social structures?

Jeffrey Santa Ana
Dissertation Abstract

I am completing a dissertation on the ways in which the emotions generated by global capitalism affect formations of racial and sexual identities in ethnic American literature. My dissertation, "Consuming Emotions: Affect, Identity, and Ethnic American Literature in an Era of Globalization," focuses on shame, anger, melancholia, and empathy in narratives by Audre Lorde, James Baldwin, Chang-rae Lee, Jessica Hagedorn, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Michael Nava. Informed by Fredric Jameson's theory of fragmented emotion, history, and identity in postmodernism, I explore the dialectical tensions of racial and sexual identity formation in multiethnic narratives written during the past forty years. Through analysis of multiethnic literature, global images in popular media, and transnationally themed advertisements, I demonstrate how racial and sexual identities emerge through an affective process that calls upon minorities to mediate historically based emotions of anger, shame, and melancholia in ethnic affiliation and community, on the one hand, and the euphoria, indifference, and anxiety generated by postmodern consumer culture, on the other. This process of an affectively based subject formation, which I call affect-identity, describes how minority subjects engage dialectically with the "joyous" and psychologically numbing affect in consumption and the painful feelings of anger and shame in labor that ties subjects to community and a past of ethnic forebears or immigrant ancestors. The minority's affect-identity, I propose, emerges from materially and historically informed feelings, such as empathy and melancholia, which contradict the elation and indifference of anxiety-driven assimilation into consumer society. In making this argument, I draw on theoretical work from fields such as the sociology of emotions, political economy, and ethnic studies; and build on the scholarship of Jameson, David Harvey, Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Arlie Hochschild, José David Saldívar, Arif Dirlik, E. San Juan, Jr., and David Palumbo-Liu. In dialogue with scholars of globalization criticism and gender and sexuality studies, I show how multiethnic narratives represent and resist new and shifting meanings of assimilation for racial and sexual minorities. Assimilation today, I contend, means conforming to postethnic ideology that masks anxieties about the political economy of race, sexuality, class, and gender in America. This imaginary stylized assimilation is premised on the postmodern disintegration and schizophrenic decentering of identity, arising from mass-produced individualism and commodified multiculturalism in global capitalism.

In my dissertation's first chapter, "The Dialectics of Affect and Identity: Feeling and the Minority Subject in Global Capitalism," I analyze the commodification of emotion in representations of multiraciality, interracial relations, and multiculturalism in globally themed fashion magazines, wealth management advertising, and in *Time* magazine's cybernetic mixed-race woman, the New Face of America. Multinational and transnational corporations, I contend, use racial and sexual diversity in their advertisements and in popular media to commodify human feeling and promote anxiety-driven assimilation into the consumer postmodernism of globalization. The titles of my remaining chapters are: Chapter Two, "Living in a 'Coca-Cola democracy': Identity, Emotion, and Postmodern Capitalism in Audre

Lorde's *Zami* and James Baldwin's *Another Country*"; Chapter Three, "Borderlands in Pain: The Emotions of Indigenism and Predatory Global Consumption in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*"; Chapter Four, "Affect-Identity in Global Capitalism: Asian American Subjectivity, Diaspora, and Reified Hybridity in Chang-rae Lee's *Native Speaker* and Jessica Hagedorn's *The Gangster of Love*"; and Chapter Five, "Feeling Like an 'Outsider': Empathy, Justice, and Gay Chicano Identity in the Mystery Novels of Michael Nava."

J. NICOLE VON GERMETEN
History Department
University of California, Berkeley

LEGITIMATE PIETY? *CASTA* COFRADÍAS IN NEW SPAIN

My dissertation deals with positive attempts at corporate identity made by Afromexicans in the colonial era and beyond, the effect on gender roles and social status by these voluntary organizations. Currently and in the colonial period, African ancestry in Mexico has been denied. The national myth and official history of Mexico do not focus on active African ancestors, recognizing them only as marginalized or criminals. However, almost every colonial town and village with an Afromexican population (which includes all major mining and urban centers) founded religious organizations called confraternities that were defined by their *moreno* or *mulato* membership. I am exploring *casta* (a general term for non-European people in colonial Mexico) confraternities throughout Mexico, looking for their strategies to gain official acceptance and strengthen their sometimes tenuous position as members of the Catholic Church and colonial society. Dedicated to the worship of a particular image in a church or monastery and guaranteeing burials and prayers for their members, confraternities dominated the public rituals in every town, with regular processions and celebrations. My study will contribute to a more complete picture of the role of race, gender and public piety, as well as official and popular religious institutions and social behavior, especially within towns. I plan to concentrate on three distinct regional settings in Mexico: one, the metropolis of Mexico City; two, mining centers including Parral, Zacatecas, and Taxco; and three, areas of commercial agriculture, including highland Michoacán and Morelia, Veracruz, Oaxaca and the Bajío. Especially for Morelia and Parral, I am able to use extensive supplementary material, along with confraternity records, in order to view confraternity membership as part of individuals' life path. I will also look for changes associated with the status of *castas* in colonial society and governmental and ecclesiastical reforms affecting confraternities, which are well-documented for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Confraternities were central to the social and religious life of early modern Europe and Latin America. Lester Little has called European confraternities the first example of institutionalized lay piety and the main manifestation of sociability in the early modern era, linking their foundation to the growth of urban life.¹ Confraternities promoted social ties for *castas* in Mexico similar to those described for citizen in towns in Renaissance Italy in the work of Ronald Weissman, James Banker and Nicholas Terpstra.² The Tridentine Church encouraged participation in the sacraments, a clearly defined morality, devotion to saints, and a stronger sense of a unified religious community throughout Europe, using confraternities as a means to these ends. I view confraternities as an example of local, polycentric Catholicism which flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and Latin America.

Confraternities were introduced from the beginning of colonization and almost every town in colonial Mexico had at least one, dedicated to the Eucharist, open to everyone but controlled by the town's elite. In places with a large non-Spanish population, other racial groups voluntarily formed confraternities to officially recognize their devotion to an image in their parish church or local convent. Regional variation can be seen in the intersection between institutionalized racial divisions and the patterns of confraternal foundations and development. I have found documentary evidence in the form of ecclesiastical court cases and confraternity constitutions throughout Mexico of numerous examples of conflict and accommodation, varying according to the strength and unity of the *casta* confraternity and its opponents. The 1681 constitution of the wealthy and powerful *Cofradía del Santo Rosario*, a lay religious confraternity in the Franciscan convent in Morelia, welcomed "Spaniards, Indians, Mestizos, and *mulatos* of both sexes." However, the rules specified two separate sets of officers and altars for Spaniards and the other races. Throughout their history, each group made careful distinctions between the Spanish and *mulato* organizations. Despite depending entirely on alms for their maintenance, the *mulato* Cofradía del Rosario prospered into the late nineteenth century, long after the formerly wealthy and powerful Spanish group disintegrated. In Mexico City, a sense of corporate consciousness among some Afromexicans can be found from the early 1600s, when a group of Africans from the Zape region [modern Sierra Leone] had formed their own exclusive cofradía dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Another group of *mulatos* belonging to their own flagellant brotherhood in early seventeenth-century Mexico City was brought before the ecclesiastical court for staging an unauthorized procession. Thousands of miles from the capital, on the mining frontier of colonial Mexico, the *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción* in Parral, Chihuahua, which maintained a shrine in the Hospital de San Juan de Dios, was involved in an ecclesiastical court case. This confraternity included slaves, Indians and other *castas*, mainly workers in the local silver mine. In the 1680s, elite citizens of Parral challenged the confraternity's legitimacy and their right to own or even handle sacred objects. However, the confraternity lasted at least until the late eighteenth century, continuing to play a role in religious processions and festivals. These cases and regions will be the focal points of my dissertation, because they are extensively documented and criminal and notarial records are also available in these regions.

In most mining areas of New Spain, and in Mexico City, a distinct kind of Afromexican Baroque piety reached its pinnacle in the seventeenth century. During this century, most Afromexicans were first or second generation immigrants from Africa, and many were still enslaved. Their unique confraternal-based piety emphasized flagellation in processions, alms-collecting to fund processions and fiestas, and leadership by Africans or Afromexicans, with a strong sense of ethnic identity, be it related to an African nation, such as the *Zapes* mentioned above, or to local birth or even a self-given label of *mulato*. A final and crucial aspect of this distinctively Afromexican piety was the public and uncompromising participation of Afromexican women in all cofradía activities, even to the point of founding them and providing most funding. The pinnacle of this kind of confraternity came before the end of the seventeenth century.

By the eighteenth century, Afromexicans were less tied to African identity; most were described as

mulato or *casta*, regardless of their heritage. Very few Afromexicans remained slaves by the eighteenth century, and the slave trade from Africa to New Spain was moribund. Afromexicans now worked as craftsmen, sometimes even as professionals, holding high-status in careers such as architecture. As Afromexicans became more respectable, so did their *cofradías*. They depended less on alms and more on rents from properties, flagellation was de-emphasized and women no longer led religious brotherhoods, which now modeled themselves on traditional Hispanic norms.

I hypothesize that *castas*, stigmatized by illegitimacy and slavery, sought to develop status and respectability in their local society as participants in the church, joining, founding and leading confraternities. They achieved this by the eighteenth century, within the limits of colonial institutionalized racism. *Moreno* and *mulato* militias were another institution that provided group solidarity and prestige, again while holding onto race labels and divisions.³ Although confraternities were a European and colonial tradition, the variety, popularity and tenacity of confraternal foundations and organizations suggest voluntary self-definition by race, more than imposition of Spanish religious norms and racial stratification. The cases I have located so far suggest that *casta* confraternities developed techniques to deal with different elite responses to their organization and demonstrations of religious devotion, while manipulating their race, within the rather narrow limits that stopped short of rebellion.

The chapters in my dissertation are organized chronologically, thematically and regionally. An introduction will look at European historiography on confraternities and Latin American historiography relating to racial identity formation. The first chapter will detail the fundamental aspects of Baroque Afromexican piety, including flagellation, dedication to particular saints, and the devotion, including from wealthier people of Spanish heritage, which surrounded the extremely humiliating and humbling practices publicly displayed by Afromexican *cofradías*. This kind of piety celebrated humility, and thus its practitioners, including slaves and other poor Afromexicans, achieved a kind of especially sacred status. The late seventeenth-century bishop Francisco Aguiar y Seixas was a Spaniard particularly supportive of Baroque Afromexican confraternities. The second chapter, along with the first, explores the interchange of religious practices between African and Spanish settlers. In the second chapter, I look at this exchange in Mexico City. Attempts at organization, including African rebellions, are explored, along with the general Baroque, confraternal-based piety of Mexico City in the seventeenth century. A sample of 440 wills from this time and place are used to understand the range of confraternities and the high level of devotion they inspired. The next chapter explores women's roles in Afromexican confraternities in general, moving from their peak in power in the seventeenth century, to an eighteenth century decline. This subject is further supported by a chapter on Morelia, which presents a detailed history of two *cofradías*, one with the characteristics of the Baroque Afromexican brotherhoods, and another which achieved more mainstream success, by modeling itself after Hispanic brotherhoods and through the leadership of upwardly mobile members in the eighteenth century. The next chapter looks at the marginalized history of the *casta* *cofradía* in the mining outpost of Parral, Chihuahua. The dissertation ends with a chapter on race and identity formation within *cofradías* throughout New Spain and the colonial era.

Here I explore many racially explicit confraternity constitutions and the race-base conflicts which were part of confraternal life.

Most of my research has been done in municipal and ecclesiastical archives in Mexico. This research was funded by a Fulbright Grant which I received for the term of September, 2001 to June, 2002. Working in Mexico City and regional archives, I have found foundation, election, financial and membership documentation for *casta* confraternities. For comparison, I have researched the documents generated by Spanish and indigenous confraternities in each locale. For Morelia and Parral, I have sought evidence of the background of confraternal officers and members through notarial, matrimonial, baptismal and judicial records. Extensive documentation stretching over centuries in the case of a few confraternities allows me to trace their evolving function in local society and the changing status their membership over time. This research will provide me with the documentary evidence to support a well-developed exploration of colonial Afromexican piety and identity.

NOTES

¹ Lester Little, *Liberty, Charity, Fraternity* (Northampton, 1988), pp. 27, 57, 69, 80-81, 93.

² Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982); James Banker, *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune* (Athens, 1988); Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Ritual in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, 1995).

³ See Ben Vinson III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty* (Stanford, 2001), the only other recent work on Afromexicans and their participation in colonial institutions.