Book Reviews

Longue Durée

Black Women Slaves Who Nourished a Nation: Artistic Renderings of Wet Nurses in Brazil. By KIMBERLY CLEVELAND. Cambria Studies in Slavery: Past and Present Series. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2019. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 239 pp. Paper, $49.99.

The Black wet nurse remains to this day one of the most romanticized representations of Brazilian slavery. Common to other slave societies, such as those in the US South, the idealization of the motherly, affectionate devotion of Black enslaved women not to their own children but to their white charges is inextricably linked to the forging of the symbolic figures of "Black mothers" or "mammies," central to the imaginary of racially harmonious postslave societies.

The importance of this topic to understanding past and present race and gender social dynamics makes Kimberly Cleveland's book a timely contribution to the growing field on the intersections between race, visuality, and other social markers. Cleveland aims to analyze Black wet-nursing historically from the point of view of visual culture, centering images rather than taking them as complements to other discourses and sources. The author openly adopts a transdisciplinary approach in order to investigate paintings, photographs, and sculptures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that depict Black wet nurses and thus reveal changing racial standards and politics in Brazil.

Such an ambitious project would certainly be of great interest to historians and other scholars studying slavery, abolition, postabolition, and African diaspora. However, the project comes up against some obstacles. First, the magnitude of Cleveland's goals are somewhat diminished by the fact that, for a book that delves into visual culture, she uses a rather small sample of images to build an encompassing argument. For instance, in the book's second chapter, dedicated to representations of wet nurses in the second half of the nineteenth century, Cleveland chooses to work with four photographs of Black women from one single imperial province, Bahia. In fairness, many of the known photographs of Black wet nurses and their white charges produced at that time were taken in northeastern provinces. It is difficult, however, to see how a few images from a single locale could reveal a comprehensive scenario in which visual conventions of photography are intertwined with market practices, photographers' aesthetic choices, and the agency of

those who are photographed—women who, albeit probably portrayed at the orders of their masters, contributed to the photographic act with their bodies, gestures, and gazes.

Notwithstanding the author's careful methodological treatment of images and her recourse to an extensive bibliography to substantiate interpretations, the limited primary source base gives readers the misleading impression that examples of visual representations of Black wet nurses are scarcer than they actually are. This also affects a deeper understanding of how images dialogue both with their historical and social context of creation and with other images and representations. A consideration of this symbolic circulation seems crucial to properly understanding the emergence and transformations of visual discourses and the role that these discourses play in the construction of social imaginaries of slavery and race relations in the Brazilian empire and republic.

The author makes an interesting point about the varying names and meanings attributed to representations of enslaved women engaged in domestic work and the care of white children, identifying differences between Black wet nurses and mammies. The very important matter of how representations of enslaved domestic workers transformed into a mythic Black motherhood able to pacify racial conflicts in postabolition Brazil, however, is left unresolved.

In addition, although the book focuses on gendered and racialized representations, the white male perspective is at its center. Cleveland argues that white male artists and doctors had the power to control the lives of their enslaved Black wet nurses and to determine how they would be seen and spoken of. It is a bit disappointing, however, that Black women's agency is only considered via a problematic claim that white male domination was subverted by these women when they rented out their wet-nursing services—a stance that does not consider the violent nature of the wet-nursing labor market and the many challenges faced by enslaved and freed women to get by and raise and support their families. At stake here is an understanding of agency as free will that has been overtly criticized by specialists.

Nevertheless, Cleveland's work is a well-written, carefully edited book that delves into crucial matters and can attract a broad reading public interested in understanding both the historical processes that forged a complex visuality of race and gender in postslavery Brazil and the violent, unequal society that this visuality helped to create.

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The Apache Diaspora: Four Centuries of Displacement and Survival. By PAUL CONRAD. America in the Nineteenth Century. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Notes. Index. 366 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

This carefully researched and well-written book complements and expands recent scholarship on the Apache by Lance Blyth, Mark Santiago, Jason Yaremko, and Matthew Babcock. Conrad uses the lens of diaspora to analyze four centuries of Ndé/Apache history, from their initial interactions with Europeans in the sixteenth century to the

early twentieth century, when several dozen Apache returned to the Southwest, if not to their ancestral lands, after decades of forced exile. The book discusses various Apache groups at different times and places, but the bulk of the discussion deals with the "Southern Apache" (the so-called Chiricahua). In the introduction, Conrad argues that the five key elements in a diaspora are evident in the Apache experience: "migration, collective memory of an ancestral home, a continued connection to that home, a sustained group consciousness, and a sense of kinship with group members living in different places" (pp. 2–3). This argument is persuasively demonstrated with illustrative examples drawn from a wide array of sources, including original documents from repositories in the United States, Mexico, and Spain. While deeply analytical, Conrad enlivens his narrative with meaningful stories and evocative vignettes.

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1, "Becoming Apache in Colonial North America," deals with the displacement and enslavement of Apache by Spaniards and their Indigenous allies in New Mexico and surrounding areas between the late sixteenth century and the third quarter of the eighteenth century. During that period, many Apache captives ended up working in the mines of present-day Chihuahua (then part of Nueva Vizcaya) or serving their captors as *criados* (often a euphemism that disguised de facto slavery). In the seventeenth century, most Apache entered colonial society as victims of Spanish enslaving campaigns. By the eighteenth century, however, a growing number of Plains Apache turned up in northern New Spain as refugees seeking shelter from Comanche, Ute, and other powerful Indigenous enemies, who sometimes captured and sold them in New Mexico, where the descendants of many ransomed Apache ended up being labeled Genízaros.

In part 2, "Apaches, Nations, and Empires," Conrad emphasizes the importance of kinship in Apache identity and interpersonal relations, family and *gotah* (local group) being both the central organizing principles of Apache society and the main foci of individual loyalties, which Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans tried to target and manipulate to their advantage through the systematic expatriation of Apache prisoners. Following a viceregal order in 1751, Spaniards began to deport Apache captives in coffles to Mexico City, Veracruz, and even Cuba, where they were destined to perform domestic labor among purportedly deserving private petitioners to the crown or hard labor in public works. Despite the official rhetoric of integration, an estimated 30 percent of displaced Apache died in such journeys. As was the case with seventeenth-century Spanish enslaving expeditions, Apache were not the only Indigenous peoples affected by the deportation policy, but they became its primary victims.

In the last chapters, Conrad analyzes the "Apaches de paz" program (Spaniards' partly successful attempt to facilitate the settlement of Apache groups near presidios through a combination of military pressure, material gifts, and protection); the similar attempts by the US government to concentrate Apache on reservations (often away from their traditional territories and always under coercion) in the context of the so-called Apache Wars of the second half of the nineteenth century; the subsequent exile of most Southern Apache as prisoners of war, irrespective of their actual roles in those conflicts; and attempts at assimilation through the boarding school program.

Despite their destructiveness, Conrad concludes, most Spanish, Mexican, and US policies triggered new mobility patterns and resistance strategies among Apache but failed to subjugate them (p. 12). All along, Apache resorted to warfare, escape, alliances with other groups (both colonized and colonizers), communication, and travel, among other tactics, to elude or mitigate slavery and displacement. Many communities have survived and retained their distinct identity to this day. Diaspora, though, continues to affect how others view Apache as well as how Apache view themselves, having resulted, as Conrad shrewdly observes, in "the presence of federally or state-recognized Apache tribes in Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana" (p. 6). Considering the breadth of this book, criticizing it for any omissions may be unfair, but perhaps Conrad could have at least mentioned the Apache who retained their freedom in the mountains of northern Mexico into the twentieth century. Indeed, some diasporic Apache still live south of the Rio Grande.

Some of Conrad's interpretations and word choices may be debatable. Presenting displacement as genocide warranted, perhaps, a more thorough discussion of that concept vis-à-vis ethnic cleansing and ethnocide. Referring to the presidial companies as "regiments" is odd, as such contingents rarely consisted of more than several dozen soldiers. For a story in which geography plays such a central role, the book could have made a stronger effort at mapping the Apache diaspora.

All in all, Conrad's meticulously researched and clearly written book will appeal to specialists of colonial Latin American and (Native) American history as well as borderlands and diaspora studies. It can also be profitably used in graduate and upper-division undergraduate courses.

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Compound Remedies: Galenic Pharmacy from the Ancient Mediterranean to New Spain. By PAULA S. DE VOS. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. Maps. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 385 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

Compound Remedies invites readers into the pharmacy of Jacinto de Herrera y Campos in late eighteenth-century Mexico City. The apothecary's medicines, equipment, and records provide a glimpse into early modern medical practice. Paula De Vos asks how Galenic medicine transformed and changed before arriving in New Spain, and how it evolved in the Americas with exposure to new environments and materia medica. In answering these questions, she challenges long-held assumptions that Latin American apothecaries tell us more about colonial than European medicine. In doing so, she embraces the global turn in the history of science. De Vos contends that the history of colonial Mexican pharmacies must include key learning centers in the Mediterranean world and beyond like Córdoba, Santander, Alexandria, Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Montpellier, Florence, Paris, and London (p. 15).

This rich history traverses centuries of knowledge through the libraries and writings of several Mediterranean intellectuals, including Galen, Dioscorides, Paul of Aegina, Ibn Sīnā, and John Mesue. The text operates on two levels: pragmatic and intellectual. The former takes Mexico's early modern pharmacies and analyzes their inventories and technologies. De Vos contextualizes how these materials were used, understood, and applied in Western medicine. The latter level reminds readers that this art was never static—it was steeped in centuries of theoretical discourse, reflection, and revision. Nevertheless, De Vos highlights that a very small percentage of American materia medica, despite its evolving nature, was adopted and used by Iberian physicians in New Spain.

One tremendous strength of the book is its geographical framing. De Vos recenters this history on the Mediterranean region and in particular Arabic scholars. This allows researchers and students to reconsider the Eurocentric roots of Western medicine and even the scientific revolution. For example, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a series of Arabic medical works were translated into Latin and disseminated in European learning centers like Salerno and Toledo. This corpus became "the basis for the medical curricula in newly established universities of Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, Padua, and, later, Salamanca" (p. 108).

Another important intervention made by the book is its defiance of traditional chronological boundaries. Mexico's colonial medical practices simultaneously drew on ancient, medieval, and early modern medical theories. De Vos adeptly guides readers through these layers, bringing to the forefront actors like Mesue. Of note, Mesue's thirteenth-century *Grabadin* touted several key ideas that later shaped traditional Galenic practices. This included systematically organizing recipes by remedy type and determining how compound ingredients (several ingredients in one mixture) reacted when mixed.

De Vos synthesizes the key concepts, texts, authors, materials, and practices of the Galenic pharmaceutical tradition. She addresses additional gaps in the literature by problematizing the concept of medical virtue, examining the influence of material culture and artisanal work on the science of Galenic medicine, and exploring how chemical medicines were formulated and tied to medieval alchemy.

The book benefits graduate students and researchers studying medicine in Latin America and the Mediterranean. The chapters progress naturally and balance both the theory behind pharmaceutical practices and their application in the lived world. Chapter 1 examines simples (raw natural materials) and their medical uses. Chapter 2 describes how pharmacists corrected and processed simples. It highlights how Arabic scholars attempted to explain inconsistencies in Galen's work. Moreover, in the chapter De Vos traces the search for the virtue of a total substance and the subsequent "astrologization" of natural philosophy (p. 75). Chapter 3 addresses an often-overlooked area: compounding. Compounding, key to Galenic pharmacy, involved optimizing the combination and mixture of simples. Chapter 4 focuses on Nahua materia medica from the Nahua, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Maya peoples (p. 149). The chapter demonstrates that approximately 110 Indigenous substances formed the core of Nahua pharmacopoeia (p. 153). Finally, chapter 5 discusses alchemical pharmacy, which diverged from traditional Galenic medicine but nevertheless retained deep roots in the Mediterranean world and medieval medicine. *Compound Remedies* is an indispensable contribution to the history of medicine in Latin

America. It is a text that readers will prefer to have at hand because it provides a wealth of reference information and much inspiration within its pages.

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Grandes vicios, grandes ingresos: El monopolio del tabaco en los imperios ibéricos; Siglos VII–XX. Edited by SANTIAGO DE LUXÁN MELÉNDEZ, JOÃO FIGUEIROA REGO, and VICENT SANZ ROZALÉN. Política y Sociedad en la Historia de España. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2019. Photographs. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 292 pp. Paper, €23.08.

Para entender esta obra colectiva, sus alcances y sus logros es necesario considerar su origen. En el preámbulo, se aclara que el libro es producto del trabajo grupal del Seminario Permanente de Historia del Tabaco y que en él se recogen los principales resultados del seminario internacional "Tabaco, azúcar, esclavos y fiscalidad en los mundos atlánticos (siglos xv–xx)", que tuvo lugar en 2018 dentro del XXIII Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana y del XII Encuentro Internacional de la Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanos y del Caribe. En su conjunto, puede ubicarse la obra dentro de los debates historiográficos más recientes, tanto los dedicados a las lecturas comparadas del monopolio del tabaco entre distintos imperios, como los que señalan al tabaco como un producto que contribuyó al proceso de globalización por las múltiples conexiones (tanto institucionales como al margen de los poderes establecidos) que ayudó a entretejer en el tiempo, lo cual dio pie a la vertebración de grandes espacios.

Si nos adentramos propiamente en el libro, la heterogeneidad marca la pauta. En total, *Grandes vicios, grandes ingresos* contiene diez contribuciones que abordan diversos aspectos del ámbito tabaquero en una temporalidad larga, desde fines del siglo xvi hasta fines del siglo pasado. Aun cuando el título hace referencia a los grandes ingresos del monopolio del tabaco en los imperios ibéricos, las contribuciones de Agustín González Enciso e Irina Yányshev-Nésterova son las únicas que examinan los ingresos del tabaco, el primero para España en comparativa con el monopolio francés, y la segunda para el imperio ruso. Esto desentona con el resto del trabajo, al menos en su marco espacial, pero da cuenta de un notable esfuerzo por mostrar las similitudes entre distintos monopolios del tabaco, y en particular del monopolio ruso con el europeo.

Entre las contribuciones que se refieren a los imperios ibéricos es posible identificar aportes historiográficos en común, según los espacios, las temporalidades y las cuestiones que se abordan. Por ejemplo, tres artículos abonan a esclarecer por qué, siendo una medida común, el monopolio del tabaco se desarrolló de forma distinta tanto dentro de los dominios de un mismo imperio –caso de las contribuciones de Salvador Miranda Calderín para Canarias y Vicent Sanz Rozalén para Cuba y Filipinas–, como entre estancos cercanos y con dinámicas comerciales similares, tal como explican Santiago de Luxán Meléndez y María Margarida Vaz do Rego Machado para los archipiélagos portugueses y españoles del Atlántico Medio.

João Figueiroa Rego presenta una radiografía de las autoridades, los tribunales e instancias en materia hacendística que intervinieron en el monopolio portugués y lo hace con base en los "papeles del tabaco", denominación dada a la documentación generada por y para la Junta de Administração do Tabaco. Por su parte, Santiago de Luxán Meléndez y María de los Reyes Hernández Socorro estudian el ascenso político y administrativo de José Antonio Losada, administrador de la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla entre 1744 y 1764, a través de su participación en las Máscaras de la ciudad en 1747 y del proceso que se le adelantó por sustracción de tabacos en 1764. Así, el volumen muestra las particularidades de cada monopolio, sus instituciones y actores.

Otro aspecto del que se ocupan varios artículos es la redefinición del tabaco dentro del erario español, tanto en la metrópoli como en los espacios coloniales, tras la disolución de la factoría de La Habana (1817) y el proceso de independencia en América. En su capítulo, José María de Luxán Meléndez demuestra que las fórmulas para garantizar el abastecimiento del estanco del tabaco tras la disolución de la factoría de La Habana, así como las posibilidades de su cultivo en la Península e islas adyacentes, adquirieron una posición relevante en la agenda pública de las distintas sociedades de amigos del país en España. Por su parte, Eduardo Galván Rodríguez explica que, si bien dentro de los programas progresistas decimonónicos se contemplaba el desestanco del tabaco, la falta de fondos y la ineficiente búsqueda de una fuente fiscal sustituta impidieron que se adoptara la medida en las Cortes. Por último, Jean Stubbs refiere lo que implicó para España mantener la isla de Cuba libre del monopolio del tabaco hasta 1898, lo cual abrió el tabaco cubano al sector privado con capitales tanto nacionales como extranjeros, y a continuación sitúa al cigarro canario y cubano dentro de los ciclos históricos imperialistas británico y norteamericano, además de que presenta diversos ejemplos de conexiones trasnacionales y locales del tabaco hasta finales del siglo pasado.

Pese a los puntos en común entre artículos, y debido a su origen, la diversidad de asuntos que trata y la larga temporalidad que se propone, el libro carece de equilibrio expositivo. Creo que el lector, según sus intereses temporales, geográficos y/o temáticos, encontrará mayor riqueza en los capítulos por separado que en la obra en su conjunto. Considero que ésta es una advertencia necesaria, porque el lector seducido por el título puede decepcionarse al hallar escasos trabajos relacionados con los ingresos de los monopolios del tabaco en los imperios ibéricos, más aun si piensa que por la dimensión imperial encontrará en la obra más contribuciones dedicadas a los territorios fuera del espacio peninsular ibérico.

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Clothing the New World Church: Liturgical Textiles of Spanish America, 1520–1820. By MAYA STANFIELD-MAZZI. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021. Map. Figures. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxi, 408 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

How churches were adorned and their priests were clothed played important roles in Catholic evangelization in the New World. In this book Maya Stanfield-Mazzi examines

the cloth that adorned churches and the vestments worn by the clergy. While this might seem a narrow topic of interest to specialists in textile history, it provides a window into many aspects of Spanish American colonial cultural and social history.

To exalt God and attract adherents, churches and patrons sought high-quality materials and skills to manufacture liturgical textiles. To reflect this, the book is structured by the hierarchy of fibers and products used, with the first chapter on silk, the most esteemed textile, followed by chapters on embroidery, featherwork, tapestry, painted cotton, and cotton lace. Each chapter treats a particular fiber or product and examines its origins, how artisans were trained, and how production was organized. Stanfield-Mazzi also analyzes the designs, techniques, and imagery associated with each textile type, focusing on the region where skills were most highly developed. Although each chapter focuses on a single type, the analysis reveals hybridity in both the use of materials and ideas.

The first two chapters, on silk and embroidery respectively, examine the nature of both industries in Spain. Initially, bolts of plain silk fabrics and damask with small-scale floral patterns were exported to Spanish America, where they were made into clothing and other products. The silk and silk textile industry that later developed in Mexico mirrored the industry's organizational structure in Spain, but Stanfield-Mazzi shows how Indigenous Mexicans and Africans were often trained and worked in textile workshops, despite legislation banning this. Stanfield-Mazzi also shows how silk fabrics might incorporate Chinese motifs and French designs as well as silver and gold thread and ribbons that became available locally as silver mining developed. The book includes a full discussion of different types of embroidery, which constitutes a good introduction for those wishing to learn more about the art without being totally overwhelmed by detail. Perhaps a little more could have been said about the nature and adoption of Chinese silk textiles and designs, which became common from the end of the sixteenth century.

The production of church textiles, particularly featherwork and tapestry, depended on Indigenous materials and skills. Featherwork was not used for liturgical purposes in the Old World, although birds and feathers might be depicted in designs. However, drawing extensively on Mexican codices, Stanfield-Mazzi shows how featherwork was highly developed in pre-Columbian times, with Mexica warrior elites wearing feather headdresses and costumes. Dazzled by this exquisite work, the Franciscans and Augustinians continued the tradition, and the church incorporated featherwork as symbolizing evangelization's success. Following the Indigenous practice of using feather headdresses to symbolize the highest priestly authority, feathers were commonly used in miters worn by those highest in the Catholic Church hierarchy. Understandably the book focuses on featherwork's use in Mexico, but an account of pre-Columbian featherwork in the Andes and a fuller exploration of why it was not adopted for liturgical purposes there would have been useful. After all, feathers equally symbolized high status among the Incas.

While the Spanish did not adopt featherwork in the Andes, they did embrace Indigenous tapestry there. The Incas wove fine *q'umpi* (*cumbi*) cloth made of native camelid wool and cotton, worn by royal elites and used as wrappings for mummies. The

Spanish employed it to cover altars, walls, and floors. Stanfield-Mazzi shows how at first locally produced altar frontals often combined Inca death imagery, notably skulls, with Christ's stigmata. Later, however, the structure of q'umpi cloth production by specialist artisans broke down under Spanish conquest and as Christian attempts to root out idolatry in the Andes discouraged the liturgical use of Indigenous materials and imagery. Q'umpi altar tapestries also declined with the increased availability of Chinese silk and Andean silver, which were higher-status products.

The study analyzes textile from an impressive range of museums, private collections, and individual churches scattered in Mexico and the Andes as well as Europe and the United States. A sample of some 200 textiles are illustrated in color in the book. The study is also enriched by documentary sources from archives in Spain, Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Finally, the book includes simple diagrams of how different textiles and stitches are produced and a helpful glossary of liturgical and textile terms. Therefore, as well as being a scholarly volume of value to art historians, the book is an excellent introduction to textile production in Spanish America for the nonspecialist.

The book's scope is already broad, so it is perhaps unreasonable to suggest that more could have been said about other regions of Spanish America beyond Mexico and part of the Andes. Even if textiles were not made locally, they might have reached even distant churches by trade or commission. This quibble aside, this is a beautifully produced book of value to nonspecialist colonial historians and textile scholars, who will learn much about the social and cultural context in which church textiles were produced.

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Precontact

Her Cup for Sweet Cacao: Food in Ancient Maya Society. Edited by TRACI ARDREN. The Linda Schele Endowment in Maya and Pre-Columbian Studies. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020. Maps. Figures. Tables. Bibliographies. Index. x, 383 pp. Cloth, $60.00.

This compelling collection of essays reveals the key role that food played in all dimensions of Maya society, including economics, politics, and religion. Through analysis of the kitchen, feasts, banquets, rituals, and "memory work," the collection emphasizes food's importance as a social fact and its role in cultural reproduction and identity construction. From a wide range of disciplines, the contributors skillfully connect historical, archaeological, chemical, biological, anthropological, ethnohistoric, epigraphic, and iconographic evidence.

Though the volume focuses on the Classic period, Traci Ardren wisely includes a chapter by M. Kathryn Brown and Carolyn Freiwald that analyzes the potluck festival during Middle and Late Preclassic periods as a key element in the following period's

social complexity. The book's core—chapters 3 to 9—submerges the reader in an in-depth exploration of the role of food and foodways in the social construction of identities in Classic Maya society.

In chapter 3, Jon Spenard, Adam King, Terry Powis, and Nilesh Gaikwad adopt an ethnographic approach to emphasize the social importance of caves as spaces of communication between gods and men, especially between Maya royalty and divine essence. Their analysis shows both cacao's great value in the caves of Pacbitun and women's importance in these rituals. Furthermore, the chapter suggests that the caves may have also been used by specialists for other purposes, such as healing. The following chapter, by Nicholas Carter and Mallory Matsumoto, explores the epigraphy of food and beverages in the Maya courts. The chapter analyzes all dimensions of maize, cacao, and pulque: the way that they were prepared, their mythical meaning, and the social and religious norms that governed their consumption, including preparation processes and table settings.

Shanti Morell-Hart next argues that food plants should also be recognized as "dynamic actors, mediators, and messengers" (p. 149). Morell-Hart explains how ancient Maya's plant-based diet was complemented by the intake of animal protein. Petra Cunningham-Smith, Ashley Sharpe, Arianne Boileau, Erin Kennedy Thornton, and Kitty Emery build on the importance of animals in their chapter, which analyzes the role of dogs in Maya culture, whether as food, funeral offerings, or symbols.

Chapters 7 and 8 move on to examine culinary and food service equipment as a form of social distinction and a sign of identity. Lilia Fernández Souza, Mario Zimmermann, and Socorro del Pilar Jiménez Álvarez demonstrate how the distribution of culinary and food service equipment in Sihó evinces the existence of social divisions, including the selective use of certain culinary tools in relation to those in privileged power positions. Similarly, Julia Hendon's spatial analysis of the Copán and lower Ulúa valleys shows how food (especially cacao), ceramics, and other goods increased stratification within cities with a central power, such as Copán, and decentralized areas with greater ethnic diversity, such as the lower Ulúa valley.

Maxime Lamoureux-St-Hilaire's contribution, the last to address the Classic period, illustrates the role of festivities as channels of communication and as processes of social differentiation. Lamoureux-St-Hilaire explores how the great sophistication of La Corona's feast meant to perpetuate the power and identity of increasingly unstable elites. Lamoureux-St-Hilaire demonstrates how this festival's great economic cost placed a huge stress on the environment and the population. The festival, the author argues, thus played an important role in the deterioration of social and political relations and in triggering the collapse of Classic Maya society.

Following this comprehensive analysis of the Classic Maya, the collection's last three contributions focus on the transformations resulting from the collapse of Maya society and the Maya cultural reformulation, due to the arrival of new human groups in the area during the Postclassic period. Ardren's chapter shows how the arrival of new foods and technology organized regional elites and newcomers as new identities emerged, despite the cultural exchanges between both parties. Moreover, in a study of the food consumed in Mayapán, Marilyn Masson, Timothy Hare, Bradley Russell, Carlos Peraza

Lope, and Jessica Campbell reveal the unusual growth in the consumption of meat, probably due to several factors including the existence of markets, tribute demands, and sumptuary laws. This contrasted with the countryside, where the intake of animal protein was scarce. Gabrielle Vail and Maia Dedrick analyze the relationships between men, gods, and animals through *balche'* rituals from the Postclassic era to the present day, exposing the drink's great relevance to the study of social transformations. Closing out this coherent yet diverse collection, Jeffrey Pilcher contextualizes the book within Maya historiography, recalling the contributors' key arguments and suggesting future lines of research.

Ardren and the collection's contributors painstakingly advance a unique, compelling, and thorough analysis of the social uses of food and foodways in Classic Maya culture, grounded in rich evidence analyzed from a diverse range of approaches. This volume sets the groundwork for further studies to explore other periods and regions in order to gain a broader understanding of this phenomenon in Maya culture.

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Fifteenth–Seventeenth Centuries

Strike Fear in the Land: Pedro de Alvarado and the Conquest of Guatemala, 1520–1541. By W. GEORGE LOVELL, CHRISTOPHER H. LUTZ, and WENDY KRAMER. The Civilization of the American Indian. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. Photograph. Map. Figures. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 174 pp. Cloth, $32.95.

Historians of the early colonial period, once considered a moribund field, have opened new spheres of inquiry into the Spanish conquest of Latin America and the Caribbean. Reanalyzing early chroniclers' works, employing previously unexplored sources, and rethinking colonization processes have resulted in important contributions to conquest literature. *Strike Fear in the Land* much resembles the New Conquest History. The authors present a thorough and timely reassessment of the Alvarado clan—headed by Pedro de Alvarado, his brother Jorge de Alvarado, and notable cousins and kin such as Pedro de Portocarrero—and their pivotal role in Spain's conquest of Guatemala and Central America more broadly. The book illuminates negotiations between Spaniards and Indigenous groups and the Spaniards' brutal tactics employed to "pacify" Indigenous peoples resisting invasion. As highly respected scholars, W. George Lovell, Christopher H. Lutz, and Wendy Kramer craft a narrative built on archival research and work in special collections, buttressed by an exhaustive review of secondary sources. Their truly important contribution promotes understanding of mechanisms and processes laying the substrata for inequitable racial and class structures plaguing modern Guatemala.

Divided into four chapters with useful appendixes, *Strike Fear in the Land* strongly succeeds in presenting genuinely accessible cutting-edge scholarship. The book easily

elucidates questions of gender, race, and class without theoretical abstruseness; an overly theoretical approach would likely have hindered the authors' goal to illuminate conquest history in clear prose. The book successfully challenges established notions like Pedro de Alvarado's allegedly single-handed leadership of the Spanish conquest. Indeed, the authors convincingly argue that Jorge de Alvarado played a greater role than once assumed and that fluency in Indigenous languages, namely Nahuatl—a certain lingua franca throughout the region—proved essential to negotiations with Indigenous leaders (pp. 70, 72–75).

All chapters present notable contributions; however, chapter 4 engages with the second book of minutes of Santiago de Guatemala's municipal council (the *Libro segundo del cabildo*), an invaluable sixteenth-century source long thought lost but recently located in New York's Hispanic Society of America. The chapter reveals the precarious Spanish hold on power plus the internecine discord existing among Spanish elites (pp. 80–84). Typically, supplemental materials contain specialized data and speak to expert readers, but *Strike Fear in the Land* instead aims to engage a broader audience and renders the appendixes approachable. This accessibility uniquely combines with original scholarship, especially in the case of appendix D, an engrossing narrative of the resistance movements led by the Kaqchikel nobles Ahpozotzil Cahí Ymox and Ahpoxahil Belehé Qat. The reverential terms *ahpozotzil*, "principal leader," and *ahpoxahil*, "second-in-command," refer to the leaders of the Kaqchikel polity of Iximché (p. 4n7). Initially Cahí Ymox and Belehé Qat allied with the Spanish, but in 1524 they staged an insurrection and then negotiated peace; however, discontent with the harshness of Spanish rule and brutal labor requirements led to a second Kaqchikel insurrection in 1533 (pp. 149–51). *Strike Fear in the Land* delves deep into the reasons why Indigenous leaders like Cahí Ymox and Belehé Qat disappear from conquest histories written by non-Indigenous people. In the process, Lovell, Lutz, and Kramer present a richer and more complex discussion of reasons for onetime allies like the Kaqchikel resisting Spanish domination.

Despite its impressive scholarship, *Strike Fear in the Land* contains some weaknesses. Published originally as *Atemorizar la tierra: Pedro de Alvarado y la conquista de Guatemala, 1520–1541* (2016), *Strike Fear in the Land* fails to indicate updated or abridged portions; however, the authors seemingly addressed criticisms of the earlier volume and included further Indigenous voices. A more serious flaw of the book is its exclusion of Africans, except for mentioning Africans as slaves and a prohibition against Black and Spanish men loitering near waterways, both of which appear in appendix A (pp. 103–4). Notably, *Strike Fear in the Land* presents a narrative focused on Indigenous peoples and Spaniards. While the book offers important correctives on Indigenous experiences of conquest history, its exclusion of Africans works against the goal of challenging established histories. While information on African participation in the conquest of Guatemala is scant, at least one African combatant appears in the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, an invaluable Indigenous chronicle of the region's conquest. Yet, to its credit, *Strike Fear in the Land* highlights numerous areas of potential inquiry, one of which centers on the participation of Africans in the conquest.

Overall, the book illustrates the importance of reevaluating histories once thought settled. Written in accessible and engaging prose, *Strike Fear in the Land* is essential reading for specialists, undergraduate and graduate students, and those interested in better understanding the complexities of Spanish colonization.

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"Mujeres ricas y libres": Mujer y poder; Inés Muñoz y las encomenderas en el Perú (s. XVI). By LILIANA PÉREZ MIGUEL. Nuestra América. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas / Editorial Universidad de Sevilla / Diputación de Sevilla, 2020. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. 477 pp. Paper, €18.00.

This study addresses the role of women in shaping Spanish rule and society in Peru during the first decades of colonial dominance. Liliana Pérez Miguel, while focusing on the specific historical character Inés Muñoz, examines the extensive and diverse groups of women who benefited from the encomienda. This institution, transplanted from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World, entrusted to its beneficiaries, known as encomenderos, the Catholic evangelization and protection of specific Indigenous communities. These encomendados in return paid a tribute, in metals and goods, to their encomenderos. This access to tribute and labor force made encomiendas one of the royal rewards most desired by those who participated in the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the New World. This book shows that several women were active participants in early Spanish colonization, an enterprise that according to the traditional historiography was dominated by male actors.

Pérez Miguel specifies that her book fits with an increasing production of gender studies on Latin America and colonial Peru specifically. Her work highlights the diverse social and ethnic backgrounds of those women who obtained an encomienda and their challenges and actions in the face of changing legislation and political interests that shaped their tenures. While the book focuses mainly on Inés Muñoz's life and contribution to Peru's colonization and early society, Pérez Miguel constantly draws comparisons with other contemporaneous encomenderas in colonial Peru, which allows her to reveal the wide range of these women's experiences during the convulsive decades of Spain's colonization of Peru. Through various waves of political unrest, many of these encomenderas had to overcome the loss of partners, children, and even the benefits granted them by the crown. Contradicting the passive role that traditional scholarship has asserted for female actors in early modern societies, many of these encomenderas actively assumed the leadership of their households and estates, and they even initiated legal battles to defend their benefits or seek alternative ones. Thus, beyond a clear focus on gender and biography, this work significantly contributes to social and legal history scholarship.

The book provides a lively illustration of the early decades of Spanish rule in Peru, exploring the personal and intimate experiences of famous historical characters such as

Francisco Pizarro and Hernando Pizarro, along with many other Spanish conquerors. However, Pérez Miguel highlights as protagonists their female companions and offspring, who on various occasions became the beneficiaries of encomiendas. Their access to economic resources, political influence, and local support networks permitted these women to make profound and lasting contributions to early colonial Peru's politics, economy, society, and culture. Muñoz was related to Francisco Pizarro through her marriage to Francisco Martín de Alcántara, half brother of the famous conqueror. Her close relationship with the first governor of Peru led Muñoz to become the caretaker of his mestizo children and brought her political and economic benefits, including multiple encomiendas. However, she was also affected negatively by the political instability of the early colonial period. After the governor and her husband died at the hands of political enemies, Muñoz became vulnerable, facing the loss of some of her political and economic benefits. By recounting the various setbacks suffered by Muñoz and many other women, some of whom had received encomiendas, the book re-creates the changing political environment faced by these women.

Pérez Miguel approaches the experiences of encomenderas with a sharp analysis that employs diverse historical methodologies. She offers an extensive historiographical discussion on her use of gender as a category of analysis that brings together scholarship produced in Latin America, Europe, and North America, a historical dialogue that nurtures this book's outstanding contributions. The author's analysis is also grounded on copious archival research, including *probanzas*, personal correspondence, notarial records, legal proceedings, and many other records. In approaching these materials, she reminds the readers about their potential biases in relation to women's actions. She also recognizes the danger of generalizing from encomenderas' particular experiences, some of which escaped the written registers. Aware of these limitations, Pérez Miguel critically examines these resources, providing elaborate tables and charts to complement her argument. This book is enjoyable reading for both expert and general audiences, with lively stories and exciting data. Overall, Pérez Miguel's work provides a significant contribution to the scholarship on early colonial Peru.

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Alluvium and Empire: The Archaeology of Colonial Resettlement and Indigenous Persistence on Peru's North Coast. By PARKER VANVALKENBURGH. Archaeology of Indigenous-Colonial Interactions in the Americas. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 306 pp. Cloth, $65.00.

There are many layers to this book, which at its core focuses on the late sixteenth-century *reducción* resettlement campaign in the Andes. The colonial Spanish administration directed the relocation of at least 1.4 million Indigenous Andeans from dispersed villages to more concentrated towns where they could more easily be monitored, indoctrinated, and exploited. Parker VanValkenburgh contributes to recent scholarship that

views one of the most expansive forced resettlement campaigns in history as not just an event but a longer-term, negotiated, and nonlinear process. Most originally, he also argues that reducción created a discourse that Indigenous people invoked throughout the colonial period. VanValkenburgh traces the process and discourse of reducción across hundreds of years and contextualizes it far deeper into the past. To do so he relies on nearly a decade of archaeological and historical research, including his work with the Proyecto Arqueológico Zaña Colonial's pedestrian survey in the lower Zaña valley (encompassing 150 square kilometers), more intensive localized surveys, several seasons of excavation at a few select sites, artifact analysis, and his own archival research in Peru and Spain.

For a long time, research on reducción, using the most accessible imperial sources, emphasized either its successes or failures. Following the work of his mentor Steve Wernke and others, VanValkenburgh combines archaeological work, archival research, and spatial analysis to reveal a localized, fuller image of reducción. The heart of this work is his study of the actual process and long afterlife of reducción for the Zaña valley. Chapter 4 provides a highly localized study of a few sites of reducción in the valley. Reducción inflicted "slow violence" on coastal peoples via social and environmental degradation, exacerbating the damage from earlier waves of warfare and disease. This helps explain why the region suffered the steepest colonial-era population decline for the greater Andes.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that although the people of the Zaña valley had abandoned their reducción towns by 1650, the idea of reducción continued to shape their lives. Locals built new towns modeled on the reducciones and continued articulating their relationship with Spanish imperial power via the language of improvement so prevalent in reducción-era documentation. The rigor and precision of VanValkenburgh's analysis in these chapters are evident in his spatial analysis. He maps, for instance, settlement distribution over time, the scatter of ceramic shards across individual sites, population distributions, land use, land cover, the probable routes of no-longer-visible roads and canals, and historical agricultural productivity (based on cloud cover and soil salinity).

Alluvium and Empire arrives to the actual establishment of reducción in the Zaña valley slowly. The opening chapter traces various academic approaches to empire by historians and archaeologists. VanValkenburgh then defines his own approach to empire. Through "landscape genealogy," he examines the connection between domestic life, imperial decrees, "and seasonal cycles of rain and wind, the occasionally violent movement of tectonic plates, and the often devastating and unpredictable spread of disease" (p. 50). The second chapter charts the intellectual history of colonial Spanish reducción, which according to VanValkenburgh involved the resettlement and attempted "improvement" of Indigenous peoples. The third chapter narrates the Zaña valley's long-term environmental and human history as one context in which reducción was attempted. Before the Spanish invasion, the valley's Indigenous inhabitants developed flexible settlement patterns, constructed portable architecture, and lived in areas best suited to accommodate the region's "cyclical violence of water and alluvium" (p. 85). Those seeking to better understand the Peruvian north coast's strange history will find much

value in this chapter and the subsequent two covering the postinvasion period. This region, after all, is central to the maritime foundations of Andean civilization hypothesis and is home to perhaps the earliest urban centers in the Americas. Yet it is also the epicenter of devastating Indigenous population decline.

Alluvium and Empire beckons for a layered reading approach. The opening chapters, which delve deep into academic debates, intellectual histories, and methodological approaches for the study of empire and reducción, will be a valuable starting point for scholars researching and teaching these topics for Latin America. However, the book is at its best when it sets aside these intellectual histories to vividly describe the relationship between empire, people, place, and "water, wind, and sediment" in the Zaña valley (p. 18). I found VanValkenburgh's discussions of the relationship between labor, sedimentation, and location along irrigation networks to be especially enlightening. Found in the richly illustrated chapters 4 and 5, this analysis demonstrates how empire was negotiated within specific places' longer-term environmental histories.

I do wonder if the book buries the importance of these contributions. The book's principal stated goal is to "illustrate how Spanish empire gained a grip in the Zaña valley and how Indigenous people dealt with it" (p. 16). Beginning the book's story in the valley and then inserting discussion of the intellectual genealogies of empire and reducción as needed would have brought the book's contributions to the fore. Nonetheless, *Alluvium and Empire* is a deeply researched, highly interdisciplinary, and richly woven tale of a region's resilient people. It is a testament to how they have creatively adapted to and survived the fluctuations of water, winds, sediment, empire, and resettlement across thousands of years. It should be essential reading for scholars of reducción, Peru's north coast, and the local environmental manifestations of empire in Indigenous America.

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Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries

South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War. By ALICE L. BAUMGARTNER. New York: Basic Books, 2020. Maps. Tables. Notes. Index. xi, 365 pp. Cloth, $32.00.

The dominant narratives of slavery in the United States depict a runaway's route to freedom as a constant movement to the northern United States or Canada via the Underground Railroad. Alice Baumgartner details the importance of the less-explored phenomenon of enslaved people in the United States who opted to flee south to Mexico. In *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War*, Baumgartner goes beyond just offering a narrative of the alternate direction to freedom and argues that enslaved African Americans who took the southern route played a critical role in sectional conflicts over slavery in the United States. The book begins in the early nineteenth century and ends in 1867, after the United States abolished slavery. In this time frame

Baumgartner illustrates how as slavery expanded across the southern United States, Mexican leaders began restricting and abolishing slavery in their territories, which had consequences for the United States.

Baumgartner states that, based on her research, roughly 3,000 to 5,000 people fled to Mexico for freedom, which is a fraction of those estimated to have fled to the north (p. 4). The thorough analysis of consular records, correspondence, court cases, and newspapers paints a vivid picture of the complexities of this period. In 12 chapters the book seamlessly moves between slavery in Mexico and the United States and displays the overlaps that resulted in political, legal, military, and moral conflicts. The first three chapters provide a brief overview of the history of slavery in the United States and Mexico. These chapters narrate the central role that US settlement in the Mexican region of Téjas would play in the 1830s and detail reactions to Mexico's calls for slavery's abolition, ultimately accomplished by 1837. Baumgartner's work forces us to seriously consider the macro- and microlevel consequences of shifting borders. Chapters 4 and 5 engage the responses of officials in both Mexico and the United States to abolition and the complicated position of Téjas as US settlers moved to this Mexican region with the idea of expanding slavery there. Chapters 6 and 7 emphasize the central role of slavery in the Texas Revolution (1835–36) and in the United States' 1845 annexation of Texas. Chapter 8 explains the US-Mexican War (1846–48) and the increased hostilities regarding slavery after the United States took over more than half of Mexico's territory and newly incorporated western states like California and New Mexico drafted constitutions to prohibit slavery against Southern slaveholding state politicians' wishes.

Throughout the book Baumgartner includes the actions that runaways took, yet the later chapters provide more thorough analyses of the broader consequences of these actions. Chapter 9 focuses on the agency and ingenuity of runaways who fled to Mexico for freedom as they joined military colonies, moved to cities, or hired themselves out as labor on haciendas. Enslaved people knew of the abolition of slavery in Mexico and took advantage of that knowledge to flee, whether on foot or hiding on ships as stowaways. Chapter 10 addresses US settlement of former Mexican territories after the US-Mexican War and the on-the-ground consequences of competing national and regional laws regarding slavery. Chapter 11 addresses African Americans in Mexico seeking US citizenship. Chapter 12 focuses on the American Civil War and ends with the role of Maximilian, installed by the French as emperor of Mexico, to demonstrate how slavery wove the national contexts of the United States and Mexico together.

A boon for future researchers is how Baumgartner details a wide range of special collections and city, state, and national archives across Mexico and the United States that hold information on runaway African Americans fleeing to Mexico. This work also pushes us to ask further questions. What African-descended communities already existed in Mexico during the nineteenth century? What happened to people years after they arrived in Mexico? What happened to runaways' descendants in Mexico? These questions do not suggest oversights in the work under review. Instead, they highlight the significance of this work in getting us to ask more questions about this crucial topic and time.

Through well-sourced accounts, Baumgartner demonstrates the similarities between the southern and northern routes to freedom in terms of the types of actors assisting in escapes, the potential exploitation of runaways, the possibility of capture, and limited employment opportunities once runaways arrived to free spaces. The individual circumstances collectively tied together the broader regional and national contexts of the United States and Mexico and played a crucial role in the sectional conflicts that would lead to the American Civil War. *South to Freedom* will be insightful for the general reader and informative for students of comparative slavery and freedom; it also adds intriguing angles of query for historians of the United States and Mexico.

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Fearful Vassals: Urban Elite Loyalty in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, 1776–1810. By PETER BLANCHARD. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 285 pp. Cloth, $45.00.

Peter Blanchard's new book is an ambitious effort to examine the antecedents of May 25, 1810. The author is an established historian of colonial Río de la Plata with broad archival experience. His ambition is made clear by the geographic breadth of his research. In a field focused on the viceregal capital city, Blanchard's decision to examine the viceroyalty's three largest cities, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Córdoba, is a welcome expansion in scale and perspective. Every specialist will also appreciate the rich historical detail that propels his narrative of late colonial social and political history. While these rewards are substantial, he fails in his ambition to add significantly to our understanding of the origins of independence in the Río de la Plata.

Blanchard's original intention was to examine the development of elite disaffection with Spanish rule in the decades prior to the Spanish political crises of 1808. Having found little "overt or even covert opposition to the crown or to Spain" in the archives, he reversed field to ask why the *rioplatense* elite remained steadfast despite the disruptive impact of colonial administrative and economic reforms that contemporaneously unsettled the longer established, wealthier, and more populous viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru (p. 6).

Blanchard concludes that the creation of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 provided this colonial elite with significant enhancements in wealth and prestige, a reward cache that reinforced an already strong conservative inclination. While the appetite for honors and wealth is seldom sated within any elite, Blanchard correctly believes that the reform-mandated transfer of Andean mineral wealth to the viceroyalty's urban centers led to a flood of commercial opportunities, honors, and prestigious positions that uplifted the status of the most powerful and affluent colonial families, reinforcing loyalty to crown and colonial state.

Blanchard believes that these benefits alone do not explain elite loyalty. Instead, he argues that in reaction to a series of existential threats, the elite became convinced that Spain was the only viable guarantor of its privileged social and economic position. He

examines the Andean rebellions of the 1780s, the appearance of revolutionary ideas after 1789, the restiveness of rapidly expanding slave populations, and Portuguese and British geopolitical threats in separate chapters that add rich detail to our knowledge of the period. However, neither his discussion of the elite nor his narrative of these threats alters existing understandings of the origin or timing of independence.

Having concluded that the viceroyalty's elite remained largely tranquil and mostly loyal until well after the defeat of the second British invasion, Blanchard is left with no real alternative to an explanation of independence focused on distant political actors and events. Every historian would agree that the Spanish abdications and French invasion of Iberia shocked the Spanish colonial system and provoked an array of disruptive and destabilizing political challenges. The May Revolution was one of these reactions. But unlike contemporaneous rebellions elsewhere in Spain's American empire, this experiment survived every challenge, internal or external, until Spain acquiesced to the reality of American independence more than a decade later. It seems likely to me that events prior to 1808 are key to explaining this distinct trajectory.

In his survey of the elite, Blanchard discusses the way that the tumultuous and unpredictable rhythms of Atlantic commerce affected the fortunes of individual merchants, but he does not assess the destabilizing impact of these forces on elite membership and status across time. As a result, he fails to identify the appearance of enduring political factions and commercial alliances that resulted from changing trade patterns. After 1790 Spanish-born merchants made wealthy by the Spanish monopoly system lost ground to alliances of creole and foreign merchants in the Río de la Plata. Merchants from places as distant as Mauritius and Connecticut found local allies, established speculative partnerships, and pursued profits outside the boundaries of traditional commerce. Locked in a struggle for wealth and power, these competing commercial factions mobilized to protect their interests in a market constantly challenged by war and altered trade opportunities. Even if this commercial revolution lacked clear political intent, the undeniable consequence was Spain's loss of economic sovereignty in the Río de la Plata.

Following the British invasion of 1806, the merchant elite assumed leadership roles in the military and political resistance. Over the next two years their decisions swept aside established colonial authorities and marginalized Spanish colonial institutions. With elite merchants providing key leadership, a new militia army was organized and financed. Then, in a dramatic break with colonial practice, a popular movement guided by these same elite figures stripped the Spanish viceroy of his military and political commands, elevating Santiago de Liniers as de facto viceroy. So well before news of the abdications and French invasion reached the Río de la Plata in July 1808, members of the commercial elite supported by leading officials of the militia had effectively superseded the colonial bureaucracy and military establishment. While independence was not yet inevitable in the Río de la Plata, the local elite had asserted a political agency impossible to contain within the institutions of Spain's colonial empire.

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Breaking the Chains, Forging the Nation: The Afro-Cuban Fight for Freedom and Equality, 1812–1912. Edited by AISHA FINCH and FANNIE RUSHING. Foreword by GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019. Tables. Notes. Index. xvi, 321 pp. Cloth, $55.00.

Breaking the Chains, Forging the Nation, edited by Aisha Finch and Fannie Rushing, is an inspired and inspiring collection of essays in Cuban history and literature that subverts traditional chronologies in order to center Black political subjectivity. Beginning as a workshop in 2012 to commemorate the double anniversaries of the Aponte Rebellion of 1812 and the massacre in 1912 of the Partido Independiente de Color, the first Black political party in the Americas, the volume considers the long arc of Afro-Cuban resistance to both slavery and racism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The collaborators' goal was to capture new perspectives on Black political life and Black political struggle in Cuba and beyond during this time of transition from slavery to postslavery and from colonial to neocolonial rule. By centering Blackness in their analysis, the editors and contributors successfully reconfigure the traditional time line of Cuban independence and construct alternate landscapes of meaning across the Atlantic and around the Greater Caribbean beyond the confines of empire and nation.

The unconventional decision to place Black political struggle during the long nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the same frame has major payoffs. By highlighting the continuity between Black oppositional struggles from 1812 to 1912, the chapters resist the impulse to place the emergence of Black political mobilization solely in the independence wars at the time of slavery's formal abolition. Discussions of slave insurgencies take the struggles of the enslaved seriously as a politics fortified by a diverse set of ideologies and belief structures, a politics that would inform another set of strategies used by Afro-Cubans to fight for dignity, sovereignty, and citizenship in the postemancipation period. The collection is also notable for its careful attention to gender and for the way that masculinity, femininity, race, *cubanidad*, a sense of national belonging, and African diasporic identity all played into Black political struggle and racial organizing in Cuba and beyond.

The collection is organized into three sections, each introduced by leading scholars of Cuban history who provide sufficient context to make the text approachable for newcomers to Cuban history. The first section, introduced by Matt Childs, focuses on slavery and resistance in the era of the Aponte Rebellion. It includes a contribution from Manuel Barcia on a series of African-led insurgent movements in western Cuba from 1795 to the mid-1840s. Barcia argues for the importance of West African military experience in what was effectively "a transplantation of West African warfare in the Americas" (p. 48). Renowned Cuban historian Gloria García responds with a more localized approach to the enslaved's resistance strategies, pointing out that slave insurgency often broke out in response to the violation of customary rights and that other resistance strategies could resemble common forms of labor negotiation such as work stoppages.

The second section, on "Black political thought and resistance in the age of La Escalera" (1843–44), is introduced by Ada Ferrer. Here Aisha Finch offers the book's most captivating idea: the "repeating rebellion," a play on Antonio Benítez-Rojo's "repeating island." She argues for considering collectively the recurrent struggles of *afrodescendientes* across lines of geography, legal freedom, and time. Finch illustrates a deeper political consciousness that produced these recurrent rebellions, made people of African descent acutely aware of them happening in their midst, and kept their memory alive long afterward. She sees Blacks confined to the plantation as setting the groundwork for subsequent organizing among Afro-Cubans and for a larger political awareness during the republic.

The third section, introduced by Aline Helg, considers the question of race and Blackness in postemancipation Cuba via studies of the Partido Independiente de Color, whose political protest triggered the massacre of 3,000 to 6,000 Black protesters by the Cuban and US militaries. This section's essays make excellent use of the Black press in Cuba, at the vanguard of publishing in the Americas, with the first Afro-Cuban newspaper, *El Faro*, established in 1842 and 25 other publications in print by 1889, including several dedicated to Afro-Cuban women. Chapters by Fannie Rushing, Melina Pappademos, and Takkara Brunson, along with Jacqueline Grant's chapter in the preceding section, draw clear connections between slavery-era associational life (*cabildos de nación*, *sociedades de la raza de color*, Abakuá secret societies) and the early republic's Afro-Cuban political parties, clubs, and press. These chapters as well as Michele Reid-Vazquez's also do brilliant work to excavate the gendered ways in which Black political subjectivity was constructed in opposition to white supremacy's specific fears and hatreds of Black women as opposed to men. W. F. Santiago-Valles provides the volume with a compelling afterword, offering a sweeping panorama of "repeating rebellions" and radical Black thought throughout the Greater Caribbean across the time covered by this study.

In *Breaking the Chains, Forging the Nation*, readers will find a diverse set of scholarly voices developing an original and powerful set of ideas about Black political thought and action from the time of slavery to postslavery. The example of Cuba and the methodologies of this volume's contributors are sure to inspire new ways of thinking about the varying forms of Blackness and Black political mobilization throughout the hemisphere.

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Ethnic Entrepreneurs, Crony Capitalism, and the Making of the Franco-Mexican Elite. By JOSÉ GALINDO. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 222 pp. Cloth, $54.95.

While most people are aware that Mexico was ruled by the same political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional and its previous iterations, from 1929 to 2000, few may connect this institutionalized dictatorship to a more complicated history of economic and political cronyism. José Galindo's recent book, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs, Crony*

Capitalism, and the Making of the Franco-Mexican Elite, explains precisely that history, using as a case study a group of French immigrants and, within this group, the Jean family, most famously connected to the Banamex banks and the Televisa media network. Galindo expands on previous efforts to look at corruption by combining political, economic, and cultural analyses with the use of UCINET software, which allows him to map the players of political and economic networks and to calculate their relative influence within each organization. Galindo's key argument is that Mexico's success in achieving greater economic and political stability during the Porfiriato (the administration of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz from 1876 to 1911) was due in large part to social networking, which contributed to today's ongoing patterns of crony capitalism or what Galindo calls "collusive corruption," in which networked relationships between government officials and economic actors allow for the appropriation of what is public for personal benefit.

Galindo is well positioned to take on this interdisciplinary approach to his topic: since 2015, he has coordinated no fewer than four interdisciplinary anthologies dealing with corruption in Mexico and published nine chapters of his own writing. Alongside publishing articles for academic journals and magazines such as *Forbes*, Galindo worked for Mexico's National Commission on Human Rights. The book under review here reflects Galindo's mastery of scholarship on the Mexican economy, covering the Porfiriato, the 1911 revolution, 1930s Cardenismo, 1970s efforts at implementing an import substitution industrialization model, and more recent patterns of resource privatization. Though Galindo does little to push against traditional takes on the Porfiriato as ending the "chaos" of previous eras through President Díaz's efforts to encourage foreign investment, ally with rival state governors, and follow the lead of the *científicos* (such as the Franco-Mexican finance minister José Yves Limantour), his discussion of the postrevolutionary era is more nuanced, especially through his analysis of Mexican economics by individual sectors (p. 77).

One drawback of the book is that a key argument—pointed to by the inclusion of "ethnic entrepreneurs" and "Franco-Mexican elite" in the title—is not given sufficient attention by the author himself. As Galindo describes the rise of this Franco-Mexican elite, we note the many privileges that they enjoy simply for being French. Beginning as early as the 1830s, foreign immigrants were encouraged to colonize purportedly undeveloped agricultural areas of Mexico. Such efforts were also geared toward "improv[ing] the Mexican race" by bringing European culture, connections, know-how, and whiteness into Mexico (pp. 24, 53). Succeeding administrations continued this pattern, providing concrete incentives like the 1886 Naturalization and Aliens Act granting Mexican citizenship to purchasers of real estate or the 1884 commercial code providing tax exemptions on imported machinery. "Frenchification" of Mexican values and tastes grew under Napoleon III's supervision during the French occupation of Mexico from 1863 to 1867, followed by another resurgence of Francophilia during the Porfiriato, influenced by French positivist understandings of the role of industry in providing social welfare. Though in a few cases Galindo asserts that these proclivities for French immigration and the laws that supported them could themselves be motors of crony capitalism, even

delving briefly into the role of "cultural capital" in keeping sociopolitical networks relevant, Galindo nonetheless does not make the clear connection between a history of cronyism and corruption and one of racism and imperialism, sticking instead to his insistence on the continued pervasiveness of "weak institutions" as fueling corruption's persistence (pp. 38, 142).

Galindo's book is unique in its range of perspectives (cultural, political, economic) and historical scope, stretching from Mexican independence to today. Within this framework, he has nestled the history of a group of "ethnic entrepreneurs." While an interesting case study in itself, the story of the French immigrants may actually detract from his discussion of crony capitalism in Mexico more generally, since "ethnic entrepreneurship" brings with it a variety of distinct variables of its own that Galindo does not adequately analyze. The marriage of these two topics—corruption and immigration policy—would be an absorbing contribution to a variety of fields, testing the thesis that racism and imperialism are themselves forms of corruption. Galindo chooses a different direction, contributing to Mexican economic history and the study of cronyism by tracing the roots of Mexico's multicultural elite. In doing so, he provides a text useful for graduate seminars on Latin American development, society, and economy, as well as on the methodology of prosopography.

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Sex, Skulls, and Citizens: Gender and Racial Science in Argentina (1860–1910). By ASHLEY ELIZABETH KERR. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 229 pp. Paper, $34.95.

Ashley Elizabeth Kerr's monograph examines racial science, Indigenous peoples, and nation building in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Argentina through the lens of gender. As she notes, this period of Argentine history has been studied by many scholars and from many different angles. Kerr contributes to this existing literature through her multifaceted focus on gender, which she argues has been largely absent in previous scholarship and prompts a reevaluation of the scientists and literary authors whose work she highlights. Kerr compellingly demonstrates the value of gender analysis here, and although the book contains some missed opportunities in terms of engagement with existing scholarship, it makes a valuable contribution to the field that will interest historians and literary scholars alike.

Some particularly strong analytical cases here include Kerr's examination in chapter 2 of Lucio V. Mansilla's *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*, in which she offers a thought-provoking reading of Carmen, the Indigenous woman tasked with communicating with Mansilla during his negotiations with cacique Mariano Rosas. Kerr reads Mansilla against the grain to argue that Carmen actively used her own gender positionality to manipulate Mansilla, even as he thought that he was manipulating her. Likewise, Kerr's discussion of both the Sociedad de Beneficencia's efforts to distribute Indigenous women and children

among wealthy Argentine families after the Conquest of the Desert and the Catholic Church's proposal for Indigenous boarding schools underlines not only the importance of gender in understanding Argentine ideas about race and nation in this period but also Argentina's provocative connections to similar experiences faced by Indigenous peoples elsewhere. In addition, Kerr's analysis of the photographs taken by Samuel Boote (images of Indigenous peoples in captivity during the 1880s) challenges readers to consider the silences and unanswered questions at which the photographs hint. She argues that even if many of these questions cannot be answered, they are nonetheless important to ask because they reveal "a strong historical bias against the details of women's lives and the intimate aspects of history" (p. 93). Finally, analysis of masculinity is perhaps the most powerful part of this book, not least because most of the available sources were written by men. Kerr effectively deconstructs what it meant to be a man (including as citizens and as scientists), as well as men's views of women's roles in creole and Indigenous society. In dialogue with her analysis of women authors like Florence Dixie and Eduarda Mansilla, Kerr reads her male-authored texts against the grain in search of women's agency, often to great effect.

Kerr's interesting and wide-ranging study also contains some missed opportunities. Some of the assertions that Kerr makes about existing scholarship overlook research that could have contributed to her own analysis. She argues, for instance, that many historians "have tended to accept nineteenth-century scientific productions and first-person observations at face value, often citing the very texts they have needed to interrogate" (p. 10). This statement seems to ignore the work of ethnohistorians, historians of science, and others who have read these texts critically and whose work could in fact support Kerr's arguments. Similarly, Kerr suggests that existing scholarship has been caught in a false "dichotomy between [understanding nineteenth-century anthropology as] heroic science and genocide," which discounts the work of historians and cultural studies scholars who have examined the moral complexities of nineteenth-century anthropology (p. 68). Kerr's contribution to the field speaks for itself, and these statements unfortunately distract from the value of her arguments. The absence from the book of scholarship that could support its arguments and even help to answer some of the questions posed as rhetorical (including the work of Axel Lazzari, Ana Ramos, and Susan Sheets-Pyenson, among many others) perhaps simply reflects a difference of disciplinary approach and certainly is a perennial challenge for interdisciplinary scholarship.

Kerr's book compellingly demonstrates the presence and importance of women as actors in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century discussions about racial science, Indigenous peoples, and national belonging in Argentina. She also makes clear that gender-based analysis of these historical developments, as well as some of the key literary texts that helped shape these events, is fruitful for generating new questions and insight. This book will be valuable to historians and literary scholars of Argentina, as well as to other scholars interested in gender, race, and Indigeneity in other settings.

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Confederate Exodus: Social and Environmental Forces in the Migration of US Southerners to Brazil. By ALAN P. MARCUS. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021. Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 252 pp. Cloth, $60.00.

Almost every other year a newspaper publishes an article about how the Confederate flag still flies in a hidden place in the Brazilian countryside. In the years after the American Civil War, thousands of Southern families migrated to other countries, with Brazil becoming one of their main destinations. Settlements were established in different parts of the country, but it is only in Santa Bárbara d'Oeste, in the state of São Paulo, that a community of descendants survives to this day. This group, the so-called Confederados, with their annual parties and reenactments of American Civil War battles, has fascinated many people over the decades. Still, this is a little-known story among the wider public in either the United States or Brazil, and only recently has it been the object of more substantial scholarship. *Confederate Exodus* by Alan P. Marcus adds to this literature.

Divided into five chapters, the book presents various aspects of the Confederate migration, including the push and pull factors behind the movement and the migrants' contributions to and impact on their new setting. Building on Laura Jarnagin's *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil* (2008), Marcus starts by outlining the trade relations that connected Baltimore to Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the former supplying mainly wheat in exchange for coffee. These relations were important for the migration movement, as we learn in the following chapter, in which the author outlines connections between those merchants and specific immigration agents. The same chapter provides an overview of the various US settlements in Brazil and their main characters, highlighting the multiple reasons why settlements failed in places other than Santa Bárbara d'Oeste. A third chapter outlines key aspects of nineteenth-century Brazil, from landownership patterns to literacy levels. The following chapter explores issues of race and compares the United States and Brazil. It also explores the racist ideas of key figures such as Louis Agassiz, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos in order to understand the ideological climate for much of the discussion and policies surrounding the Confederate migration. The last chapter focuses on the Santa Bárbara d'Oeste settlement, discussing its importance for the expansion of Protestantism and US schools in Brazil. The chapter also assesses Cemitério do Campo (the Confederate cemetery) as a key site for the reproduction of group identity over time.

The book's most controversial aspects are those related to race and slavery. The author rejects explanations of the migration that focus on slavery and racism, such as those offered by Gerald Horne and Charles Willis Simmons, as too simplistic; Marcus offers instead a conjunction of factors that he considers to be more complex. But slavery then completely disappears from the explanation. In trying to understand the Confederados as any other immigrant group, Marcus neglects the fact that those individuals had been raised in one of the largest racially based slave societies of the Americas, sometimes as slaveholders themselves. They did not need to believe in the creation of a slave empire abroad, as Maury and a few others did, to hope to continue as slaveholders,

at least for some time. And Brazil was one of the last places where this was possible. But Marcus argues instead that the Confederados "were well-aware that Brazil's population consisted of a sizeable number of black and miscegenated populations," taking this as evidence that they were not "recalcitrant" or "Negrophobic" (p. 130). They escaped the "new kind of virulent racism" that pervaded the postbellum South and "ostensibly followed the Brazilian-based hybrid construction of race" (p. 132).

To reinforce this point, the author argues that the Confederados were not significantly involved with slavery in their new setting. But the evidence to support this is too thin. Unfortunately, Marcus did not explore the many legal records involving Confederados that are stored at the Centro Cultural Martha Watts, in Piracicaba. A quick look at these records shows how slavery was important for the Southern immigrants to Brazil. There are references, for example, to slaveholders renting their captives to other families, which complicates the idea that slavery was restricted to a few individuals. Other records show Confederados asking for money to purchase slaves in Rio de Janeiro and individuals being arrested for torturing a slave. The founder of Cemitério do Campo was killed by his own slave. In sum, the Confederados indeed arrived in Brazil with limited resources and amid rising slave prices caused by the end of the transatlantic slave trade. But this makes it all the more impressive that an elite within the community could have purchased a nonnegligible number of captives in the interprovincial slave trade. We still await a full assessment of the relationship of the community with slavery.

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Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America. By SEBASTIÁN MAZZUCA. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Index. xii, 448 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

As of late, political scientists have ventured into studying the historical dynamics of state building in Latin America, a trend that has not gone unnoticed among historians. Such works have focused on the capacity of states to wage war and their bureaucratic development but have thus far abstained from offering a general theory regarding state formation in the region. Sebastián Mazzuca takes this leap by offering a wide theoretical approach that seeks to analyze the diverse political geography of Latin American countries and to understand why, in Mazzuca's words, these "states were born weak" (p. 1).

Mazzuca eloquently argues that in Latin America, early success regarding state formation meant failure at state building. Unlike Max Weber's and Charles Tilly's "pioneer" European states—where the processes of state formation and state building ran in parallel—Latin American "latecomer" countries first formed states, which in turn inhibited their state-building capacities (pp. 29–32). With states already in place, Latin American leaders did not become strong through conflict with their neighbors. Rather, statesmen opted to establish coalitions with their peripheries, which maintained autonomy as they were never subdued militarily by the center. The will to pursue—or reject—such coalitions was determined by the desire to pursue what Mazzuca terms "trade-led

state formation," as countries sought to increase their revenues not through taxation but by inserting themselves in the global economy, an opportunity offered by the nineteenth-century Pax Britannica.

Within this framework, both geography and politics determined the three different "pathways of state formation" taken by the region's various countries, summarized by Mazzuca as "port-driven" (Argentina and Brazil), "party-driven" (Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay), and "lord-driven" (Central America, Peru, and Venezuela). The pathways chosen explain why some states emerged as "colossuses" and why others were geographically smaller or, indeed, why other political units never came into existence or disappeared altogether. For the port-driven pathway, "entrepreneurs" incorporated unruly peripheries to foster a favorable climate for foreign trade. The party-driven pathway had an "expansionary" tendency via the establishment of coalitions to widen the basis of party support. Finally, the lord-driven pathway shows a "reductionist propensity," as caudillos did not wish to weaken their power by enlarging their territories.

Mazzuca's theory of "trade-led state formation" is intriguing, and not only for political scientists. After all, few historians will decisively argue that Latin American states devoted more time to war than to trade. Likewise, his exploration of potential "alternative" states (the Republic of Tucumán and the Republic of Piratini, among others) that faded from history also illustrates how the different pathways available to Latin American leaders determined the region's current political geography. It also offers historians the opportunity to study these forgotten political relics.

Yet the book's organization is problematic. Argentina generously receives two extensive chapters in which a conventional political narrative is employed to ground Mazzuca's arguments, while Mexico and Brazil receive one chapter each, equally characterized by such traditional histories. Colombia and Uruguay are combined into a single chapter as states driven by party dynamics, although the difference in size and capacity between them is not decisively explained by this pathway. Finally, Central America, Peru, and Venezuela are lumped together in the final pages of the book. Latin American historians will be disappointed to see such disparate countries put together; furthermore, in the case of port-driven states, an interesting but limited way of looking at geography prevails.

More importantly, by relegating some states to a second tier, Mazzuca loses a golden opportunity to further explore his theory. Peru is a good example of this. Barely ten pages are used to analyze the only Andean country in his study. Following the lord-driven pathway, Ramón Castilla is primarily seen as a "state-breaker" due to the collapse of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation (p. 380). This conclusion will be surprising to experts on the period, for whom Castilla is seen as a state maker (who also had access to a port, albeit a Pacific one). Castilla was a secondary figure during the years of the confederation, with no power to break states. Furthermore, by centering his analysis on that failed political union, Mazzuca forgoes the chance to fully analyze the arrival of the guano boom, which would strengthen his trade-led state formation theory.

In his conclusion, Mazzuca ventures the ambitious remark that the colonial legacy ought to be "deemphasized but not ignored," as it was essentially obliterated after independence (p. 399). This might be true in the peripheries of the Spanish empire, such as Argentina, but for the centers few will decisively argue that colonial structures—material

or psychological—had the limited impact that Mazzuca argues. Despite these controversies, the book provides a solid theory from which one can build on—or against—Tilly's famous dictum. If approached with nuance, it offers a useful conceptual framework to explore future histories of the Latin American state.

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Historia de la vejez en la Argentina (1850–1950). By HERNÁN OTERO. Rosario, Argentina: Prohistoria Ediciones, 2020. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 240 pp. Paper, AR$1,423.00.

El libro de Hernán Otero enfrenta el desafío de abordar el estudio histórico de la vejez combinando distintas dimensiones: la población anciana, la vejez en tanto clase de edad o etapa vital, y el envejecimiento como fenómeno demográfico.

El autor señala que la vejez es el último tramo de la vida humana que se convirtió en campo de estudio para los historiadores. Esta observación también es válida para la historiografía latinoamericana en general, ya que se le ha dedicado poca atención hasta el momento. Es probable que para explicar lo anterior se puedan esgrimir razones relacionadas con el calendario de la transición demográfica en la región, cuya consecuencia ha sido un proceso de envejecimiento más lento. En todo caso, dadas las heterogeneidades del ritmo con que esta transición ha ocurrido en los distintos países de América Latina, no sorprende que un estudio de esta profundidad provenga de la demografía histórica argentina.

Se trata, entonces, de un libro que tiene el mérito de inaugurar un área de estudio hasta ahora ausente o de escasa entidad en la historiografía latinoamericana. De acuerdo con ello, se plantea como "una obra de carácter exploratorio que busca generar y construir problemas de investigación más que responderlos, como así también plantear hipótesis plausibles, aunque las mismas no siempre puedan ser verificadas" (p. 20).

El período analizado va desde mediados del siglo XIX a mediados del siglo XX. Su inicio está marcado por la disponibilidad de fuentes y el final por el fenómeno de la generalización de los sistemas jubilatorios, en las décadas de 1940 y 1950, durante el peronismo histórico.

La investigación se basa en una importante utilización de variadas fuentes primarias cuantitativas y cualitativas: desde datos censales y escritos de los directores de dichos censos, hasta literatura de la época y letras de tango. Otero logra sortear de esta manera las dificultades heurísticas que implica la ausencia de fuentes específicas, así como la difícil visibilidad de los ancianos en ellas. Y, a su vez, si bien el análisis demográfico es relevante, se escapa de la aridez de los indicadores al buscar respuestas también en las fuentes cualitativas.

El libro está organizado en tres partes que abordan los aspectos sociodemográficos relacionados respectivamente con la población anciana, las políticas de la vejez, y las representaciones y saberes que confluyeron para que esta etapa vital entrara en la agenda social, política y cultural.

En la primera parte, titulada "Parámetros de base", se analizan los temas más sociodemográficos y cuantitativos, vinculados a la incidencia y distribución espacial de la población anciana, la mortalidad y el trabajo en la vejez. Al clásico análisis de la estructura por edad y sexo de la población y de indicadores específicos del envejecimiento en distintos puntos del tiempo, se añade una profusión de mapas que describen una geografía de la vejez y el envejecimiento a nivel provincial y departamental, relacionándola con los procesos de transición demográfica y migratoria del país.

A ello se suman planteos interesantes, como la discusión sobre la definición de la edad de inicio de la vejez (¿umbral fijo o móvil en el tiempo?) y la edad de percepción de la vejez. Para este último caso, Otero propone una original y convincente utilización de funciones de las tablas de mortalidad.

En los estudios contemporáneos se ha utilizado la perspectiva del curso de vida para analizar la transición a la vejez a partir de cambios en dos instituciones: el trabajo y la familia. En el primero, la salida del mercado de trabajo y la entrada al régimen jubilatorio. En la familia, el abuelazgo, por lo que implica en relación con los cuidados, sobre todo entre las mujeres. Esto no resulta tan claro en las etapas históricas. Para el período que aborda esta investigación –anterior a la universalización de las jubilaciones– Otero plantea que el ingreso a la vejez sería previo al fin de la vida laboral, la cual continuaba hasta que las condiciones de salud lo permitieran.

En la segunda parte del libro, "Políticas de la vejez", el análisis abarca desde los hospitales y asilos –más tarde hogares de ancianos– como mecanismos de protección social hasta la universalización del sistema de retiro jubilatorio.

Finalmente, la tercera parte, "Representaciones y saberes", inicia con una selección de representaciones literarias y estadísticas de los ancianos, y concluye con la conjunción de algunos hitos que confluyen desde distintos saberes: la demografía, la medicina, la psiquiatría, la psicología y el derecho, que permiten identificar la década de 1940 como el período del nacimiento de la vejez como área de estudio.

En suma, se trata de un libro inteligente, argumentativamente sólido, de redacción clara y conclusiones sustantivas en cada capítulo. La amplitud de temas planteados en esta reflexión sobre la vejez como problema histórico hace que el libro resulte una excelente elección de lectura para historiadores, demógrafos, historiadores de la salud, especialistas en políticas públicas e incluso estudiantes.

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Spanish New Orleans: An Imperial City on the American Periphery, 1766–1803. By JOHN EUGENE RODRIGUEZ. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2021. Map. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 247 pp. Cloth, $40.00.

In *Spanish New Orleans*, John Eugene Rodriguez sets out to frame New Orleans within Spanish imperial history and to understand what the city's colonial experience reveals

about the late eighteenth-century Bourbon empire. According to Rodriguez, Spain's decision after acquiring Louisiana at the end of the Seven Years' War to Hispanicize the colonial settlers rather than eliminate them proved a double-edged sword. The assimilation approach allowed the empire to rule the colony but required imperial agents to tolerate illicit transimperial free trade. This resulted in the Spanish city becoming "almost entirely dependent upon trade with the United States" (p. 5).

Rodriguez arrives at this conclusion by focusing on trade and the city's economy. Historians like Linda K. Salvucci and Tyson Reeder have explored how US traders successfully engaged commerce with Iberian markets, especially in Cuba and South America. Applying this scholarship to Spanish New Orleans, Rodriguez finds that transimperial merchants successfully circumvented mercantilist restrictions by relying on cultural capital, which included religion, place of residence, and access to intelligence on Atlantic markets. By undermining imperial objectives, multinational merchants "created prosperity and stability" for the port before "better-capitalized American newcomers" took over after 1803 (p. 45). Though valuable, Rodriguez's assessment fails to engage with literature from scholars, such as Lawrence N. Powell and Daniel Usner, who have exhaustively studied colonial New Orleans and its licit and illicit economies. Further, the absence of any conversation on slavery and Indigenous trade—pillars of the port city's market—results in an incomplete picture of the colony's economy and transimperial position.

Instead, Rodriguez investigates the city's most active white merchants using three themes: demography, trade, and political discourse. His first two chapters explore the ethnic makeup of New Orleans, highlighting the commonalities between "foundational merchants," who were Gallic, Hispanic, or of northern European ancestry (p. 36). The third and fourth chapters establish that these chimerical traders used their multiple identities—ethnic, national, religious—to successfully practice free trade while fulfilling imperial expectations of *vecinos*, a status akin to royal citizens, which included settling or marrying locally. The final three chapters examine the intellectual life of New Orleans using literacy rates, legal engagement, and political discourse as calculable indicators.

Rodriguez uses creative methodologies to analyze archival sources that range from incomplete and fragmentary to exhaustive and arduous. For example, in chapter 3, to calculate fluctuations in the city's economy using disjointed administrative and tax records, Rodriguez created quantifiable data using Works Progress Administration indexes for the New Orleans Notarial Archives to generate a conservative model of general trade activity into and out of the city. Notarial acts hold much information about simple transactions, but they also retain overwhelming data on sales receipts, contracts for goods, mortgages, and leases. Rodriguez's decision to use indexes was an inventive way to sift through boundless information and verify overall economic growth until 1803 despite two slumps beginning in 1788 and 1795. In chapter 5, Rodriguez offers another compelling example of how to mine quantifiable data from a vast source base. He identifies unique signatures across two notarial books to study their clarity and legibility, and he convincingly argues that New Orleans residents were more literate and therefore more educated than historians have previously believed.

What scholars already understood about colonial Louisiana, however, is not disrupted by the book. Rodriguez relies on seasoned Louisiana historians like Gilbert Din, Jack Holmes, and Kimberly Hanger when positioning New Orleans within Spanish imperial history. He establishes that locals were diverse, well-versed in Spanish legal practices, eager to engage in transimperial trade, and, verging on the teleological, destined to embrace the United States. Overall, his work is not dissimilar from that of his predecessors. Moreover, his insights align with the more recent historiographical trend to examine US Americans and adventurers in the Spanish Gulf Coast, represented in the work of David Narrett and Andrew McMichael.

Latin Americanists might find the account a useful example of a Spanish imperial city that experienced turbulent mercantilist policies, interimperial contraband, and rocky transitions to free trade. However, shortcomings like the absence of a definition for Hispanization or an interrogation of race may prove too distracting. Indeed, one might observe that Rodriguez gives too much credit to so-called "foundational" merchants who "built the Spanish city," the result of a prosopographical approach that obscures more than it reveals (p. 35).

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Primeira circum-navegação brasileira e primeira missão do Brasil à China (1879). By MARLI CRISTINA SCOMAZZON and JEFF FRANCO. Florianópolis, Brazil: Dois Por Quatro Editora, 2020. Photographs. Plates. Maps. Figures. Appendix. Notes. 358 pp. Paper, R$68.00.

When considering transpacific relations between Asia and Latin America, scholars have begun to pay closer attention to the centuries-long historical connections between China and Brazil. The global circulation of goods, people, natural resources, and ideas between Brazil and China began in the early sixteenth century when Portuguese explorers, in competition with other European empires to find the quickest oceanic routes to the silk and spice trade, connected a global trade network that linked port cities in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The nineteenth-century history of China-Brazil relations had a contingent relationship to earlier histories of the movement in human labor, goods, languages, cultures, and concepts. In Brazil, the gradual end of African slavery led many intellectuals, politicians, and agriculturalists to look to China for possibilities of setting up new trade networks and Chinese contract labor as a possible substitution for slave labor. These economic concerns were entangled with visions of Brazilian political modernity and debates about how the colonial empire could enter the world stage as a modern republican state.

Journalist Marli Cristina Scomazzon and coauthor Jeff Franco make a significant contribution to this critical and volatile period in Brazilian political and economic history. Their book, *Primeira circum-navegação brasileira e primeira missão do Brasil à China (1879)*, details the Brazilian Navy's first trip around the world and the first Brazilian mission to China. The book is sponsored by the Brazilian Navy's Department of Publication and Dissemination and endorsed by José Carlos Mathias, vice admiral

and director of historical patrimony and documentation of the Navy, and Pierre Paulo da Cunha Castro, captain of sea and war, who author the book's prologue and preface, respectively. Organized like a navy museum exhibition catalog with a patriotic tone, the book provides an exposition of the global voyage of the corvette *Vital de Oliveira*, which circumnavigated the world in 430 days from November 19, 1879, to January 21, 1881. The book's two main parts follow the circumnavigation route of the *Vital de Oliveira*. The first part is further subdivided according to a list of the port cities, regions, and countries where the corvette made stops, including Gibraltar, France, Malta, Egypt, Yemen, Sri Lanka, Singapore, China, Japan, the United States, Mexico, Chile, Patagonia, and Uruguay. The second part exhibits archival materials about the first Brazilian delegation to China. The book's organization and methodology reconstruct a military history about the two main goals of the Brazilian Navy for the trip around the world: to provide professional instruction on long sea voyages, and to fulfill a diplomatic mission in China with the intent to "buscar mão de obra chinesa para substituição do trabalho escravo no Brasil" (p. 39). The sections of the first part largely retrace the voyage through providing dates and times of departure and arrival, followed by long citations of the travel writings from people aboard the warship or accounts printed contemporaneously in Brazilian newspapers. The book is composed of a diverse archive of illustrations, musical scores, European and Chinese diplomatic missives, photographs, and passenger lists, but the book's archive is compiled from an uneven grouping of sources, ranging from personal souvenirs and national archives to portraits of Qing officials taken from Wikipedia. The second part of the book is dedicated to the first Brazilian diplomatic mission to China and is similarly organized according to the cities that the delegation visited. The sections include long quotations taken from Brazilian diplomatic writings or Brazilian newspapers, which are presented as facts without questioning the politics of the newspapers, journalists, travel writers, or diplomatic perspectives. These shortcomings need not be limitations since the book presents many interesting details when approached with caution and a critical lens. It will be of interest to historians in general and opens opportunities for further research on the long and connected histories of China and Brazil.

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Borderlands Curanderos: The Worlds of Santa Teresa Urrea and Don Pedrito Jaramillo. By JENNIFER KOSHATKA SEMAN. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 222 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Curanderas/os constituted the most common healers in Latin America until the contemporary era. Largely rooted in Catholic and humoral belief systems blended with Indigenous or African healing patterns, most labored within a local setting and are practically absent from historical scholarship due to the social nature of their healing. As social healers, they blended into communities and did not seek the exclusive privileges of professional

healers, who set themselves apart by education or status from the communities that they served. A small percentage of curanderas/os rose to national or international acclaim, often attracting the attention of intellectuals seeking to understand the historical contexts for their fame or to apply threads of thought from the present to the past.

Borderlands Curanderos explores the meanings of two curanderas/os who crossed into the United States in the late nineteenth century. Santa Teresa Urrea and Don Pedrito Jaramillo have been subjected to extensive historical scrutiny, so it is refreshing that Jennifer Seman brings novel interpretations to their lives and memories, stressing the liminality of border regions divided by geopolitical boundaries but unified by deep ethnic beliefs, ways of living, and hostility. These fabled curanderas/os drew many supporters in the border region but also considerable hostility from US whites and professional healers on both sides of the border. Seman fleshes out the healers' lives within an excellent contextualization of the region.

The work's structure enhances its accessibility. A brief overview of the borderlands and the historiography of curanderas/os is followed by two chapters on Santa Teresa Urrea and two chapters on Don Pedrito Jaramillo. The chapters are conveniently subdivided to allow for a multifaceted understanding of the healers. The conclusion offers reflections on life in contemporary borderlands. An appendix tabulates Don Pedrito's *recetas* ("recipes" or "prescriptions") and healings.

Santa Teresa Urrea acquired her healing gift from the Virgin in 1889 at age 16, when she suffered a severe illness. Born to an Indigenous teenager and a small-estate owner, she quickly acquired local fame as a healer among rural laborers and was referred to as Santa Teresa by Mayo and Yaqui peoples. Teresa criticized the church's hierarchy over "social justice," inspiring in part the 1891 Tomochic rebellion (p. 54). Though her role in the rebellion was marginal, she and her father, don Tomás Urrea, were exiled from Mexico to Arizona. Seman's work provides depth and texture to Teresa's life and labors in the United States.

Seman describes two phases to Santa Teresa's fame, the first in the borderlands and the second in urban California. She and her father initially settled in Arizona, where she attracted the attention of Liberal opponents to Porfirio Díaz and continued to serve numerous borderlands supplicants. Teresa and her father continued to criticize injustices against border residents and laborers seeking just conditions. (A sustained analysis of Tomás's politics might be warranted.) A vexing medical case drew her to San Diego and then to San Francisco, where "the Mexican Joan of Arc" became part of the "medical marketplace" of hustlers, homeopaths, patent medicine vendors, and others operating outside the domain of professional medicine. Santa Teresa died in 1906, far from the Indigenous and borderlands peoples who revered her healing and charitable powers.

Don Pedrito Jaramillo, born to Tarascan peoples in Jalisco, shared with Teresa a similar socioeconomic background. But his life trajectory in the southern Rio Grande Valley was quite different. Many of Jaramillo's cures involved water, baths, and herbs and were often accompanied by charitable food and lodging. Don Pedrito crossed into the United States in 1881, about 60 miles from the border. People from both sides of the border sought his assistance, in a pilgrimage that offered its own healing power. Jaramillo's home became a hub of healing and charity known throughout the region.

President Plutarco Elías Calles's 1928 visit to the popular El Niño Fidencio exposed curanderas/os' central role in the borderlands. A San Antonio–based opponent of Calles declared *curanderismo* no more than "black magic" with which a civilized Mexico needed to sever all ties (p. 113). José Tomás Canales countered this by upholding a vision of Mexico's *raza cósmica*, a concept of identity to which curanderismo, "with its unique mix of science, faith, and (what some believed) magic" that "contributed to the vitality and health of borderlands communities," was vital (p. 131).

The borderlands have been a violent zone for migrants and residents alike. Lynchings, Texas Rangers, federal border agents, and day-to-day racism are oppressive attributes of the borderlands for migrants and residents alike, to which cultural activities and positive identities are partial responses. Scores visit Don Pedrito's shrine each year, knowing his continued healing powers and assistance in their lives. Both Don Pedrito and Santa Teresa attended to individuals, but more importantly to the past and present social worlds of the borderlands.

Seman's book adds substantively to the historiography of Mexican curanderas/os. It is well researched and well written. Graced by images and maps that greatly assist the reader, it could easily be assigned in an undergraduate course.

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A Life Together: Lucas Alamán and Mexico, 1792–1853. By ERIC VAN YOUNG. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 833 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

On the first page of his monumental biography of Lucas Alamán, Eric Van Young admits that the historian, politician, and entrepreneur—exceptionally intelligent but haughty, severe, and inscrutable—cuts a rather lackluster figure among the swashbuckling generals (Antonio López de Santa Anna), adventurous clergymen (Fray Servando Teresa de Mier), and romantic Liberals intent on saving the world (Valentín Gómez Farías, Lorenzo de Zavala) who made up Mexico's founding generation. Historians have, apparently, felt as put off by Alamán as did many of his contemporaries. Despite his looming large over the first decades of Mexico's postindependence history, we have, perhaps with the exception of José C. Valadés's solid 1938 biography, but snippets of Alamán's life and work, partial (in both senses of the word) images of an eventful existence: that of Mexican conservatism's sinister éminence grise, born reactionary and intolerant; the forward-looking architect of Mexico's first development bank; the nostalgic chronicler of Mexico's colonial past and contrarian critic of its independence revolution.

A Life Together provides an efficient remedy to this fragmented vision. It painstakingly reconstructs the life of a man whose path mirrored the narrative that he manufactured for the nation: "from youthful promise, optimism, and experimentation following independence" to "chaotic adulthood" and, in the end, "crisis and near death" (p. 3). There are many reasons why it is fortunate that this laborious task was taken up by Eric Van Young, the most obvious being his evocative, witty prose. But as a historian

of independence, he is less obsessed with ideology and the inexorable, timeless, and not particularly useful Liberal/Conservative divide that many nineteenth-century scholars rely on. His interest in markets and economic structures underpins his thorough analysis of Alamán's constant, probably exhausting efforts to keep his family in the style expected of them, which took up more of his time and energy than his intermittent incursions into politics. Van Young carefully parses don Lucas's activities as a bold but unsuccessful businessman and diligent administrator of Hernando Cortés's "feudal remnant": the defender of Cortés's mortal remains against angry mobs and of his patrimony against both radical politicians intent on avenging the conquistador's crimes and insolvent, sometimes devious tenants. Van Young's reading of Alamán's meticulous, well-documented historical work productively draws the lines that informed the way that Alamán thought, what he wrote as a historian, and what he did when in power.

Van Young does not set out to rescue Alamán from those who have maligned him. His carefully drawn portrait is captivating but not endearing. Van Young highlights the civil servant's capacity for systematic thinking and follow-through and the rookie minister's ability to keep things from falling apart despite his temper, his own conception of sovereignty, the topography of power, and the equivocal positions adopted by politicians of all stripes. He also shows how Alamán's impatience—with popular politics on principle, needled by what he saw as incompetence, frivolity, or posturing—and his need to micromanage everything—probably inevitable in someone who thought that he knew better—undermined his endeavors. Don Lucas suffered no fools—unless he had to work for one (President Guadalupe Victoria, the rather obnoxious Duke of Terranova and Monteleone) or forge a political alliance with another (the irritatingly ubiquitous Santa Anna). His rigidity did not place him above some very dirty politics, such as the "shameful proceedings" surrounding Vicente Guerrero's execution (p. 471). The author traces the strong fatalism that undergirds Alamán's visions but also reveals his persistence, his willingness to get back into the political fray when so many of his contemporaries had exited the scene, by describing his increasingly desperate attempts to wring a well-ordered polity out of "the most complete anarchy" (p. 170).

Van Young's assessment of Alamán's career, attentive to context and change over time, is nuanced and suggestive, even if, perhaps too often, he looks for the features of an old and bitter man in the young politician's features. The alleged founder of Mexican conservatism embraced no unyielding principles or hard political programs; he was motivated "less because of what he feared to lose than because of what he had lost already"; he was a "situational monarchist" rather than a true believer (pp. 15, 602). Alamán appears, first and foremost, as "a practical man in politics, in business, even in the writing of history" (p. 333). *A Life Together* thus allows for a more balanced interpretation of a controversial character as it destabilizes many of the frameworks that structure our understanding of independent Mexico. Van Young's portrait of one of its most exceptional denizens, a complex man engaged in many things, invites us to reimagine the turbulent politics of the nineteenth century.

ERIKA PANI, El Colegio de México
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Ink under the Fingernails: Printing Politics in Nineteenth-Century Mexico. By CORINNA ZELTSMAN. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021. Figures. Table. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 339 pp. Paper, $34.95.

La historia de la edición en México en el siglo XIX ha sido un terreno poco explorado. Quienes la han abordado se han ocupado de aspectos biográficos, han delineado criterios para reconocer la paulatina transformación de la imprenta en el país, o incluso se han abocado al análisis de particularidades. Pese a ello, aún queda un largo camino por recorrer.

Este libro enriquece de manera notable la historia de la imprenta en el México del siglo XIX. El conocimiento amplio del contexto histórico y el manejo diestro de herramientas teórico-metodológicas le pemitieron a Corinna Zeltsman acercarse a la imprenta mexicana con gran seguridad. La autora consultó una bibliografía primaria y secundaria extensa, además de una amplia gama de archivos en México y en el extranjero. A toda esta documentación le dedica una revisión minuciosa y un análisis preciso. Pero, ante todo, Zeltsman plantea preguntas idóneas, lo cual le permite acercarse a los resquicios de una actividad que llegaría a ser fundamental. Su estudio comienza en un tiempo bisagra, entre el fin del siglo XVIII y los inicios del XIX, y luego prosigue a lo largo de ese último siglo, cuando la imprenta adquirió una importancia formidable y significados distintos.

En 2018, la propia Zeltsman publicó un artículo titulado "Defining Responsibility: Printers, Politics, and the Law in Early Republican Mexico City". Este nuevo libro amplía aquella experiencia previa y nos presenta a una historiadora sensible a la vida política y social de México. Mediante un recorrido temporal por el mundo de los tipos y caracteres, la autora nos pone en contacto con distintas situaciones que muestran el vigor de la palabra impresa y el debate que suscitó en la ciudad de México. En su obra, nos presenta el desarrollo de la imprenta en medio de una agitada vida política, en un tiempo de construcción del país que refleja, en última instancia, el reacomodo y medición de fuerzas entre la autoridad gubernamental y los nuevos ciudadanos que producen impresos, conocen sus derechos y los ejercen. Zeltsman prioriza aquellos momentos en los que escritores o impresores toman la palabra para confrontar, responder acusaciones o alegar derechos, lo cual indica el pulso de un oficio cuyo desarrollo estuvo marcado también por el conflicto.

De esta manera, *Ink under the Fingernails* nos permite entender no únicamente la importancia del volumen o la pluralidad de una producción, sino los retos y riesgos de una actividad cultural. Los impresos que circularon en la ciudad de México en determinados momentos tuvieron significados diversos, por ejemplo, mostraron a la prensa insurgente en cuanto nuevo poder, medio y símbolo de legitimidad política, plantearon la responsabilidad de la imprenta en un texto como la Carta monárquica de Gutiérrez de Estrada, o bien, expresaron en *Misterios de la Inquisición* la pugna liberal-conservadora.

Los conceptos a los que Zeltsman da prioridad –libertad y censura, liberalismo, derechos de autor, esfera pública– exponen las inquietudes y los intereses de una sociedad en transición. La introducción de un nuevo orden legal y su transformación a lo largo del siglo XIX mantuvieron a la sociedad mexicana en un constante aprendizaje. En este marco, la autora singulariza momentos clave y muestra las victorias y los reveses

del oficio de la imprenta, así como la importancia y el arrojo de quienes se hallaban al frente –¿o quizá detrás?– del oficio.

Todo lo anterior le procura ritmo, vitalidad y originalidad a la obra. A estas cualidades se suma la de una visión plural, ya que el texto otorga visibilidad a los distintos actores involucrados: autoridades, impresores, autores, lectores, operarios que, en un marco legal cambiante, analizan, argumentan y realizan un manejo sagaz del mismo. Gracias a esta mirada panorámica, Zeltsman devela los artilugios que condujeron a la expansión de una imprenta nacional, una imprenta con un sello particular que dio por terminado el tiempo de las relaciones clientelares.

A los operarios –casi siempre olvidados o invisibles–, los presenta como hacedores de páginas conscientes de ser sustantivos, y no sólo desde un punto de vista técnico, sino también cultural. La autora da cuenta de estos trabajadores como personas al tanto de su papel de mediadores y capaces de asumirse como autores. Este punto deviene fundamental dentro de la historia de la imprenta decimonónica mexicana.

Y es que, junto con el desarrollo de la imprenta, se analizan las políticas para la regulación de impresos. Así, podemos constatar que la libertad de imprenta recorrió intrincados caminos para fortalecer la esfera pública. El ciudadano impresor debió librarse de las presiones de los privilegios y maniobrar frente a las instancias persecutoras de la Iglesia o el Estado. La visión republicana liberal que fue ganando espacios fue, por ende, resultado también de la batalla cotidiana de los impresores. Los ajustes de poder entre la Iglesia, el Estado y los impresores revelan un juego en el que la imprenta se convierte en centro de disputas, en medio de la mirada conservadora que busca restringirla y la mirada liberal, sin cortapisas, al menos en apariencia.

El análisis cuidadoso de Zeltsman da como resultado una imagen completa de las políticas hacia la imprenta en el México del siglo XIX y de las batallas que se libraron en su entorno. Cada una de las piezas encaja de manera impecable y ofrece una mirada nítida y rica del complicado y poderoso mundo de la imprenta, del papel fundamental que desempeñó en el cambio de siglo, de los verdaderos y muy diversos protagonistas de esta historia, de la reacción que desató y de los intereses que privaron en su regulación. En la obra no se presenta un desarrollo lineal, sino coyuntural, que se corresponde con las fuerzas en el poder y con el paulatino reconocimiento de los derechos de autor. Este libro muestra un trabajo arduo, pero sobre todo revela una gran pericia y dominio del tema.

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Twentieth–Twenty-First Centuries

Alberto Flores Galindo: Utopía, historia y revolución. By CARLOS AGUIRRE and CHARLES WALKER. Lima: La Siniestra Ensayos, 2020. Photographs. Figure. Tables. Appendix. Notes. 232 pp. Paper, S/55.00.

Alberto Flores Galindo was an intellectual giant whose seminal work, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes* (1986), helped reshape the field of Peruvian history. Authors

Carlos Aguirre and Charles Walker trace his influences, contributions, and role as a leftist and a public intellectual. Mirroring the structure of Flores Galindo's famous tome, this book is a series of reflective essays, some previously presented or published and others new.

Chapters 1, 2, and 6 recount the historiographical influences and contributions of Flores Galindo's work. Chapter 1 does a broad accounting of Flores Galindo's intellectual journey, discussing what authors affected his own development and the largest conceptual contributions that he made. Aguirre and Walker argue that his approach coalesced with the scholars of his generation of 1968, who were guided by the tumultuous times inside and outside Peru. They emphasize the importance of his idea of Andean utopianism, his commitment to bottom-up history, and his *longue durée* approach. Chapter 2 argues that Flores Galindo's work provides fundamental keys to understanding Peru's independence era. Walker encourages current historians of that period to answer the conceptual challenges made by Flores Galindo: decentralize the story away from Lima, consider failed plots and projects and why they didn't work, and highlight that independence as it happened was not a foregone conclusion. Chapter 6 focuses on how fiction and poetry influenced his approach to both history and writing, as well as the different literary influences that transformed his work (especially José María Arguedas). Aguirre argues that Flores Galindo's passion for literature infused a higher quality to his writing style and that not only did he use key works of fiction as evidence to capture a historical moment, but his historical work inspired literary figures like poet Tulio Mora.

Chapter 3 is an interesting mix of historical context on leftist intellectual production in the late twentieth century and an almost bibliographic recounting of Flores Galindo's academic and journalistic writings. Aguirre argues that the flourishing culture of print production of the 1960s and 1970s inspired a generation of leftist public intellectuals. While some eventually retreated from the nexus of print culture, leftist militancy, and public engagement, Flores Galindo maintained a commitment to engage in leftist polemics and spread his ideas to a broader public audience. This chapter has some compelling insights into the nature of the Left's rise, its connection to print culture, and why it went into crisis. However, the chapter (perhaps unintentionally) implies that Flores Galindo's continued public engagement and leftist militancy were somewhat of an anomaly for leftist scholars, who Aguirre intimates became less politically active starting in the 1980s. I would argue that many leftist academics remained politically engaged throughout the 1980s, although none were more prolific in terms of publishing than Flores Galindo. While Aguirre argues that one of Flores Galindo's strengths was his participation in leftist polemics, it would have been beneficial to state where Flores Galindo stood on these debates and how he fit in the leftist scholarly community. For example, how did Flores Galindo interact with other leftist scholars at the Catholic University like Henry Pease, Rolando Ames, and Javier Iguiñiz, who were far more politically active than him (Pease became Lima's vice mayor, Ames was elected as senator, and Iguiñiz drafted much of the United Left's political and economic program)?

Chapter 4 has the best original research and follows Flores Galindo's own love of sharp biographies to humanize history. Mining the Casa de las Américas archives and oral

histories with contemporaries, Aguirre does an excellent job of painting a clearer image of Flores Galindo as a historical subject himself. Engaging anecdotes (like him joking about finding the electronic bugs in his Havana hotel) are combined with a powerful analysis of how Flores Galindo's critical vision of Cuba transformed over time and reflected both his skepticism and idealism.

Chapter 5 exposes Flores Galindo's position on one of Peru's major dilemmas: the Shining Path and human rights. Looking at both his academic and journalistic writings, Walker convincingly contests the idea that Flores Galindo was uncritical of the Shining Path and highlights his unwavering commitment to human rights, which sometimes put him at odds with other leftists. While the general public's complicated apathy toward state abuses is undeniable, what's less compellingly proven is the Left's ambivalence toward human rights, which Walker implies stemmed from the leftist view of human rights as a bourgeois construct. I would argue that this claim was far more representative of the Shining Path's position and that as leftist militants were increasingly targeted for intimidation and assassination, the Left became far more unified in its support of human rights. This wasn't just an ideological position but one of survival.

Overall, this book is an important contribution to our understanding of an influential Peruvian intellectual and should be of great interest to scholars of both Peru and the Latin American Left. It also underscores the value that a full biography of Flores Galindo would have.

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Food and Revolution: Fighting Hunger in Nicaragua, 1960–1993.
By CHRISTIANE BERTH. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. Photograph. Maps. Figures. Table. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xi, 283 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

In *Food and Revolution*, Christiane Berth traces a compelling story of food policy and hunger in Nicaragua from the 1950s to the present, finding more continuity than one might expect across diverse governments. She credits the revolutionary Sandinista government as the only one to effectively address hunger, but just from 1979 to 1981, when the Contra war, US embargo, and poor management eroded their programs. However, one lasting outcome of the Sandinista era (1979–90) was the global movement for food security, an idea incorporated into the Nicaraguan Constitution in 1987 and revived in the 1990s by reorganized peasant networks that had learned to organize during the revolution.

One of Berth's most interesting contributions is her emphasis not just on the nutritional importance of food but on its cultural role. She discusses Nicaraguans as consumers, with preferences that could not be reshaped by nutritionists or revolutionary policy. Whether the Sandinistas exhorted Nicaraguans to eschew imported food as a symbol of US imperialism (corn versus wheat) or to embrace food aid that brought unfamiliar imports (Soviet canned mackerel), Nicaraguans insisted on their own, more

traditional choices. A classic example is the rejection of foreign beans over the favored small red beans central to the staple beans-and-rice dish *gallo pinto*. The consumer, Berth contends, is a category as important as student, worker, peasant, and elite. She also devotes a chapter to the oft-neglected Caribbean coast and emphasizes the way that the burden of food procurement fell disproportionately on women.

Berth describes her focus as "on the overlooked story of how food and its scarcity shaped contemporary Nicaraguan history between the 1950s and 1993" (p. 5). While other authors have addressed poverty in Nicaragua, much of their focus has been on the erosion of subsistence farming. Land tenure studies imply inequality and hunger, but Berth addresses those issues directly. Throughout much of Nicaragua's history, a basic diet of corn, beans, and rice was grown on small plots of land. But starting in the 1950s, the expansion of agricultural exports forced many campesinos off the land, fostering migration to urban areas and leading to hunger in both the countryside and poor urban neighborhoods. At the same time, a scientific approach to nutrition centered on calorie consumption, micronutrients, and protein informed the first food surveys detailing widespread malnutrition. The ruling Somoza family refused to acknowledge the problem, and because of the Cold War context, aid from the United States enabled the Nicaraguan government to mask the problem while alleviating but not eliminating hunger.

When the Sandinistas came to power, they would try to address hunger by encouraging self-sufficiency rather than dependency on foreign aid. Nonetheless, damage from the war against Somoza, the Contra war, and the withdrawal of US trade and aid made them depend on help from sympathetic foreign organizations. By 1984 the country suffered a "shortage economy" in which consumers constantly did without important goods.

Berth is especially good in her discussion of "the revolutionary consumer," targeted by propaganda identifying the ideal revolutionary as one who prioritizes the revolution over personal needs and favors local products, making consumption a field of revolutionary struggle. But as the corn campaign illustrated, wheat had become not just an upper-class status symbol but a fundamental part of the average diet in popular barrios, where people ate 73 rolls and 30 tortillas a month (p. 100). Those consumers, as Berth notes, "continued to demand wheat, powdered milk, maggi soups, Gerber baby foods, and breakfast cereals" (p. 6).

Food and Revolution also dispels the notion that austerity programs were a neoliberal phenomenon beginning with the governments that succeeded the Sandinistas. The Sandinista government established the first austerity program in February 1985, which eliminated most food subsidies, and ended most Sandinista food programs with a second round of structural adjustment measures in 1988, prompting the return of hunger from 1988 to 1993.

The 1990 elections did not change food insecurity and hunger, leading the Violeta Chamorro government to initially address inflation and unemployment by intervening in the market to set prices, an echo of Sandinista policies. But that intervention ended by June 1993. While Unión Nacional Opositora government policies helped middle-class consumers, there was no "coherent strategy and political will for addressing malnutrition," a description that accurately depicts the following administrations (p. 166).

When Daniel Ortega returned to the presidency in 2007, his government launched a Zero Hunger program, which helped address hunger but had limited results, in no small part because it was no longer part of a broader Sandinista strategy of structural economic change. While malnutrition declined from 22.3 percent in 2007 to 16.6 percent in 2015, it "stagnated at around 17 percent between 2016 and 2018," one of "the highest rates of malnutrition in Latin America" (p. 204).

Food and Revolution is engagingly written and makes excellent use of records from such international organizations as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, German and Swiss development assistance archives, newspapers, government documents, nutritional surveys, Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional leaders' autobiographies, and previously gathered testimonies from Contras, peasants, and middle- and low-ranking Sandinistas. The end result is a welcome addition to studies of Nicaragua, the Sandinista Revolution, and its aftermath.

JULIE A. CHARLIP, Whitman College
DOI 10.1215/00182168-9653817

Land without Masters: Agrarian Reform and Political Change under Peru's Military Government. By ANNA CANT. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 235 pp. Cloth, $55.00.

In 1969, a group of self-claimed radical military officers led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, aided by able technocrats and a favorable hemispheric context, unleashed the last comprehensive agrarian reform of twentieth-century Latin America. After a coup and through a combination of an allegedly emancipatory discourse and authoritarian means, the purportedly radical generals aimed to transform the material foundations of the country by dismantling the hacienda system and empowering the *campesinado*, the disenfranchised mass of rural Indigenous peasants in the countryside. Until the publication of *Land without Masters*, the entangled history of this agrarian reform remained largely unaddressed by historians. Deploying a combination of methodologies—including regional archive research, oral histories, and visual analysis, among others—Anna Cant offers us a comprehensive analysis of the precedents, making, unmaking, and legacies of General Velasco's foremost experiment. Grounding her analysis on three distinctive regions of Peru, Cant convincingly shows how the reach and scope of the military revolution (an oxymoron) presented both redemptive promises and demands of subordination that produced clashing understandings of what the reform meant for the state, the campesinado, and the many in between. *Land without Masters* vividly reconstructs the tensions, conflicts, and enduring memories around the agrarian reform as an unfulfilled and yet truly transformative historical episode in the history of Peru and Latin America.

The book's structure benefits the clarity of Cant's manifold arguments. After a compelling introduction that outlines the place of the Peruvian agrarian reform within the history of Latin America's political transformations and the importance of a regional or subnational perspective for understanding, testing, and deconstructing national

narratives, the first chapter, "The History of the Land Question in Peru," offers one of the best genealogies of this country's rural struggles—from the deep origins of colonial dispossession and displacement to the number of twentieth-century proposals for reinventing and recasting the "land question." Chapter 2, "SINAMOS: Promoting the Revolution in the Regions," introduces one of the book's central actors: the National System of Support of Social Mobilization, Velasco's propaganda engine for his peculiar revolution. An acronym that conveyed the central message of the agrarian reform (*sin amos*, without masters), SINAMOS and its regional networks allowed Velasco's reform to have an everyday presence in nearly every corner of the country—although this presence was remarkably contested. "Education for Social Change: The Making of the Campesino Citizen," the third chapter, highlights the importance of educational and political literacies to agrarian reform. In promoting unprecedented forms of education, however, the military regime also nourished regional forms of dissent. The following chapter, "The Agrarian Reform in Public Discourse," discusses one of the most intriguing features of this process: a mass media discourse, deeply rhetorical and highly visual, on reform's envisioned impact. Despite this discourse's hegemony, the public presentation of the regime's agrarian visions also engendered regional opposition. Finally, "The Agrarian Reform in Historical Memory," the last substantial chapter, joins an emerging transdisciplinary literature focused on explaining how the agrarian reform is remembered as both a truly transformative experience and a massive example of failed state sociopolitical, cultural, and economic intervention.

Cant's achievements are vast and profound. Unveiling the cultural dimensions of the agrarian reform, not only as a source of renewed national historical narratives but also as an educational endeavor that promoted genuinely radical forms of literacy, provides a new understanding of this process. The regional sensibility of the text is very vivid, and nearly every chapter effortlessly moves from the national to the subnational, giving readers a remarkably compelling ethnographic texture. The use of usually overlooked military sources—such as *Actualidad Militar*, the Peruvian army's institutional journal—is formidable. The interviews with historical actors pivotal in the making of the reform also provide depth and context to many of the ideas discussed throughout the book. Without major shortcomings, the book does leave two intriguing points for further research. Cant pays little attention to the twentieth-century origins of rural communities constituted as *comunidades indígenas* in 1920 or the attempt to establish *granjas comunales* in the 1940s, seemingly important departure points for discussing the narratives that led to the 1969 agrarian reform. The author also seems to confer a certain decompressing capacity to national agrarian reform, mechanically linking the presence or absence of these processes to subsequent political violence (p. 184).

Land without Masters is more than a welcome contribution to the field. Cant offers an in-depth analysis, compellingly theoretical and captivatingly narrative, of Peru's most important sociopolitical, economic, and cultural turning point. A new agrarian history of Peru and Latin America begins here.

JAVIER PUENTE, Smith College
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Moral Majorities across the Americas: Brazil, the United States, and the Creation of the Religious Right. By BENJAMIN A. COWAN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Index. x, 294 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Quando, em outubro de 1988, promulgou-se a chamada Constituição Cidadã, a democracia no Brasil dispunha de horizontes promissores. Nas décadas seguintes, a eleição para a Presidência da República de um sociólogo progressista (Fernando Henrique Cardoso), de um líder operário (Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva) e de uma mulher que participara da luta contra a ditadura (Dilma Rousseff) suscitaria comentários eufóricos: consolidara-se a democracia no Brasil. Enquanto isso, nos círculos acadêmicos, multiplicavam-se os estudos sobre os movimentos de resistência à ditadura. As direitas, suas tradições e programas, organizações e lideranças, pertenceriam a um passado que passara.

Entretanto, como um tumor silencioso, agigantava-se um processo que poucos estudavam, muitos subestimavam e a grande maioria simplesmente não desejava ver: a força das direitas conservadoras, entre elas, com caráter de massas, o cristianismo conservador.

Benjamin Cowan, remando contra a maré do senso comum, nos oferece um estudo voltado a desvendar a história, as organizações, as lideranças e os programas dos conservadores cristãos. Além disso, os resultados de suas pesquisas nos mostram o papel decisivo desempenhado pelo conservadorismo cristão brasileiro, que, articulado com tendências conhecidas nos Estados Unidos, disseminou pelo mundo e pelas Américas suas ideias, temores e propostas.

O conservadorismo cristão, conforme evidencia o livro, tem uma longa história no Brasil, remontando aos anos 1930, sob a forma do integralismo (o fascismo brasileiro). Suas lideranças deixariam claras suas tendências autoritárias ao apoiar e participar, mais tarde, da ditadura do Estado Novo (1937-1945) e da ditadura civil-militar (1964-1979). A esse respeito, registre-se que os arquivos das polícias políticas da última ditadura brasileira revelam uma verdadeira aliança entre os órgãos de segurança, o governo e as propostas cristãs conservadoras (católicas e evangélicas).

Nos anos 1950 e 1960, dois bispos católicos, D. Geraldo Proença Sigaud e D. Antônio de Castro Mayer, e uma organização político-religiosa, a Tradição, Família e Propriedade (TFP), se destacaram na oposição política a governos progressistas e aos movimentos sociais reformistas – no plano religioso, na luta contra o *aggiornamento* da Igreja católica (o Concílio Vaticano II).

Já então as prevenções e preconceitos contra outras denominações cristãs e contra os "perigos" do ecumenismo cediam lugar à composição com evangélicos estadunidenses e brasileiros, em nome de uma frente unida contra inimigos comuns: o comunismo e a secularização. Ganhava corpo, assim, um "ecumenismo antiecumênico", na feliz e irônica expressão de Cowan, do qual seriam manifestações organizativas, entre outras, a Aliança Latino-americana de Igrejas Cristãs (Latin American Alliance of Christian Churches – ALADIC), a Confederação Anticomunista Latino-americana (Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation – CAL) e a Liga Anticomunista Mundial (World

Anti-Communist League – WACL). Dessa forma, efetuava-se uma dupla metamorfose, no sentido de propostas e organizações *transdenominacionais* e *transnacionais*.

O que unia essas diferentes tendências cristãs?

No plano religioso, a convicção de que o processo de modernização contribuiria para enfraquecer o sentimento e a emoção dos fiéis, e também a dimensão de mistério, essenciais à religião. Em relação à Igreja católica, lamentava-se a revogação de um conjunto de práticas, envolvendo-se aí aspectos litúrgicos (a redefinição da missa), o recurso ao latim e o uso da batina. Nesse processo de secularização, se enfraqueceriam o sentido de hierarquia e de autoridade; as desigualdades inevitáveis e legítimas; e os valores morais tradicionais, ameaçados pelo hedonismo, pelo gozo dos prazeres terrenos, pela liberação dos costumes sexuais, com ênfase na censura ao comportamento das mulheres e dos gays, cujas ações solapavam as fundações da família monogâmica, base e núcleo da religião tradicional.

Politicamente, o comunismo ateu e igualitário, uma obsessão histórica, despertava repulsa e horror. A desagregação da União Soviética e do socialismo na Europa Central, nos anos 1990, não arrefecera desconfianças e medos, inclusive porque seus avatares, entre outros, o Estado onipresente e intervencionista, permaneceram com uma força que era preciso desmistificar. A rigor, o comunismo apenas mudara de forma, substituindo o enfrentamento político frontal por procedimentos camuflados, mais sutis, mas não menos deletérios, conformando novas táticas e estratégias subsumidas num novo processo histórico revolucionário: a guerra cultural.

Na luta contra o comunismo e o Estado, abriu-se a perspectiva de uma inusitada aliança com as propostas e os valores neoliberais. Trata-se de uma questão que mereceria, talvez, maior problematização, a ser aprofundada e discutida pelo autor em próximos textos. Mas é fato que alguns segmentos do liberalismo, tradicionalmente comprometido com um programa secular e com a igualdade perante a lei – ideias anti-hierárquicas e revolucionárias quando surgiram, no final do século XVIII – reforçaram, e financiaram, o cristianismo conservador.

Apesar do crescimento de sua força e da disseminação de suas ideias, os conservadores cristãos não baixam a guarda: consideram-se cercados, acuados. Perseguindo, sentem-se perseguidos. Na ofensiva, imaginam-se na defensiva, lutando por valores e princípios sempre ameaçados por conspirações inauditas que urge revelar, desvendar e denunciar.

Por todas essas características, superando a tradição de subestimação que cercava o objeto, fundamentado numa grande riqueza de fontes – arquivos públicos e particulares, periódicos, correspondências e memórias –, dialogando com uma bibliografia extensa e atualizada, o estudo empreendido por Cowan converte-se, desde agora, numa preciosa e incontornável contribuição à compreensão da força do conservadorismo cristão e do conservadorismo *tout court* no Brasil.

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Native Peoples, Politics, and Society in Contemporary Paraguay: Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Edited by BARBARA A. GANSON. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xv, 175 pp. Cloth, $75.00.

This new book on Paraguay brings to students and scholars a multidisciplinary approach rarely seen or equaled. This collective work includes a chronology with more than 35 dates that covers the period from 1981 to 2020. An introduction by Barbara A. Ganson selects important aspects of Paraguayan history, from the beginnings of the colony until the twenty-first century. While the first three chapters are anthropological essays, the last three essays take a political and economic approach, making this volume well balanced.

In the first chapter, René D. Harder Horst immerses us in the struggles of Paraguay's Indigenous peoples from the second half of the twentieth century until the advent of the 1992 constitution. Horst addresses the sufferings of and difficulties faced by the country's Indigenous peoples and also takes into account the different political strategies of a good number of Indigenous leaders of the country. This chapter is especially striking because Horst quotes remarkable speeches from the Indigenous leaders and places them as the main actors in Indigenous struggles and revolts in Paraguay at the end of the dictatorship and the beginning of the democratic transition.

In the second chapter, Richard K. Reed focuses on the Guaraní populations of Paraguay. Reed masterfully blends his own experience as an anthropologist and researcher among the Guaraní with the life trajectories of the people whom he has met throughout his career. This chapter retraces the path of Lali-puku, a young Guaraní woman who was forced to migrate from Itanaramí in the middle of the Atlantic Forest to Cerro Potý, a huge open-air dump in the capital. This chapter reflects on the ecocidal processes of development in Paraguay between 1980 and 2000 and on the impact of political measures on the Indigenous populations forced to adapt, as best they could, to the capital's dumps after living in the forest.

In the third chapter, Paola Canova reports on forced displacements of Ayoreo Indigenous people in northern Paraguay. Canova contextualizes the settlement of the Ayoreo in the city of Filadelfia and the first contact with the Mennonites in 1930. Canova reveals how these relations are deeply colonial and sometimes constitute modern slavery. However, Canova's description of the Ayoreo's living conditions is not miserabilist. On the contrary, Canova depicts the Ayoreo as transgressive actors who, through various strategies, succeed in imposing their presence in Filadelfia and conquering urban spaces, no matter how small or poorly endowed.

The fourth chapter, by Sarah Patricia Cerna Villagra, Sara Mabel Villalba Portillo, Eduardo Tamayo Belda, and Roque Mereles Pintos, follows the political evolution of Paraguay through the hegemony of the National Republican Association–Colorado Party between 1954 and 2019. The authors study the origins of one of the longest dictatorships in Latin America, linking Alfredo Stroessner's rule directly with foreign interests, especially those of the United States. The brilliant examination of the political situation in post-1950 Paraguay shows that the establishment and the end of this dictatorial regime,

both achieved by coups, may have been orchestrated from Washington. The authors conclude by looking at the parliamentary coup that deposed President Fernando Lugo in 2012 and its consequences for political life in Paraguay today: a strengthening of the Colorado Party with the country's two most recent (and controversial) presidents, Horacio Cartes and Mario Abdo Benítez.

In the fifth chapter, Brian Turner questions women's current political representation in Paraguay. Turner uses multiple data and statistics to give a picture of women's participation in different political spaces, including the National Congress and national, regional, and local elections. This chapter, supplemented by graphs and tables, points out the great difficulty of establishing parity between men and women in the contemporary political life of Paraguay, where noncompliance complicates the structural changes to Paraguayan society needed to improve women's daily lives.

The book closes with Melissa H. Birch's study of the contemporary Paraguayan economy, metamorphosed by the first stage of the Itaipu dam between 1973 (when the treaty was signed) and 1981 (when construction began). Birch analyzes the relationship of Paraguay with Mercosur, whose emergence in 1991 marked economically the country's democratic transition. The author evokes the Paraguayan government's doubts about Mercosur's intervention in the national economy, hostile to smuggling practices on the borders with Brazil and Argentina. Birch mentions how the integration of this new market helped make Paraguay the fourth largest soybean exporter in the world. Birch describes an economy deeply marked by inequality, in which wealth redistribution is almost nonexistent. However, Birch states that Paraguay, despite being Mercosur's most fragile economy, will benefit from opening to markets outside Latin America.

This book is an ambitious project, and the result is quite stimulating for the scientific quality of each chapter and the book's clear and precise language, multidisciplinary approach, and thematic coherence. The suffering and struggle of the Indigenous populations, the dictatorship of Stroessner, the hydroelectric dams, and the sociopolitical and economic dependence on the United States and Brazil are major themes that will offer a wide perspective allowing the reader to apprehend contemporary Paraguay and its region.

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Toward a Global History of Latin America's Revolutionary Left.
Edited by TANYA HARMER and ALBERTO MARTÍN ÁLVAREZ. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2021. Figures. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xii, 301 pp. Cloth, $90.00.

This volume is the latest contribution to a growing literature on the Latin American revolutionary Left, defined by Tanya Harmer and Alberto Martín Álvarez as antireformist forces who supported or engaged in armed struggle starting in the late 1950s and 1960s. The book traces some of the global connections that shaped Latin American revolutionary

groups as well as those groups' global impacts. The contributors' use of seldom-tapped archives in Beijing, Moscow, Prague, and various Western European sites sets the volume apart from most studies of the Latin American Left.

The first section focuses on Cuba's promotion of armed revolution and its interaction with other countries and movements in the 1960s. Michal Zourek, Blanca Mar León, and James G. Hershberg examine the Fidel Castro government's relations with Algeria, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. The second section traces the armed Left's connections with Western Europe between the 1960s and 1980s. Chapters by Gerardo Leibner, Eduardo Rey Tristán, Arturo Taracena Arriola, and José Manuel Ágreda Portero examine solidarity work among European leftist and social democratic parties, grassroots activists, publishers, and nongovernmental organizations.

The book broadly supports the findings of prior scholarship on the Left. The newly consulted sources confirm that the Soviet Union and most Moscow-aligned Communist parties opposed armed struggle and that this position contributed to the well-known conflicts in the Cuban-Soviet and Sino-Soviet relationships. They also confirm the importance of Latin American initiative. Far from being puppets of external sponsors, armed revolutionaries acted of their own accord and controlled most of their own decisions. Latin Americans were also crucial in the growth of global solidarity networks, as other recent research has stressed.

The chapters do add new details that enrich and sometimes qualify this picture. For example, Zourek documents Czechoslovakia's role in providing logistical aid to help Cuba's Latin American trainees return to their home countries. This story nuances the image of Soviet bloc countries as uniformly opposed to armed revolution. Czechoslovak aid was reluctant, however. Officials agreed to help as a way of keeping tabs on Cuba and because the Cubans were likely to pursue their efforts even without Soviet bloc support. The Cubans themselves financed the operation. And neither the Czechoslovaks nor the Cubans controlled Latin American guerrilla campaigns: "it was local revolutionary movements who were in charge" once the trainees returned home (p. 46).

Some other Communist parties supported certain guerrilla movements, as when the Italians aided guerrillas in Venezuela and Brazil (in the latter case, in defiance of Brazil's official Communist party). Leibner argues that some Italian Communists were sympathetic to Latin American guerrillas given their own memories of resistance to fascism. They also deemed armed struggle a more viable option in Latin America than in Europe. But their support ceased when they began to fear that Latin American guerrillas were inspiring armed adventurism in Italy.

Another highlight is Taracena Arriola's memoir of his time representing the Guatemalan guerrillas in Europe in the 1980s. He makes a strong case that European organizing and pressure campaigns helped force the Guatemalan regime to the negotiating table. The chapter is rich with detail. For instance, he recounts that his commitment to building a European solidarity network was inspired by the Vietnamese and Southern Cone revolutionaries who had done so previously. We learn how Amnesty International initially refused to get involved in Guatemala but was persuaded thanks to the work of organizers in Paris. Taracena Arriola also shows how events in Guatemala led

to internal conflicts within the solidarity network by the mid-1980s, as the genocidal counterinsurgency made a guerrilla victory unlikely and as some Europeans were convinced by the new facade of democracy erected in Guatemala.

As the book's title implies, it aims to encourage further research. Harmer and Martín Álvarez's introduction and Van Gosse's afterword are explicit about many of the unanswered questions, and I would add some others. Latin American revolutionaries' interactions with Vietnam, Algeria, and China have received relatively little attention, and their ties to other Third World countries even less. The same goes for relations among Latin American revolutionary groups. There is also much work still to be done on the global circulation of feminist and antiracist ideas, liberation theology, and differing conceptions of socialism. The political organizing work of certain armed groups, and how that work was shaped by global exchanges, remains neglected amid the overwhelming focus on their armed actions. The present volume offers a model for investigating these and other questions.

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A Short History of Revolutionary Cuba. By ANTONI KAPCIA. Short Histories. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 229 pp. Paper, $19.95.

The historical literature on the Cuban Revolution is so vast that it can be difficult to know where to start. Antoni Kapcia's *A Short History of Revolutionary Cuba* is therefore a welcome, up-to-date primer on Cuba's history leading up to, and since, 1959. Far from a straightforward recitation of dates and events, however, the book advances several core arguments that will challenge beginning and expert readers alike.

The first concerns periodization. Rather than dividing the history of the Cuban Revolution into "phases"—for instance, experimentation in the 1960s, followed by institutionalization in the 1970s—Kapcia orients his narrative around recurring "debates" and "strategies" (p. 40). By "debates" he means disputes over the direction of policy (especially, but not solely, related to the economy). "Strategies," then, refer to periods in which the results of "debates" appeared to be settled and the focus was on implementation. At times like the early 1960s, though, government officials found themselves debating and implementing policies simultaneously. Meanwhile, arguments over issues like the place of market incentives in Cuban socialism were never resolved permanently, showing that whatever the chronological or conceptual markers, Cuban history has in part moved cyclically.

Second, Kapcia challenges readers to see these tensions leading to something more than the alternation between "idealism" and practicality (or "orthodoxy"), the former generally associated with "Guevarist" or Fidelista elements of the revolutionary coalition and the latter associated with officials hailing from Cuba's historic, pro–Soviet Union

communist party before 1959, the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP). For one thing, the meaning of such labels has proven fickle. What seemed "practical" in terms of economic management in the 1970s hardly seems so today. More important, Kapcia argues that the "idealism" of certain moments was also grounded in logic. Thus, the emphasis on "moral incentives" and mass mobilization in the late 1960s was also born out of a real-world response to the departure (or exile) of so much skilled manpower from the island's former middle class. Conversely, while the mid-1970s were characterized by a "Sovietization" of Cuban government structures and modes of thinking, revolutionary officials also maintained allegiance to more "radical" principles, especially in foreign policy in Africa. Kapcia's point is not to deny the differences between conventionally defined periods and their ideological/factional substrates but to blur their boundaries.

These interventions then lead Kapcia to contend with the shifting definitions of "the Revolution" (or simply "revolution"?) itself (p. 196). From early associations with the anti–Fulgencio Batista movement to usages that suggested a "process" that only began with Batista's ouster, clearly the term has not had a static meaning. But given the association of the word *revolution* with change, it is pertinent to return to periodization and ask whether "the Revolution" ended at any point. Here, Kapcia's work can be compared with another recent primer, Rafael Rojas's *Historia mínima de la Revolución Cubana* (2015), which offers a tight argument that the Cuban Revolution indeed ended with the promulgation of the Cuban socialist constitution in 1976. Yet if Kapcia does not come down with a similarly neat assessment, focusing instead on an ongoing if contested "nation-building process," he does acknowledge that even in the 1960s (and certainly by the 1970s) "the Revolution" was evolving into a "system" that its backers felt was worth defending (pp. 2, 57).

Finally, and related to the evolution of this system, Kapcia's most insistent intervention is his effort to explain the nature of Cuba's state structures and "matrix of power," building on his previous scholarship (p. 179). Rather than a strictly personalistic or hierarchical entity, Kapcia argues, the Cuban state has proved durable because it includes evolving and overlapping structures of vertical and horizontal communication and negotiation between its elements—among them, the unified Cuban Communist Party (after 1965), "People's Power" legislative structures (after 1976), government ministries, and the semicorporatist so-called "Mass Organizations" founded in the early 1960s. Here Kapcia is largely convincing, though some readers will likely feel that acknowledging this complexity is not incompatible with more forcefully recognizing the system's authoritarian, totalitarian, or simply repressive legacies. Moreover, Kapcia himself would likely agree that it is challenging to measure, let alone conduct historical research on, the actual workings of these horizontal and vertical channels of governance, given the lack of transparency of many Cuban government institutions and Cuban archival limitations. Thus, a description of Mass Organizations as "potentially" providing "sounding boards for gauging grassroots opinion" is revealing (p. 188).

Overall, Antoni Kapcia offers a probing, intellectually challenging, and deeply informed synthesis of Cuba's contemporary history that provides much fodder for

reflection and debate. In light of Cuba's current economic and political crisis, punctuated by unprecedented nationwide protests in July 2021, it will be fascinating to watch whether the future confirms Kapcia's arguments about the fundamental resilience of a "revolution" that long ago also morphed into a state.

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The Mexican Revolution's Wake: The Making of a Political System, 1920–1929. By SARAH OSTEN. Cambridge Latin American Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 285 pp. Cloth, $99.99.

Over the years, locating the roots of Mexican radicalism has become a bit of a cottage industry. For early commentators like John Womack, the roots of this radicalism (and its demise) were in the sugar plantations of the Morelos lowlands and the Zapatista uprising that sought to distribute them among the peasants. For others, like Alan Knight and Friedrich Katz, they lay in the small villages and mining towns of the Mexican sierras where charismatic strongmen like Pancho Villa shaped a distinct *serrano* ideology out of a blend of political autonomy, workers' rights, and limited land reform. For more recent historians, they lay in the rich, rural lowlands of the center-west where politicians, reformers, teachers, and peasants hashed out a distinctly localized brand of land reform and socialist education.

Now, in this excellent book, Sarah Osten has found these roots in a place often left out of discussions of Mexico's revolutionary era—the southwest. Osten argues that from 1915 onward reformers like Salvador Alvarado and Felipe Carrillo Puerto came up with a new, "socialist" way of doing politics. For these men, socialism was a relatively loose term. Though it contained some aspects of socioeconomic reform, it functioned more as a catchall political category to denote those who supported the Mexican Revolution against its detractors and enemies. On the ground, it was concerned less with grand changes and more with the messy business of forming political organizations and winning elections.

In the bulk of the book Osten traces how these loose "socialist" ideas shaped politics not only in Alvarado and Carrillo Puerto's test laboratory of Yucatán but also in the neighboring states of Chiapas, Tabasco, and Campeche. In Tabasco Tomás Garrido Canabal built on the programs introduced by Carrillo Puerto as well as what he perceived as the reasons for Carrillo Puerto's downfall at the hands of the 1923 de la Huerta rebellion to construct a particularly durable form of socialism. Garrido Canabal relentlessly purged suspected rebels, kept the federal army at a distance, formed a party, and then filled it with a network of local "ligas de resistencia" and unionized workers. This organization then allowed him to introduce a handful of strikingly radical policies, including (most famously) a virulent anticlericalism and (less well known) a move toward female suffrage.

In Chiapas, attempts to create a version of Yucatán socialism were less successful. Most historians have put this down to the state's deep-seated economic inequality and hard racial divisions. Though Osten doesn't deny these, she views Chiapas governor Carlos A. Vidal's failure as one of political circumstance. He sought to use his local organizations to back General Francisco Serrano's attempt to beat General Álvaro Obregón's bid for reelection. By doing so, Vidal came up against not only Obregón and the federal army but also Garrido Canabal's pro-Obregón network.

As the Chiapas case suggests, Osten's work not only focuses on the spread of this particular type of southwestern socialism but also cleverly and clearly indicates how state politics interacted with the shifts in federal politics. The de la Huerta and Gómez-Serrano rebellions, which are often relegated to footnotes in studies of the 1920s, are given ample treatment. Osten demonstrates how what sometimes appears as a personalist uprising actually interacted in complex ways with politics at the state and local levels. While the de la Huerta rebellion pushed Garrido Canabal to reform and refine Mexican socialism, the Gómez-Serrano rebellion put an end to Vidal's attempts to introduce these forms of organizing to Chiapas.

If most of Osten's work is a readable and well-researched discussion of state and local politics, her concluding chapters place this book in the top tier of the regional histories of the revolution, up there with books by Ben Fallaw, Jocelyn Olcott, and Romana Falcón. Rather than simply viewing developments in the southwest as an interesting aside, Osten claims that the forms of socialist organizing pushed by Carrillo Puerto and developed into a powerful political machine by Garrido Canabal actually formed the basis of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR). This is a big claim. But Osten does a fine job of meticulously laying out the connections between the beginning of Mexico's one-party dominant state and the infrapolitics and socialist organizing of Yucatán, Tabasco, and Chiapas.

Chapter 7 in particular is a bravura piece of political history that frankly changed my views on what I thought was a fairly well-traveled era of the Mexican past. Here, as Osten escapes the often rather dense undergrowth of names and acronyms that fill the individual state-focused chapters, it is possible to see a genuinely original take on the early years of the Mexican revolutionary state.

This is perhaps a little churlish (my standard operating tenor), but I suppose that if I have any criticism of this well-written, well-researched, and novel work, it is that Osten fails to locate her own vision of Mexican state formation within some of the other literature on the late 1920s, which sees the building blocks of the PNR in the anti-Cristero groups of the center-west. If the southwest socialism shaped the relationship between the federal and state governments, was it the example of the armed *agraristas* of Michoacán and Jalisco that molded how state governments related to and negotiated with the tier below of village authorities and local strongmen?

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90 millas: Relaciones económicas Cuba–Estados Unidos, 1898–2020.
Edited by ANTONIO SANTAMARÍA GARCÍA and JOSÉ MANUEL AZCONA PASTOR.
Arte y Humanidades. Madrid: Dykinson, 2020. Figures. Tables. Notes.
Bibliography. Index. 467 pp. Paper, €35.00.

The 90 Miles Cuban Cafe in Chicago, Illinois, encourages diners to "taste the forbidden," offering taboo cuisine such as pork sandwiches and plantains. Meanwhile, about 1,330 miles southeast in Havana, the restaurant Nero Di Seppia allows customers to order Chicago mainstays such as pizza, along with familiar fare such as seafood pasta. While it would be incorrect to say that normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba has led to an integration of the two nations' economies, it would also be mistaken to conclude, despite a 60-year embargo, that the transfer of capital (and culture) between the two countries has been nonexistent. The mozzarella cheese and pizza sauce at Nero Di Seppia say otherwise.

This is where the edited volume *90 millas: Relaciones económicas Cuba–Estados Unidos, 1898–2020* provides some clarity. Editors Antonio Santamaría García and José Manuel Azcona Pastor include 14 essays that consider the economic relationship between the two nations. The authors come from diverse intellectual backgrounds: economist Andrew Zimbalist from Smith College, for instance, is a leading figure in academic discussions about Cuba, as is Alan Dye, from Barnard College. Yet the roster of authors is not limited to academics from the United States. Alejandro García Álvarez is a professor at the University of Havana, and Pavel Vidal Alejandro studied in Havana but is a professor in Colombia, whereas Jorge Pérez-López has worked at the US Department of Labor. Together, the contributors have authored more than 200 books about Cuba, an astounding figure.

The greatest strength and weakness of this collection is how authors cluster around similar issues. For instance, García Álvarez, Dye, and Pérez-López each discuss the importance of the sugar industry in US-Cuban relations during (roughly) the first half of the twentieth century. On the one hand, there is value in observing when authors with different intellectual backgrounds agree. Through this catechism, the centrality of sugar to the US-Cuban relationship is emphasized. Furthermore, each essay varies in its tone and type of sources used. García Álvarez peppers his prose with statistics about the number of government-owned, domestically owned, and foreign-owned sugar plants; Dye looks at tariffs and places a heavy emphasis on primary sources; and Pérez-López provides accessible and valuable background information about sugar and US-Cuban relations in approachable and inviting prose. The combination of these three essays results in an edited volume that can be assigned to both graduate and undergraduate students, depending on the familiarity that these scholars have on the topic. On the other hand, repetition is repetition, and the number of tables containing similar data making the same, albeit convincing, arguments within the first 200 pages can, at times, be discouraging to the reader.

There are, however, 14 essays in *90 millas*, and many provide unique insight into how the US-Cuban economic relationship affected eclectic dynamics in Cuba. For instance,

Jorge Domínguez's examination of Cuban moderate nationalism demonstrates that even during Gerardo Machado's and Fulgencio Batista's autocratic regimes, the issue of the sugar trade with the United States resulted in a pragmatic realism in Cuban politics, which persisted through Fidel Castro's early public remarks.

The second half of *90 millas* examines US-Cuban economic relations after the rise of Fidel Castro and possesses many of the same strengths and weaknesses as the first half. Once again, many of the essays touch on similar topics with different degrees of sophistication, but issues such as the needless US panic over the Soviet brigade in Cuba in 1979 (which contributed to the scuttling of normalization talks), global sugar quotas imposed by the Ronald Reagan administration (which may have hurt Cuba's ability to sell sugar to nonaligned nations), and the reunion of Elián González with his family (which was a factor in the 2000 US presidential election) are not discussed.

Two essays that discuss different aspects of the diversification of Cuba's economy, however, are fascinating. Jorge Duany examines how remittances from foreigners now represent a greater share of Cuba's economy than the sugar trade. Forty percent of the Cuban community in Miami send remittances, a fact that bolsters Hideaki Kami's arguments in *Diplomacy Meets Migration: US Relations with Cuba during the Cold War* (2018) about how the Cuban American community often tries to weaken but inadvertently strengthens the existing regime in Havana. Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva and José Luis Perelló Cabrera, from the University of Havana, discuss the growing tourism industry in Cuba and claim that, even during the Donald Trump presidency, when travel restrictions tightened, one million Americans visited Cuba yearly; in 2018, they assert, US tourism comprised one-quarter of all tourism to the island, explaining the pizza on the menu at Nero Di Seppia.

90 millas, overall, is a strong work of scholarship. Despite the clustering of topics, the authors represent the best in the field and provide a panorama of US-Cuban economic relations that reinforces established arguments while introducing new ones. I recommend it.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-9653908

La Paz's Colonial Specters: Urbanization, Migration, and Indigenous Political Participation, 1900–52. By LUIS M. SIERRA. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 233 pp. Cloth, $115.00.

In this study Luis Sierra examines how Indigenous residents of La Paz, Bolivia, built and modernized the city and defended their rights as citizens at a time when the intellectual and political elite was mostly trying to keep them out of the city or to isolate them in strictly controlled Indigenous areas. Through mutual aid societies, lay confraternities,

1. The views of the author do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of State.

neighborhood organizations, and militant labor federations, Indigenous people and other working-class *paceños* demanded infrastructure for their neighborhoods and pushed for full social and political rights. In the process of telling this story, Sierra seconds other historians who contend that the disastrous Chaco War with Paraguay (1932–35) was a watershed that radicalized Bolivian political culture, but he also argues that many labor unions and other organizations had used earlier political openings to advance their rights.

Sierra begins his history of La Paz's Indigenous residents with a discussion of the elite's belief that all Aymara people lived, or should live, beyond the city's walls, in the *extramuro*, although these walls were a colonial urban fixture that had long since ceased to exist. The extramuro was also thought the center of disease and prostitution that could infect the health and morals of non-Indigenous city dwellers. In any event, these supposedly separated areas soon became La Paz's fastest-growing neighborhoods that, as Sierra frequently emphasizes, were home to people of diverse ethnicities and class backgrounds.

In reality, the city's creole elite could not exist without the Indigenous and mixed-race working class who cared for their children, did their laundry, constructed their homes and public buildings, and tended their gardens. This undeniable reality was certainly part of why elite intellectuals and politicians formulated often-tortuous schema by which Indigenous people could be educated and modernized but preferably still be isolated in agricultural areas. In chapter 2 Sierra discusses the proposals of Daniel Sanchez Bustamante, Manuel Rigoberto Paredes, Luis Terán Gómez, and Vicente Donoso Torres, among others. While the "separatist incorporation" favored by these men is perhaps representative of elite thought on the "Indian problem," it is striking that Sierra does not discuss the ideas of more radical writers and political activists like Tristán Marof (the public name of Gustavo Navarro), José Aguirre Gainsborg, or Guillermo Lora (p. 55).

The strongest sections in *La Paz's Colonial Specters* discuss the organization of the labor movement and the strategies of neighborhood associations to bring modern infrastructure to their areas and to gain respect as both Indigenous people and Bolivian citizens from the national and city governments. These sections demonstrate that workers took advantage of every political opening to create unions and push their demands. For instance, President Juan Bautista Saavedra (1920–25) initially sought an alliance with unions, and workers took him at his word and struck for better wages and working conditions. Although when these ties no longer benefited Saavedra he suppressed the working class, the opening gave various unions time to organize and form important coalitions. The early labor struggles by Indigenous and working-class people illustrate Sierra's point that one should not trace all progressive change and class consciousness to the post-Chaco reformist period.

Neighborhood associations that advocated for physical improvements and residents' rights had various origins. Some evolved out of mutual aid societies or religious lay confraternities; others were built by union militants. Often neighborhood association leaders would petition the city or national government (sometimes playing them off against each other) for infrastructure improvements like running water, electricity, and schools. In return for materials and expertise, local residents would provide the needed

labor. Interestingly, when negotiating with politicians, association leaders often used elite rhetoric to their advantage. If the ruling class wanted a civilized, modern city, neighborhood leaders argued, they needed to provide the basic physical and cultural amenities for Indigenous people to lead decent, honorable lives.

In the last chapter Sierra builds on the work of historian Mario Murillo to question the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario's official history of their 1952 triumph. Sierra argues that the movement's success depended on La Paz's Indigenous residents who used their organizations and knowledge of the city's terrain to help defeat the military junta.

La Paz's Colonial Specters will be important to Bolivianists of many disciplines and to scholars of urbanization generally. It is also a significant contribution to the literature on the various ways that Latin American politicians and intellectuals, including those in Mexico and Peru, conceptualized and integrated their Indigenous populations. Unfortunately the book contains a few infelicities. The maps on pages 21 and 22 do not allow for an adequate understanding of where important events took place. As someone who knows La Paz well, I found myself confused by references to neighborhoods that do not appear on those two maps. Also, the text is often repetitive. At least three of the chapters were previously published as articles and do not seem to have been revised to blend into the narrative and to eliminate already presented material.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-9653921

O Brasil contra a democracia: A ditadura, o golpe no Chile e a Guerra Fria na América do Sul. By ROBERTO SIMON. Coleção Arquivos da Repressão no Brasil. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2021. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Index. 491 pp. Paper, R$104.90.

The attempt to discover a topic, document, or tract of land has been an obsession for many and a trap for most. In recent years, "Columbusing" became an internet meme to mock the finding of something that has always existed. Journalist Roberto Simon decided to forgo the inclusion of a bibliography in his 491-page book and instead rely almost exclusively on primary sources, including interviews and documents from four archival collections. The impressive body of oral sources is the major contribution of this well-written work. However, Simon's indifference to the many authors who have published prolifically on the same topic places his book in a strange vacuum. He mentions Denise Rollemberg, Mónica González, Peter Kornbluh, and Tanya Harmer but ignores the most recent decade of scholarship that reframed the history of the South American Cold War through an interregional perspective.

O Brasil contra a democracia is divided into three parts and opens with expectations following the election of Salvador Allende, in 1970. Brazilian ambassador to Santiago, Antônio Cândido da Câmara Canto, and his Chilean counterpart, Raúl Rettig, appear as central figures. With a plethora of anecdotes, Simon describes Câmara Canto's preoccupation with the "surprising" victory of the socialist leader—although documents attest

that the Brazilian government was prepared for this outcome (p. 46). The diplomat's impetus to monitor Brazilian exiles in Chile had the backing of the Foreign Office's Intelligence Center, researched at length in the 2000s by historian Pio Penna Filho. Rettig, in the meantime, tried to gather information about a plan in Rio de Janeiro to deploy guerrilla groups in the Andes. Simon also points to the ties between fascist Chilean group Patria y Libertad and the Brazilian government while suggesting support for the group from Brazilian businesspeople who favored the removal of Allende.

Part 2 narrates the coup of September 11, 1973, and the reaction of Brazilian officials. According to the dictator Augusto Pinochet, they "were still shooting" when Brazil recognized the forcefully installed regime (p. 207). The book successfully demonstrates how the Brazilian leadership abandoned their citizens who were among the many victims of the torture and killings in Chile. Instead, Brazil's leaders continued the surveillance of exiles by tracking them down in embassies, refusing to issue safe-conducts, and sending agents to the Estadio Nacional. This idea had already been developed by other scholars, including Alessandra Beber Castilho, who included the Catholic Church among the enemies of the Allende presidency.

The third section begins after what the author refers to as the "burial of Allende and the Chilean socialism" (p. 255). It analyzes the role of Brazilian diplomats in the lonely mission of defending Chile on the global stage, a similar approach to what historian Olivier Compagnon proposed. The United States struggled to occupy a discreet position, and the deputy director of central intelligence, Vernon Walters, emerged as the principal interlocutor with the Brazilian government to back the Chilean regime. The inauguration of President Ernesto Geisel, with Pat Nixon and a clique of dictators in attendance—Bolivian Hugo Banzer, Uruguayan Juan María Bordaberry, and Pinochet—serves as the background for a group of Chilean officials buying military weapons and vehicles. The lack of ready-to-sell products was not an obstacle to the deal. On the contrary, the Brazilian General Staff of the Armed Forces removed the blazon of its own arsenal and sent it to the ally. The book ends with the Brazilian support of the National Intelligence Directorate, the Chilean secret police, and the infamous Operation Condor, the US-backed and Chilean-led campaign of state terror in the region.

For decades, the Brazilian government has tried to deny its contributions to authoritarian regimes in the Southern Cone. The country's truth commission was one of the last to be established in the region, only releasing its first report in December 2014. The oblivion has consequences. On September 7, 2021, when Brazil celebrated its independence from Portugal, thousands of citizens took to the streets wearing the national soccer team jersey, holding flags and banners, and demanding the return of the dictatorship. The economy minister, Paulo Guedes, worked during Pinochet's rule in Chile and in his youth harbored the dream of being one of the Chicago Boys. President Jair Bolsonaro openly defended the atrocities of both the Chilean and Brazilian dictatorships, recently declaring that "Chile would be a Cuba today" if not for Augusto Pinochet. The ties between the two regimes feel chillingly more relevant than ever. Simon's book would certainly have benefited from a dialogue with contemporary authors as well as from starting his investigation in the 1960s. Recently declassified documents attest to the connections between

Brasília and anti-Allende groups well before his presidential election, when the socialist was long established as a political force. Nevertheless, additional research into the role of the Brazilian dictatorship in the weakening of democracies in the Southern Cone is much needed and always welcome for the political insights that it is sure to provide.

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The Dope: The Real History of the Mexican Drug Trade. By BENJAMIN T. SMITH. London: Ebury Press, 2021. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Notes. Index. xxvi, 422 pp. Cloth, £20.00.

This book is based in a decade of extraordinary research in national, state, and local archives by its author and other scholars, principally Wil Pansters (I participated in two related conferences organized and funded by them). The mining of these archives, particularly the rarely visited state and local collections, along with the stimulating conferences, has already made a major contribution to the field of Mexican drug history, while published and forthcoming peer-reviewed essays and books will continue to make their mark for years to come.

This book is the trade-book version of all that remarkable research. As Benjamin Smith informs the reader, "*The Dope* is a work of popular history. . . . As such, the text is unencumbered by the usual footnotes, endnotes, and the nods to academic allies. I hope that this makes what is a tough and complex topic more accessible and readable" (p. 378). The book certainly succeeds by this measure and will be extremely useful in introductory undergraduate courses on the subject. Scholars of course will find the lack of footnotes less appealing, and, like most popular histories, there's also a tendency to smooth over uncertainty with a more confident narrative than the existing evidentiary gaps probably warrant. But as far as pop drug history goes, this is as good as you will find to date on Mexico.

As the title suggests, the book is on the illicit drug trade—there is very little here on the development of policy, ideology, or drug use. That narrow focus facilitates a relatively long-term overview, from the turn of the twentieth century down to the present. The book is strongest on the period from the Second World War to the 1990s. Developments since 2000 are well summarized but are a little too recent for a thorough historical treatment. The early twentieth-century material is the weakest. For example, calling marijuana "the drug of choice" of the Mexican Revolution's soldiers is both factually wrong (alcohol too is a drug) and a serious exaggeration of the extent of marijuana use at the time (p. 14). And between 2 and 4 percent of Americans were not addicted to morphine in the early twentieth century (the best estimates suggest that it was closer to 0.5 percent addicted to all opiates) (p. xx). I was curious as to the source for the latter claim, but the alphabetical and fragmentary format of the "notes on sources" made it difficult to identify.

But there is also plenty of new and intriguing stuff here. Smith's most compelling argument is that the drug trade in Mexico has always been as much about "protection

rackets" (with various actors imposing a tax on traffickers) as it has been about the trade in drugs. He argues that these rackets began in the early twentieth century as provincial affairs that served an almost philanthropic function—a kind of state-sponsored social banditry that funded the building of schools, parks, and so forth. In short, the drug trade wasn't always so bad. There was relatively little violence, few Mexicans were taking illegal drugs, and the proceeds went in part to worthy causes. But gradually competition over these protection rackets spawned violence. The first stage saw the Policía Judicial Federal move in on the rackets controlled by governors and state police. In the 1970s this shifted into high gear with the renewed involvement of the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS) (this challenges the oft-repeated claim that the DFS had controlled the trade since the 1940s). Smith argues that it was the rise of the protection rackets through the political food chain, along with pressure from the United States, that accelerated the violence. Then the 2000s saw an especially troubling turn as the drug gangs, their armies, and low-level thugs began extending these rackets into areas far afield from drugs, terrorizing ordinary citizens around the country.

Yet readers are never given a clear answer as to why the corruption, violence, and general nihilism have gotten so wildly out of control. Smith suggests that there is nothing really special about Mexico: "The protection rackets were as extensive north of the border as they were south of it" (p. 227). This is surely wrong. There certainly has been plenty of corruption in the United States connected to drugs, but what Smith describes here in Mexico, decade after decade, involving countless governors, state and federal law enforcement officials, generals, and other military brass, up to presidents of the republic, is truly staggering. Protection rackets don't exist to this extent everywhere, so how do we explain them in Mexico?

The answer to that question and others will have to wait for more scholarly products from all this wonderful research. For now we have a highly entertaining and accessible volume that will surely be read widely for years to come.

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Olimpismo: The Olympic Movement in the Making of Latin America and the Caribbean. Edited by ANTONIO SOTOMAYOR and CESAR R. TORRES. Sport, Culture, and Society. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2020. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Index. x, 265 pp. Paper, $29.95.

The contributors to this book assess the achievements of the Olympic movement in Latin America and the Caribbean from a variety of interdisciplinary approaches, some more critical than others. It is a super book, full of stimulating detail and ideas, and I highly recommend it to all scholars of sport in Latin America and the Caribbean in fields from history to cultural studies, from sociology to philosophy. The book confirms the editors' proposal that "the Olympic Movement in Latin America and the Caribbean serves as an effective medium to explore the making of these societies" (p. 7). Going far beyond the

flag-waving, point scoring, state-sanctioned doping, and Cold War geopolitical ideological performance of much media coverage of the Olympics, the book shows how "the participation of Latin America and the Caribbean in the Olympic Movement has been a preferred terrain for political experimentation, struggles, and clashes; contestation of various social hierarchies; attempts of insertion in an increasingly globalized world; and both inward and outward articulations and projections of identity" (p. 9).

Some of the contributions to the book are startlingly original. Shunsuke Matsuo's fantastic chapter makes a persuasive case for the role of the Uruguayan government agency the Comisión Nacional de Educación Física in coordinating the work of international promoters like the YMCA and local teachers in the early 1900s. Matsuo shows how the Uruguayan case "sheds light on the role of local actors not as passive recipients of external influence but as active vehicles of the global Olympic expansion in peripheral regions" (p. 30). Thomas Carter presents a magisterial chapter on Olympism, Cuban nationalism, and the "enthusiastic yet awkward" ways in which they were intertwined. Carter's delightfully written chapter reveals how changing political circumstances in Cuba were adapted within the embrace of the "flexible ideological tool" of Olympism (p. 33). This is complemented by Claire Brewster and Keith Brewster's insightful work on Mexican Olympic diplomacy.

The strong central section of the book features chapters by the editors and other well-established scholars on the ever-changing links between politics, media, sports, and their institutions. There is an excellent study by April Yoder on women, Olympism, and the political third way in the Dominican Republic under Joaquín Balaguer. Yoder reveals how women seized the opportunities that were opened to them by the universalizing logic of the Olympic movement, even as many of its key policymakers remained opposed to women's athleticism.

The Olympic Games are built on the separation and categorization of sports and athletes according to the definitions set up in previous historical periods, whether of nation-state, age, gender, or weight. Women boxers are recent entrants to the competition, men athletes still cannot enter artistic swimming, and women athletes with certain testosterone levels are currently prohibited from running the 400 meters and 800 meters. Chloe Rutter-Jensen's analysis of Fabio Torres, the Colombian Paralympic powerlifter and land mine amputee, raises many of these issues in an intriguing analysis of the representations of these "enfleshed bodies" (p. 147). (Unfortunately the chapter contains no images, and Torres's own reflections do not appear.) The relationship between technology and Olympic and Paralympic athletes remains underresearched, whether the prosthetic limbs and aerodynamic clothing of so-called cyborgs, sporting machines like bicycles and boats, or sporting implements like rifles, bows, and épée. Given all the historical research that we have into Latin America's relationship with modernity, the case studies of Latin American athletes like Torres should provide fantastic material to further investigate the inequalities and contradictions involved in the construction of physical cultures, athletic technologies, and Olympic identities.

The book ends with the thoughts of Lamartine Pereira DaCosta on the "future significances" of the Olympic Games, followed by Christopher Gaffney's conclusion.

Whereas DaCosta makes hopeful claims that may find a happy home in a megaevent bid document, Gaffney pulls no punches on the "contradictions and permanent state of crisis of the Olympic Movement in Latin America" (p. 185). Gaffney's essay is worth the price of admission on its own. Pulling together the threads of power, gender, institutions, neocolonialism, and eugenics that run through the Olympic movement and this book, Gaffney reminds readers of the "political ramifications of our investigative methodologies and subject matter" and to constantly question the links made between sports, development, and progress that feature in much sporting promotion (p. 198). Gaffney proposes that "as researchers and citizens, we could do worse than to focus our attention on [grassroots] initiatives in the hopes of exploring the successful implementation of sporting practices as a path toward greater social integration" (p. 199). Most readers of *HAHR* will know of community organizations and everyday sports activities in Latin America or the Caribbean that inspire people and promote respect, well-being, and public health regardless of their gender, race, or social class. That these organizations and activities are often detached from the Olympic movement is not a justification for their falling outside the interest of researchers.

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Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy. By CHRISTY THORNTON. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 301 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Christy Thornton's crucial book is part of a deep reassessment over the last 15 years of the history of economic development. Until the beginning of the new century, this history was mainly described as a set of ideas and practices diffusing from North to South during the Cold War era. Thanks to the work of scholars like Frederick Cooper, a new cohort of historians has begun addressing how the so-called Third World substantially contributed to development theories and practices. Focusing on Mexico as a case study, Thornton's book shows how, at least since the Mexican Revolution's triumph, that country's diplomats and economists tried to shape international debates over the world's economic institutions in favor of their nation's development plans. In doing so, Thornton adds to important new works on Mexico's contemporary history that are slowly moving from a focus on familiar milestones and toward lesser-known topics like the dirty war or Mexico's Cold War interactions with the Third World.

The book's eight chapters retrace Mexico's contribution to the shaping of international economic institutions between the Mexican Revolution and the 1970s. The first six chapters are the most accomplished. They draw on prodigious research in Mexican archives, which, as any scholar working on Mexico's contemporary history knows, are a particularly hard nut to crack. Thornton convincingly shows how the experience of the 1910 revolution gave Mexican officers and diplomats an extremely original perspective on economic development that largely anticipated the Economic Commission for Latin

America's developmentalism and Third World countries' proposals for economic reform during and after decolonization. As Thornton shows, Mexicans were introducing to the international economic debates of the 1920s and the 1930s the advanced principles contained in the 1917 constitution, which sought to strongly regulate capitalist forces. Mexican delegates at inter-American conferences during this time fought for international recognition of weak countries' economic sovereignty as essential to political independence. They proposed the Inter-American Development Bank as part of a new international economic architecture designed to harness international finance and make it more responsive toward weak countries' development needs. Also taking advantage of the enhanced bilateral cooperation with Washington during the Good Neighbor era, Mexican officers substantially molded the new international organizations founded at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. These officers argued that these institutions should help less developed countries become more resilient to commodity price cycles and make funds for industrialization available to those countries unable to fetch them on the international market. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, that is, should work as international development institutions. As Thornton shows, Mexico partly succeeded in influencing the new institutions' mission according to its vision of economic development.

The last two chapters of the book focus on the period between the end of World War II and the 1970s. One chapter deals with Mexico's alleged retrenchment from its engagement with the first line of debate over global economic governance during the 1950s and the 1960s. The last chapter offers what is probably the best reconstruction to date of the process leading to the approval of President Luis Echeverría's Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. However, Thornton's interpretation of this period leaves some room for debate. According to Thornton, Mexico's moderation during the 1950s and 1960s was mainly due to the country's success in obtaining crucial resources for industrialization. The money coming to Mexico from bilateral and multilateral Washington-based financial institutions and from the financial markets was indeed conspicuous and could explain, along with growing Cold War geopolitical pressures, Mexico's diminished international activism during the 1950s. However, during the 1960s Mexico sought to recover a more dynamic international position. Still, as Thornton argues, its policy toward the Third World was marked by strong ambiguities. Rather than streaming from a position of strength, as Thornton suggests, what probably motivated such an ambiguous interaction was Mexico's economic weakness. The Mexican economy, unable to generate adequate levels of domestic investments and export revenues to support its state-led industrialization, became by the end of the 1950s increasingly dependent on US bilateral and US-based multilateral funding sources, which made the country more vulnerable to Washington's pressures, which could be incomparably harsher than during the Good Neighbor era. This might explain Mexico's ambiguous relations with the Third World, even when President Adolfo López Mateos attempted to resume a policy of rapprochement with the emerging global South. Paradoxically, Mexico's economic weakness—which during the early 1970s became a full-fledged crisis aggravated by Richard Nixon's economic nationalism—might also help to explain

Echeverría's Third Worldist radicalization, the president having much less to lose than in the 1950s—when the Mexican miracle was taking off—and in the 1960s—when the country could still count on a friendlier partnership with its Northern neighbor. My different interpretation of the 1960s and 1970s aside, Thornton's book represents an illuminating account that, drawing on absolutely outstanding research, helps us to better think about Mexico's postrevolutionary history and improves our understanding of center-periphery relations during the twentieth century.

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Fighting Unemployment in Twentieth-Century Chile. By ÁNGELA VERGARA. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 245 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

Ángela Vergara has written a compelling, well-researched account of unemployment's human consequences and the Chilean state's efforts to relieve the suffering caused by cyclical economic crises. Drawing on records from Chile's Labor Department and the International Labor Organization (ILO), Vergara charts growing concern over unemployment in the early twentieth century, details government aid agencies' varied efforts to assist the poor and unemployed during the Great Depression, and shows how gains won in the late 1960s and early 1970s were undone by the Augusto Pinochet regime. A central question is how social workers, policymakers, and government officials defined unemployment. Vergara argues that although the Chilean state adopted international standards to fight unemployment, including the use of labor statistics and job placement programs, in practice "local economic, political, and social forces transformed and limited these reforms" (p. 6). Despite policies to mitigate the harm of mass layoffs, employment remained unstable and precarious for most Chilean workers.

Three key themes emerge in the early chapters, which examine efforts to combat unemployment in the 1910s and 1920s in western Europe and Chile. The Chilean nitrate sector's boom-and-bust cycles shaped initial unemployment policies. The problem of unemployment was linked not to an industrialized workforce, as in the United States or western Europe, but to the instability of a primary export economy dependent on the world market. Second, Vergara shows how those creating unemployment policies were interested not just in helping workers but in controlling them. Aid was designed to curb workers' physical "degradation," vagrancy, and radicalization while simultaneously preventing them from becoming dependent on assistance (p. 63). Male manual laborers and their families were often the presumed objects of unemployment aid; domestic, agricultural, and white-collar workers were excluded. Third, Vergara emphasizes that unemployment in Chile was a problem of mobility. When international market fluctuations caused mass layoffs in the northern nitrate sector, workers and their families fled south to seek work and shelter in their hometowns or large urban areas. Local elites, alarmed by the arrival of unemployed families, supported policies to control the movement of destitute workers.

The heart of the book examines the Depression's impact on the unemployed and very poor in Chile, particularly during the intense economic crisis and political instability of the early 1930s. During the worst of the crisis, thousands were on the streets, in need of food and shelter. Three deeply researched chapters describe work relief programs, aid provision, and efforts to protect consumers in the early 1930s. Vergara clearly shows how unemployment aid was literally a matter of life and death. Aid workers—typically young, professional women trained at Chile's two social work institutes—were overwhelmed by the unemployment crisis's scale. One social work student, who handled some 500 cases per month, described aid seekers as "hungry, cold, dying" (quoted on p. 84). Vergara shows that, in Chile, efforts to protect consumers were not about mass consumption but about basic human subsistence. Various agencies enacted price controls on food, rent, utilities, and transportation, and the brief Socialist Republic (June–September 1932) created the Comisariato General de Subsistencias y Precios, which controlled prices for over ten years. Yet reforms to create a minimum wage and provide protection against unemployment were piecemeal. The laws were multiple, overlapping, and often not well enforced, and elite suspicions that the unemployed were lazy or needed character reeducation were widespread. In the end, only workers in certain limited circumstances were protected, such as in sectors with strong unions.

In the 1960s labor rights expanded, especially in 1966 with the passage of a law that provided greater contract protections and job stability, but still fell short of protecting all workers. The 1966 law, for example, guaranteed 30 days' pay in case of severance for just cause, but employers could still fire workers without these protections to restructure or downsize. Moreover, rural and domestic workers continued to be excluded. Employment increased under Salvador Allende, but gains were undone by economic shock treatment in the mid-1970s and the 1982 crash. Moreover, the individualist ethos of the Pinochet years stigmatized aid for those who desperately needed it.

Vergara admirably combines international perspectives on unemployment, particularly the principles set out by the ILO, with a story primarily rooted in Chile and its labor and social history. By showing how Chile participated in international conversations around unemployment policy, she underscores her argument that policies in Chile often fell short of international best practices. Vergara has gleaned an impressive amount of detail from Labor Department records, providing insight into working-class spaces from government-run shelters in cities to remote public works sites and company stores. Despite efforts to recover the perspectives of the poor, the chapters are occasionally dry, limited by the sources themselves and the bureaucratic nature of government reports and social workers' views of those seeking aid. At times the reader might also wish for a stronger line drawn between struggles in the past and unemployment crises in the present. These minor quibbles aside, the book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the limits of Chilean social and economic rights and will be of great interest to social and labor historians of Latin America.

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The Last Good Neighbor: Mexico in the Global Sixties. By ERIC ZOLOV. American Encounters/Global Interactions. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xviii, 404 pp. Paper, $30.95.

With *The Last Good Neighbor* Eric Zolov considers Mexican foreign policy at the broadest level during the "global sixties." The book begins in 1958 with a push to reclaim geopolitical relevance and a "resurrection" of Lázaro Cárdenas. The ensuing seven chapters examine a foreign policy aimed at diminishing US power by diversifying global relationships, a foreign policy forged within and with influence over domestic politics that rose under Adolfo López Mateos and declined under Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. While Zolov finds this policy, as do other scholars, Janus-faced, he differs on the theme of Mexican diplomacy's efficacy and function. For Zolov, Mexican foreign policy was not primarily a mechanism for reconciling the opposing pressures of a domestic Left and a neighboring international Right. It was instead a "global pivot," a "grand strategy aimed at counterbalancing—though not dislodging—the preponderant influence of the United States" (p. 3). This pivot worked, according to Zolov: Mexico ended up "elevated . . . into being a nation of consequence" (p. 3).

In terms of international relations, this successful outcome is a difficult argument to make; Mexico had been a more significant player in the past. It got away with expropriating US land and oil, volubly opposed both fascists in Spain and communists in Finland, and lodged a major government-in-exile. After World War II Mexicans parlayed alliance with the winners into chairing a commission at Bretton Woods responsible for writing development as a goal into the United Nations (UN) Charter and for achieving veto power for smaller countries in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). By contrast, Mexico achieved little substantial in the 1950s and 1960s. Having lost the main battles for structuring international relations—the big powers ran the World Bank, the IMF, and the UN Security Council—Mexico's one avenue for true global clout, formal membership in the Non-Aligned Movement, was closed by the United States through financial blackmail. It is hard to see Mexico as "a de facto leader within the Non-Aligned Movement" when the government abstained from sending official delegations to meetings and denied being "impartial or neutral" (pp. 251, 161). When the chips were down, Mexico was with the United States.

But the United States did surprisingly little for Mexico. As Zolov notes, the economics of the bilateral relationship were unimpressive: while the (admittedly US-led) World Bank extended sizable loans, the Alliance for Progress delivered paltry sums in aid. After identifying the Bracero Program as central to Mexican development, the United States ended it in 1964. Mexico's quest to diversify trade relationships, founded on the "double-edged anchor" of living next door to the United States, failed (p. 239). Mexicans' South-South relationships rarely prospered, and visits by Tito and Charles de Gaulle were feel-good exercises without policy results. Mexico spent over 30 years without a seat on the Security Council. Mexican visibility and soft power flourished, spanning film exports, art, tourism, and the start of an impressive run of international gatherings. Hard power did not.

On the domestic front, Zolov's extensive research underpins two important arguments concerning the influence of geopolitics on 1960s Mexico. First, there is more to the period than Cuba and Tlatelolco, and alongside the violence central to Anglophone historiography, "*aspiration*" needs full credit in explaining regime endurance (p. 1). The leftist Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, often seen as a Cuban-inspired threat to the government, functioned more to contain opposition than to confront the state. At the peak of Mexico's activist foreign policy the same applied to internationalist intellectuals. The revolutionary Old Left epitomized by Vicente Lombardo Toledano might have been limping toward the sunset, but the New Left challenging it shared some of its ambiguities regarding the realities and potential of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). It is difficult to understand foreign policy as a sop to the Left when López Mateos's activism peaked just as the Left fragmented. (In the seventies the story was different.) Simultaneously hostile and useful to the government, intellectuals like Carlos Fuentes constituted a Gramscian civil society: critical but in the final analysis a bulwark of the state.

Second, Cárdenas was self-consciously central to this constrained opposition. Zolov does a great deal to link the private chats with presidents and foreign leaders, public statements, and overseas tours through which the ex-president influenced both the government and the Left. In international events such as the 1961 Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation, and Peace he held an increasingly radical Left in peaceful coexistence with the ruling party. When that Left, on either domestic or international levels, moved beyond the bounds of the *priísta* possible, he withdrew. Unlike Plutarco Elías Calles, Cárdenas could not make big things happen in his postpresidential career, but he could stop big things from happening, and he did so to sustained effect.

The upshot is a history that convincingly shows the influence of foreign affairs on Mexico but is less convincing in terms of Mexico's influence on foreign affairs. López Mateos was no Tito, Nehru, Sukarno, or Nyerere. And yet returns from the United States for this last-ditch moderation were not that great. The first Good Neighbors did quite well out of that doctrine; the last Good Neighbor did not.

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