

Book Reviews

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James McGuire, *Wealth, Health and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. xviii + 406, £55.00, £17.99 pb; \$95.00, \$29.95 pb.

There is an established tradition of comparing the economic performance of Latin America to that of various parts of Asia, but less has been done to develop regional comparisons of welfare performance. James McGuire's book does much to fill this gap and will also be of interest to anyone concerned with the relationship between politics and public policy. This is an ambitious volume, both in terms of its geographical scope and the scale of the issues it addresses. McGuire's fundamental question is whether democracy can be demonstrably linked to improved health outcomes for the poor. His answer is that it can.

Chapter 1 reviews orthodox explanations of mortality decline, including the 'wealthier is healthier' view and the effect of total public health spending. It also justifies the book's focus on child mortality, with reference to wider indicators of well-being, human capability and development. This is followed by a chapter providing a multiple regression of key factors understood to be associated with mortality reduction across 105 low- and middle-income countries in 1990. As well as the conventional socio-economic factors (female education, nutrition, and so on), McGuire includes a set of political determinants based on the quality of democracy (including electoral competition, executive power concentration and strength of opposition). Interestingly, these show that democracy is associated not with overall levels of health spending, but rather with higher rates of utilisation of the sorts of basic services that do the most to reduce infant and child mortality. Put simply (and doing some injustice to the sophistication of McGuire's argument), he demonstrates that 'democracy' (according to his criteria) is good for pro-poor health policies.

This large-scale comparative analysis is followed and complemented by eight country chapters, which provide case studies of four Latin American countries (Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Brazil) and four Asian ones (Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea and Indonesia). These country studies form the main part of the book and provide a satisfying combination of statistical analysis and more informed and nuanced work. McGuire selects countries that do not fit neatly into the predictions of his regression analysis and explores mortality trends over a 50-year period. A final chapter includes some comparative analysis of the case studies and relates them back to the quantitative analysis.

Each country chapter follows the same structure. Initial sections review available data on growth, poverty and mortality rates. This is then followed by a discussion of the wider determinants of infant and child mortality, such as access to education, nutrition and sanitation. Each chapter then focuses on health services, providing an overview of the health sector (including its historical development) and assessing the extent to which it has helped or hindered infant mortality reduction. Finally, each

chapter examines the wider political drivers of health services and public policy, including the development of democratic traditions, the role of interest groups and the strength of pro-poor electoral incentives. By following this structure, each chapter provides a comprehensive and sure-footed analysis of mortality trends linked to wider national development experiences.

McGuire's main argument is that infant mortality rates, as well as other health outcomes, are significantly determined by the provision of cheap, basic and relevant health services to the poor. He rightly observes that these services are easily affordable, regardless of national economic performance, but that different countries have implemented them to varying degrees. McGuire argues that this variation is primarily driven by political factors and that, defined broadly, an established democratic tradition is associated with better service provision for the poor.

McGuire's thesis stands up remarkably well against the wealth of evidence reviewed in the book, and I had no sense that evidence had been filtered to support it. McGuire recognises that the link between electoral politics and health for the poor is neither inevitable nor simple. In the case of Argentina, for example, the dominance of Peronism reduced genuine competition for the votes of the poor and hence the urgency of pro-poor health policies. Labour aristocracies can capture notionally democratic regimes and promote policies focused on relatively privileged groups. McGuire does not deny that non-democratic regimes, most notably Chile under Pinochet, did rather more to reduce child mortality than their democratic predecessors, although he attributes much of the credit for this to the establishment of democratic traditions over previous decades. Rather than weakening McGuire's main argument, demonstrating the complexity and, in many cases, indirect nature of links between democracy and pro-poor health policies makes his position more nuanced and persuasive.

In fleshing out his main argument, McGuire makes a large number of important and sometimes original observations. For example, he questions the widely held view that decentralising health services enhances outcomes, showing that this is context-dependent. He shows that Indonesia's decentralisation has probably done more harm than good, leading to a shortfall of funding at the local level and a disconnection between central policy-making and local implementation. Brazil's decentralisation appears to have done more to enhance outcomes, but was linked to the establishment of a unified, universal health system and upgraded resourcing. McGuire questions the usefulness of health insurance in enhancing access to basic services, observing that it can deflect resource allocation to less essential services. This focus on the supply of basic service provision challenges a strong demand-side bias in global health policy. More generally, the discussion of influential individuals such as Chile's Miguel Kast and Brazil's José Serra, and of issue networks, is both revealing and fascinating. The Asian chapters are less rich in this respect, but this is understandable since McGuire's main expertise is in Latin America.

Given the importance of the issues it addresses and the range and depth of its analysis, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in public health and development, or the relationships between political processes and social policy. It will be going straight to the top of my course reading lists.

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Luis López-Calva and Nora Lustig (eds.), *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of Progress* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, and Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. ix + 253, £23.99, pb.

Latin America is still the most unequal region in the world, but things may gradually be changing. Income distribution has improved in almost all Latin American countries since 2000, with particularly positive outcomes in Brazil and Mexico. *Declining Inequality in Latin America* is the first book to explore the factors behind the recent reduction of the Gini coefficient and offer some reflections on the potential sustainability of this trend over time.

The book starts with three useful chapters that review recent research on the political economy of income distribution. Jaime Kahhat discusses standard economic models of imperfect information where inequality is perpetuated by insufficient investment in education by the poor. James Robinson provides a detailed overview of the literature on the impact of politics on distribution. He emphasises the role of institutions and argues that a sustained reduction of inequality in Latin America may require radical changes in power relations and institutional design. Facundo Alvarado and Thomas Piketty review their recent research on the dynamics of income concentration among the rich in various parts of the world, including the worrying growth of top incomes in the Anglo-Saxon world. The contrast between the richness of their data and the absence of information on taxes in Latin America could not be more striking.

At the heart of the book are case studies on the recent dynamics of income distribution in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Peru. These four chapters use data from household surveys to measure how changes in labour and non-labour income have affected inequality since the mid-1990s. Their common methodology constitutes one of the strengths of the book: they all use a series of counterfactuals to measure the marginal impact of different income components. From the four cases, a common set of explanations for recent improvements emerges. First, the expansion of non-labour income in the bottom deciles was significant in all countries. In Brazil, non-labour income was responsible for 51 per cent of the reduction in the ratio of the top to bottom quintiles between 2001 and 2007. Social policy was behind this positive trend: in fact, social security explains 30 per cent of the reduction of inequality, while the *Benefício de Prestação Continuada* (a means-tested non-contributory pension) and *Bolsa Família* were responsible for 10 per cent each. In a fascinating discussion of the Mexican experience, Esquivel, Lustig and Scott show how social transfers – led by the *Oportunidades* programme – became ‘the largest inequality-reducing effect of all sources considered’ and were particularly important in agricultural areas. In Argentina, the public budget became more progressive thanks to changes in the tax system and a new conditional cash transfer programme. The evidence for Peru is more inconclusive and the new programmes are less generous and innovative, but ‘on the whole, improvements in access to public services have been pro-poor’ (p. 234).

Second, the skill premium, which increased sharply in almost all Latin American countries during the 1990s, has gone down in the last few years. In Mexico, for example, the ratio of skilled to unskilled wages increased from less than 2:1 in 1985 to 3:1 in 1997 but has decreased by 10 per cent since then. In Brazil, ‘the decrease in the labour earnings differentials by education level has been, unquestionably, one of the factors contributing to the recent decline in inequality’ (p. 156). Although this positive trend has likely resulted from changes in labour demand and supply, the studies only emphasise the latter. Higher education spending since the mid-1990s

contributed to an expansion in years of schooling among the poor. In fact, the Gini coefficient for years of schooling among the adult population decreased by 5 percentage points in Brazil between 1998 and 2007, by 7 percentage points in Mexico between 1996 and 2006 and by 4 percentage points in Peru between 2001 and 2007 (p. 11). The evidence is mixed in Argentina, where employment creation has been a more influential factor.

Other variables that have been stressed by other authors receive less attention in this volume. The analysis of the minimum wage in Brazil is particularly polemical. Barros et al. briefly compare a 10 per cent increase in the minimum wage with an equivalent expansion of the Bolsa Familia and show how the latter has a more positive effect on the income share of the poor than the former. They conclude that the minimum wage policy is not a particularly effective measure to combat inequality – a position that many others would not share.¹ While interesting, their exercise is also too simplistic: it fails to consider who pays for the policy in each case or evaluate the potential contribution of the minimum wage to reducing overall profits. More importantly, it is probably better from a psychological, social and economic perspective to expand good jobs than to expand social transfers.

Declining Inequality in Latin America constitutes a path-breaking contribution to our understanding of the recent distributional shift in Latin America. The rigorous statistical analysis is presented in a clear and convincing way – the Mexican chapter is particularly impressive in this regard. Yet the book leaves the reader with more questions than answers regarding the validity and sustainability of its findings. As in all other studies based on household surveys, changes in the income of the very rich are never explored. This may be an unsolvable problem unless tax information becomes available, but it is still quite damaging. Latin America's inequality is primarily caused by income concentration at the top, and we cannot really evaluate how much has changed without knowing what has happened with the rich. More importantly, the future sustainability of the recent reduction will depend on two variables seldom discussed in the book: changes in economic structure and changes in the political environment. Unless Latin America creates a larger number of well-paid productive jobs, reduces structural heterogeneity (between companies and between sectors), eliminates regressive social programs (which, as the book shows, are still quite large in countries like Mexico) and confronts the political influence of the elite, the recent trends are unlikely to be sustained in the future. The book thus highlights and explains a welcome trend, but we must now follow it with a broader research agenda on the political economy of sustainable (re)distribution.

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Richard L. Millett, Jennifer S. Holmes and Orlando J. Pérez (eds.), *Latin American Democracy: Emerging Reality or Endangered Species?* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), pp. xxiii + 360, \$156.00, \$45.95 pb; £20.99, pb.

This volume, edited by seasoned analysts of democratisation in Latin America, is part of a wide and growing body of literature on the so-called 'pink tide' in the region.

¹ See, for example, Andrea Cornia, 'Income Distribution under Latin America's New Left Regimes', *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 11: 1 (2010), pp. 85–114.

The editors have sought to produce a catch-all volume that will serve as a topical introduction to the convoluted process of democracy-building in Latin America, with particular attention to the unprecedented electoral successes of the so-called left wing in the past decade and to the policies of incumbent 'pink' governments.

The breadth of the volume is quite astounding. It covers no less than 18 major themes, with contributions addressing the opportunities and challenges that present themselves on the road to viable democracies: methodological issues in the measurement of democratic consolidation and of the ambiguous notion of democratic 'culture'; the public perception and legitimacy of liberal democratic institutions; the rule of law; executive–legislative relations; the role of old and new actors (the military, the old and emerging party systems); the role of the media in democratic consolidation; the relationships between democracy and, respectively, human rights, gender equality, economic growth, corruption, crime and citizen security; and the challenges of globalisation and social change for democracy. The most controversial and hence exciting part of the volume focuses expectedly on populism in the Andes, the 'left' in government, the impact of indigenous nationalism on the viability of the national state and of democratic polity, and the United States' ambiguous role in democracy promotion.

The structure of the book is reasonably cohesive, although the editors' choice for the succession of themes is not explained adequately. The volume's introductory chapter feels like a foreword and the concluding chapter, in turn, stands as an introduction, which merely summarises the volume's chapters and attempts neither to identify emerging issues and future research themes nor to offer a synthetic theoretical reflection on the arguments built by the contributors. In fact, the volume does little in terms of advancing theoretical debates on democratisation from the empirical analyses featured, a necessary undertaking even for an introductory text.

The volume also offers a confrontation of 'North' and 'South' perspectives on democracy, which surprises by its perpetuation of anachronistic dichotomies made patent by the reconfiguration of world order generated by the United States' imperial overstretch, the sovereign debt crisis of the EU, and the emergence of new poles of capital accumulation (including in Latin America) and geopolitical shifts manifested in the substitution of the G-8 by the G-20. As such, one of the key deficiencies of the volume is its lack of a holistic approach to democratisation, which would allow the idiosyncrasies of the region to be analysed as constitutive of global processes, and globalisation to be analysed not as an external force but as the interface of domestic and international processes. As such, the volume ignores the evidence on the transnationalisation of production and the correlation between emerging transnational social forces, the neoliberal restructuring of state and society that followed the region's hyperinflationary crises in the early 1980s, and the shape that democratisation has taken in Latin America since.

At a deeper analytical level, addressing the transnationalisation of production would imply the need to analyse perhaps *the* fundamental theme of Latin American democratisation: the relationship between capitalism and democracy, manifested in the contradiction between the concentration of power in business forces (through deflationary policies, wage controls and privatisations), growing material inequalities and persistent social polarisation on the one hand, and the liberal rationality of universal access to citizenship, equal rights and, indeed, equal political power on the other. Yet the volume, by focusing on 'institutional' developments, misses the social content of these institutions. For example, Isaac Cohen's chapter on the relationship

between the economic and the political addresses only in a superficial manner the impact of growth on democracy, neglecting to address *how* growth is generated, and the form that democracy takes as part of such growth patterns. Cohen's chapter perfectly illustrates the persistence of logics informed by positivism that inevitably lead to reification (turning internally related historical processes into things-in-themselves) in mainstream academia.

The unravelling of political and economic liberalisation efforts in Latin America at the turn of the twenty-first century has opened a window of opportunity for scholarship to make a serious attempt at dissolving the ontological, epistemological and methodological fragmentation of social fields (the 'social', 'cultural', 'economic' and 'political' spheres) painstakingly built and reproduced by mainstream academia. The volume edited by Millet, Holmes and Pérez unfortunately does not take on this challenge, in spite of Holmes' laudable critique of minimalist conceptualisations of democracy.

The issue is indeed, to what 'ideal type' democratic forms are the volume's contributions referring? Almost unfailingly, they refer to democracy in a liberal representative form (that is, polyarchy), based on heuristic measurements of the rule of law, of the existence of representative institutions of governance, of a 'cold' and rational bureaucratic apparatus, of a balance of power between the executive, legislative and judicial organs of the state. The *problématiques* featured in the volume are thus restricted to a closed system of meaning and norms, in line with dominant developmental discourses informed by Parsonian evolutionism. The contributors would readily acknowledge the limitations of minimalist definitions and the potential contradictions between economic restructuring and political democratisation, yet they swiftly overlook Holmes' initial reflections on broader conceptions of democratisation by taking polyarchy as a starting point for the purpose of empirical measurement, especially in relation to the 'left' in government, populism in the Andes, and indigenous movements.

Minimalist approaches may appropriately be criticised for ascribing autonomy to state life – that is, for their 'statolatry', to use Gramsci's terminology. Such statolatry causes inevitable gaps in a volume that has the ambition of addressing all 'relevant' issues in Latin American democratisation: it would be of salutary relevance to analyse the role of business confederations and of individual entrepreneurs in democratically elected governments (through the endemic phenomenon of 'revolving doors'); to tackle key institutional developments, including the internationalisation of states and the depoliticisation of economic management that accompanied democratisation processes in the 1980s and 1990s; to focus on the possible contours of a reinvigorated state capitalist socio-economic order and its implications for democracy; and needless to say, to analyse in much greater depth the internal relationships between democratisation and production relations, which would help explain the mechanisms that underlie the contradictions between formal legal equality and substantial inequalities in the region.

Minimalist approaches unsurprisingly inform negative assessments of contemporary 'deviations' from Parsonian liberal modernity. Mitchell Seligson's endorsement of the volume ('This cohesive volume provides a comprehensive analysis of recent trends away from democratization') bluntly settles the ostensibly open-ended question of its title, and brings to light the contributions' implicit claim: that the neo-populist stance of 'pink' governments is currently driving their nations away from democratisation.

Unsurprisingly, too, Hugo Chávez is yet again portrayed as a dangerous usurper of the public interest. The heterogeneity of the Chavista movement (constituted both by subaltern forces and emerging capitalist factions benefiting from state largesse, bureaucrats and professional sectors), the continued prevalence of market relations in Venezuela, and the pragmatic foreign policy of the Chávez government (at odds with his belligerent discourse) are silenced. So are the government's attempts to promote participatory forms of democracy and new poles of power (*consejos comunales*, *misiones sociales*) in a national polity historically conditioned by patrimonialism and crony capitalism.

The volume is therefore conspicuous not only for its comprehensiveness but also for its screaming silences. Its quality is not in doubt, but its façade of impartiality cannot veil its underlying political bias: it makes no mention of the fact that bastions of the conservative opposition in the state (senates, prefectures, municipalities, central banks) have hindered and redirected otherwise positive social and institutional reforms. It brushes under the carpet the vicious and sometimes brutal struggles of conservative and business forces against pink governments through such means as financing violent regionalist movements and initiating inflammatory referenda on regional sovereignty in the eastern departments of Bolivia, disrupting the proceedings of Bolivia's Constituent Assembly by various legal and extra-legal means in 2008, the respective coup attempts of 2002 and 2010 in Venezuela and Ecuador, and the successful 2009 coup in Honduras. These struggles have not only undermined alternative forms of governance, but have also unfailingly damaged polyarchy in the process.

Rather than concentrating merely on the 'concentration of power' taking place in the person of Chávez, an argument oblivious to the fact that highly centralised executive power is a hallmark of the region's constitutional orders, the editors would be well advised to promote analyses of the trajectories, shortfalls and potential benefits of Chávez's and other governments' attempts to alleviate the paradox of formal equality and real inequality through redistributive justice and the promotion of socialised forms of production and participatory forms of democracy. These attempts may be partial and likely to fail, but they cannot be buried under claims that authoritarian and anti-democratic 'tendencies' are the only forces at play in these social spaces.

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Olga González, *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. xvii + 307, \$30.00; £19.50, pb.

Olga González has written an original and insightful work on political violence from the perspective of a rural community in the Peruvian Andes. At the centre of the book is a story of two deaths, one associated with the onset of political violence and the other with its escalation. The first 'supposed death' was of an abusive, disruptive villager in 1981; this became a public secret, in that although generally known it could not be depicted or talked about and therefore could never be confirmed. The circumstances of this death and continued invisible presence of the dead man are the driving force of the narrative. Regarding the other death, of a local supporter of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path, SL) in 1982, although the 'disappearance' was publicly acknowledged, secrecy continued to shroud the identity of the killers.

When engaged in fieldwork a decade later, González discovered that there was more to learn from enquiring into how these two events were remembered and forgotten than there was from seeking to unmask 'the truth'. Subjectivity was as much the business of history as visible facts. A tension existed between concealment and revelation, for she found that the more visible things became, the more noticeable was the aura of things invisible. 'Public secrecy', she realised, was a form of circulation narrative through which individuals could keep certain memories alive while awaiting the moment in which they could be revealed.

Clearly, the themes explored in this book are highly sensitive. The wording of the title, 'Unveiling Secrets of War', highlights its provocative and disturbing nature. We are in a complex politicised field where the researcher needs to tread exceedingly warily. Given the difficulties and ethical issues that immediately arise in the notion of 'unveiling', some writers have turned to fiction rather than ethnography so as to bring out the intimacy of violence and the ambiguities of social relations built on secrecy. Seen in this light, González's book is a remarkable achievement. An early chapter is appropriately entitled 'The Said and the Unsaid'. This can refer not only to the subject matter of the chapter, the intended forgetfulness of the widow of the missing *comunero*, but also to the author's delicate position. As researcher, she is compelled not only to respect but also to participate in the circulation narratives of public secrecy while seeking to unearth and examine them.

González could not make the locality she chose for her research anonymous. Sarhua is a peasant community and district capital in the department of Ayacucho that became enmeshed in political violence at an early stage of the conflict. The community is well known in Peru, for it has long been distinguished by a strong artisan tradition of painting, the *tablas pintadas* – painted boards – being representations of local people and scenes from everyday life. Sarhua artists resident in Lima had also depicted graphically the main events associated with the onset and escalation of political violence. In particular, they had collaborated in producing a series of 24 paintings with accompanying explanatory texts known as *Pirac causa*, translated as 'Who is Still to Blame?' In these, only the second of the deaths is directly represented.

The book has two particular strengths. First, González focuses on the stories and representations of the villagers of Sarhua; they are the protagonists of the drama. However, in a deft way she frames the events surrounding the killings in relation to broad tendencies that at the time were seriously undermining the autonomy of Andean communities. Due to the breakdown of local authority systems, both traditional and bureaucratic, it had become less possible for villagers to protect the community against outside threats or to resolve internal conflicts in a timely manner. The consequence had been increasing vulnerability and exposure to the personal ambition and greed of a villager (prelude to the first death), to retaliation by Peru's armed forces and to the allure of promises initially made by SL activists (that preceded the second death). González assiduously explores the temporal-spatial juncture where an internal conflict (no longer resolvable locally) became interlaced with destructive powers from outside the community – the military and a Maoist political party employing strategies of violence.

The second strength is González's choice of methodology. She was able to deploy the pictorial representations made by local artists of the events surrounding the killings by showing villagers copies of the *Pirac causa* series. Being in a private collection, these had not been seen in the community before. The pictures served as both a reference point and an entry point to awakening memories: what and who were

depicted in such careful detail; what was noted in the accompanying texts; but what might be misrepresented and what was missing or removed from representations that purported to be 'the truth'. The conversations stimulated by the pictures, along with her explorations of the ambiguous realities coming through in accounts of the dreams and actions of non-human maleficent beings, allow González to explore a second juncture. This is between the visible and the invisible in relation to the silences and gaps surrounding violent events.

González's approach in this book has great value for the study of political violence in Peru and elsewhere. She refutes the pervasive image of passive communities being invaded by violent outsiders and being duped, or cowed, into supporting a political party preaching revolution. The critical point she makes is that armed conflict became a reality in Sarhua due to an irresolvable internal conflict. An abusive community member, after an uprising against him that threatened to deprive him of his livelihood, had accused five fellow comuneros of being terrorists and made an official request for their arrest. This unleashed violent retribution by the *Sinchis*, the counterinsurgency police. The internal conflict and brutal reaction to it then helped create conditions in which villagers might look expectantly at the glittering rhetoric of social justice and pronouncement of a moralisation campaign by proponents of the SL – but this was short-lived. In contrast, what González demonstrates with great skill is the ambivalence and longevity of public secrecy, perceptible in its own invisibility, that is part of the reality of war.

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Maria Helena Moreira Alves and Philip Evanson, *Living in the Crossfire: Favela Residents, Drug Dealers and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011), pp. x + 240, \$32.95, pb.

As Alves and Evanson make clear midway through this excellent and informative book, Brazil's human rights record has not improved since 1985, when the country moved from a military dictatorship to a constitutional democracy. Quite the reverse, on the base of sheer numbers things have become worse. Those tortured, killed and 'disappeared' during the darkest and most severe 'Years of Lead' of the military regime are comparatively few if we consider the tens of thousands of young, mainly black *favela* dwellers who have been killed by the undeclared – but fought on an almost daily basis – war between the police and drug dealers in the favelas of Rio. The idea that concern with favelas in Brazil has always been 'a thing of gringos' is acknowledged by many in the country; I myself have heard it again and again while working in Rio, in conferences, at seminars and informally in the restaurants and bars of the city. To this day, and despite the push for visibility that new favela movements are forcing into Rio's much-divided urban landscape, there is considerable indifference and even a certain feeling of 'normality' surrounding the massive violation of basic rights taking place in the city's poor communities.

The calling of attention to this situation and the examination of it in all its multifaceted complexity are two of the many merits of *Living in the Crossfire*, a comprehensive, informative and at times harrowing study of the institutional, political and human costs of uncontrolled state violence in territories of poverty. In opting for a format that retains first-person accounts and verbatim interviews, the authors make

real the voices, personal trajectories, dilemmas, hopes and sorrows that tend to remain hidden behind large numbers and official reports. From a teacher who was born, grew up and still works in the favela, to a mother who lost her eight-year-old son to a close-range police bullet, to two former Brazilian presidents (Cardoso and Lula), governors of Rio and senior officials in the area of national security, we are confronted with the problem as it is experienced and reflected upon by its key actors. The line-up of interviewees is impressive, and those studying these issues will find in this book a rich compilation of sources that brings together the multiple voices of favela-dwellers, community leaders, local and national government, the police and policy-makers.

Alves and Evanson show that favelas, while historically neglected by public policies and until very recently lacking in most basic state services, are nevertheless the outcome of an urban and economic environment in which it makes sense to build them and to live in them. Favelas have long moved beyond being shanty towns to become prospering and recognised urban areas receiving increased attention from the state. Inequality has plunged, there is less racism, and new investments from the national government's Program for Growth Acceleration have poured in. In addition, favelas enjoy far more social capital than other areas in the city as places where there has always been a strong sense of community and an impressive capacity for joint action and collaboration. Importantly, Rio as a whole depends on favelas – it is what it is because of the favelas and could not do without the work and proximity of favela-dwellers. All of this invites us to reposition the classic description of Rio as a 'split city' and recognise it is an integrated city, made by the multiple interconnections of its different areas and citizens.

Yet the undeclared war at the centre of the book is compelling evidence that the metaphor of the 'split city' cannot so easily be laid to rest. Everyday violence is intense and unequally distributed in Rio: favela-dwellers love their communities, but they know that between the drug trade and the police they stand little chance of surviving unscathed. There are issues of social representation, when the middle classes who live on the *asfalto* and the police see *favelados* as criminal and dangerous; there are issues of survival, when families cannot rely on the state for routes of socialisation for their children; and there are gigantic human rights violations, when the police invade homes, kill summarily and fail to investigate these crimes. What the imagination of Rio has named the *morro-asfalto* division is as real as ever for a favela-dweller living in Rio today (the 'morro' refers to the favelas in the hills, and the 'asfalto' (tarmac) to the richer neighbourhoods such as Ipanema, Leblon and Gávea in the southern zone of the city).

These issues are well explored throughout the book, particularly in the chapters containing the testimonies of favela actors and in the excellent overview of the police force, its history, its internal contradictions and its relation to the drug trade and favela communities. From the early 1980s onwards, the drug trade occupied peripheral areas of Rio and to some extent all major Brazilian urban centres. Traffickers settled and set up business, offering to these communities a parallel structure containing socio-economic opportunities as well as legal, cultural and psychological codes of conduct. The control imposed by drug bosses in the everyday life of Rio's favelas expands the notion of living in the crossfire to something more insidious; it is less immediate than a bullet but equally invasive and lethal. In this context favela communities have painfully learned how to live with the new 'kings of the hill' – how to adjust to the new rules of the game and the new orders within. In doing so, they have started to be seen by the police as criminal and dangerous. As I recently heard from an official of

the new *Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora* (Police Pacification Units, UPPs) that are attempting to stamp out drug trafficking and related crime and violence in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, 'we cannot deny that for the average police officer in Rio, all favela-dwellers are criminals'.

The triad favela-police-drug trade is made of a complex ecology wherein issues of economic survival, organised crime, identity and national security mingle and are difficult to disentangle. The UPPs undoubtedly represent a new possibility for the city, but as recently as 2007 the United Nations Human Rights Council produced a damning and embarrassing report on the abuses and violations commonly practised in the name of security. Alves and Evanson address this intricate scenario through a sensitive and unequivocal human rights framework that makes no concessions to the recent achievements of the Brazilian state. Through careful and detailed research and scholarship, this book makes a strong contribution to readdressing inequality in Rio and adds to the chorus of voices calling for a complete restructuring of the police apparatus in the city.

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Thomas Bruneau, Lucia Dammert and Elizabeth Skinner (eds.), *Maras: Gang Violence and Security in Central America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), pp. viii + 309, \$55.00, \$24.95 pb; Robert Brennenman, *Homies and Hermanos: God and Gangs in Central America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. xiii + 294, \$24.95, pb.

Over the past two decades, the northern tier of Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua) has been living out deep political and social contradictions. The ceasefires in the 1990s that ended the decades-long civil wars in the region were supposed to signal a brighter future for its citizens. At the very least, democratic transitions and consolidations were to bring political and economic stabilisation and an end to violent conflict. As even the casual reader of recent trends in Central American society and politics will note, such promises of a peaceful transition to post-conflict governance in the region have yet to be fulfilled. Instead, homicide, violent crimes, political instability and economic precariousness have noticeably increased, leading to perceptions of citizen insecurity and states on the verge of failure.

The phenomenon of gang violence is perhaps most emblematic of the failures of the Peace Accords and the diminished hopes of rebuilding a more just post-conflict society. *Maras* and *pandillas*, as various organised gang groups are known in Central America, have shifted from localised groups of disaffected and jobless young men who sought identity and support to a loose transnational criminal network that extends from major urban centres in the United States down through Mexico, into Central America and beyond. What had started out as multiple local groupings with their own names and territories has become more consolidated into the two largest gang franchises (and deadly rivals), the MS 13 (Mara Salvatrucha) and the Calle 18 (18th Street Gang). As local economies stagnate and political corruption further alienates citizens from effective governance, mara activity perpetuates palpable social and psychological insecurity. Two broad areas of concern emerge when focusing on the mara phenomenon. First, to what degree do maras, as a form of criminal violence, have

the potential to affect the political stability of Central America? Second, how do maras partake in the social fabric of Central American societies, remaking local communities, repositioning understandings of the self and interacting with social institutions such as kin networks, formal and informal economies and religious institutions? Two recent books on maras propose to address these concerns, each taking as their primary focus one of these two tracks.

Maras: Gang Violence and Security in Central America takes as its point of departure the need to provide a historical and accurate description of the reach, activity and development of Central American gangs. The contributors to the edited volume hope to address the way in which the context of state formation and national politics has influenced the rise of gangs in the region. To this end, the volume provides a comparative perspective by juxtaposing chapters covering the history of gang development and political responses to gangs in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. The strength of this volume lies certainly in compiling just such a history and being able to demonstrate how different political realities have shaped the growth and activities of gangs. In particular, José Luis Rocha provides a deft and fine-grained portrait of the political complexities arising in post-Sandinista Nicaragua.

Two other contributions in the book stand out. Enrique Arias furthers Rocha's argument with a systematic comparison of the four countries in the region, providing a compelling portrait of how MS 13 and Calle 18 gangs have consolidated and come to be national-level players in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala but have failed to make inroads in Nicaragua. Likewise, José Miguel Cruz explores the repercussions of gang suppression policies, focusing on how informal measures have fostered the evolution of youth gangs into criminal organisations.

While many of the individual chapters prove worthwhile and serve to advance our understanding of the macro-political effects of gangs, the framing of the book by Bruneau and his collaborators detracts from its potential by highlighting the gang issue as primarily (if not solely) of interest because of its potential effect on national and regional security. The tone of the introduction and conclusion is alarmist and, at times, overstates the role of maras as the major source of citizen insecurity in Central America. Given levels of political repression and police corruption in the region, a more even-handed approach would acknowledge that maras are often a scapegoat for other equally pernicious root causes of inequality and insecurity. Indeed, many of the recommendations from the editors, as well as from some contributors (such as Clifford Gyves' troublesome chapter on using military intelligence in 'combating' mara activity), advocate a strengthening of policing, including the creation and support of special, elite anti-gang units. This is curious, considering the editors ultimately conclude that strong-arm (*mano dura*) draconian policies have done little to address the causes of the gangs' presence. Given the tangled relationships of police and military units in Central America, the proof of police and military abuses towards civilians, the corruption that exists within the police force and the evidence that many local police receive kickbacks from crime organisations, it would seem unwise to advocate such a course of action. Furthermore, elite military and police corps in Central America are breeding grounds for human rights abuses and further destabilisation of democratic gains. The tunnel vision of a security response fails to see other possible policy initiatives, such as strengthening NGOs working in areas of local community governance, life skills training and education for children and youth, and improving the economic outlook for the disenfranchised.

Brenneman's *Homies and Hermanos* also takes a comparative approach to investigating Central American gangs. A qualitative sociologist, Brenneman's work is based primarily on in-depth interviews with former gang members and participants in Church organisations with ministries and social outreach programs aimed at gang members. As the title suggests, Brenneman's study centres on the psycho-social transformation from gang member to Evangelical Christian, exploring the common adage in the region that one way to escape gang involvement is to convert to an Evangelical Protestant denomination. Brenneman complicates this association, demonstrating not only the ways in which it holds true for gang members across Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, but also the reality that the 'escape' is rarely as clean a break as the former gang member may have hoped. One of the strengths of this work is Brenneman's effort to interview a wide spectrum of former gang members in order to demonstrate the trajectories that facilitate exit from the gang, only one of which is religious conversion.

Drawing from a sociology of emotion framework, Brenneman convincingly argues that the primary draw of gang involvement in Central America is that gang participation offers a response to feelings of shame and humiliation. He advocates an approach that 'connects social contextual pressures with individual-level experiences and social-psychological traits' (p. 74). In doing so, he demonstrates that social exclusion, lack of economic prospects and repeated humiliation at the hands of family and community members combine to create a perfect storm in which a gang's promise of empowerment through solidarity and violence gives a tangible response to debilitating feelings of shame and lack of respect in young men. In other words, individual psychological dispositions are linked to macro-level social processes. It is within this context that religious conversion can offer some support against a resurgence of chronic shame by proposing an alternative framework of empowerment and self-understanding even if, as Brenneman points out, this framework is less appealing because it decries the macho behaviours associated with gangs through which youth seek empowerment in the first place – drinking, womanising, and toughness expressed through violence.

Brenneman's study highlights the importance of viewing gangs from a more holistic perspective as opposed to through the reductive lens of national security. While undoubtedly maras pose a threat to citizen security and democratic consolidation, any adequate policy reply must take into consideration prevention and rehabilitation as viable options, not just pumping up the security apparatus. Focusing only on the criminal behaviour of gangs narrows our view of the phenomenon. It is through studying the non-criminal aspects of gangs that we will discover their allure, their social import and their role in larger systems of governance. Brenneman's work is an important step in developing a more complex picture of gangs in Central America.

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Luis Roniger, *Transnational Politics in Central America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011), pp. xiv + 217, \$74.95, hb.

In a conference attended by this reviewer commemorating the 25th anniversary of the 1979 coup d'état in El Salvador, one of the military leaders of the coup recalled the pitiful arrival of members of the National Guard defeated by the Sandinistas.

He mentioned the event as one of their motivations to topple the Romero government. Salvadorean officers were deeply distressed by the sight of their Nicaraguan colleagues crossing the border penniless, with their careers destroyed, facing an uncertain future. As the story suggests, the resonance and impact of the Sandinista Revolution in the region could not be captured by mere mention of 'spillover effects' or the threat of falling dominoes. The social networks of armed forces were just part of the web of interconnections between the Central American nation-states that created bonds stronger and more complex than could be expected from mere geographical proximity. As Luis Roniger says, 'these societies have been affected on a transnational scale not only by the United States and not only in times of crisis' (p. 116). This being the case, Roniger has decided to use Central America as a case study to further the understanding of transnational processes (as opposed to using transnationalism as an analytical category to understand Central America).

In taking a transnational perspective as the framing device for his analysis, Roniger breaks away from most recent writings on the region that have put the Central American conflicts at the centre of the narrative structure. In the standard approach used by surveys of Central America, different aspects of the region's history, economy, politics and society have been deemed as deserving of attention inasmuch as they can be framed as antecedents, components or consequences of the conflicts of the 1980s. But as the memories of the Sandinista Revolution, the civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala and even the neoliberal fevers of the 1990s recede, the image of Central America is shaped by discussions of immigration, gangs and organised crime that do not always fit comfortably within the conflict-centred frame. Roniger's transnational perspective seems more capacious, allowing him to deal seamlessly with the 'old' and 'new' sets of preoccupations. Or, conversely, the Central American case allows him to show the historical processes that shaped, strengthened, weakened and altered the numerous interconnections between the peoples of a region. If transnational processes have become more visible and attracted more scholarly attention in the last few decades, the Central American example allows Roniger to show that this is a phenomenon which has deep historical roots and has been subject to 'ebbs and flows', to borrow a metaphor used throughout the book.

After a chapter bringing readers up to date with the recent literature on transnational theories, the author begins a historical survey that starts with the common origins of the Central American states as an administrative unit under Spanish rule and as a confederation after independence (Belize and Panama do not easily fit the model and are mentioned only sporadically). In a rapid succession of 14 brief chapters, Roniger moves swiftly from the break-up of the Central American Federation in the early nineteenth century to the formation of new separate states. In different measure depending on time and location, all five countries faced tensions between the memory of common origins, strong transnational undercurrents and their efforts to imagine separate nations and build state institutions. It is not until chapter 9 that we find a discussion of the conflicts of the 1980s, which are presented as one more space for numerous expressions of transnational phenomena. The logic of the book finds its fullest expression in the last four chapters, which explore the variety of ways in which transnational connections, never really absent, have been reinvigorated by migrations, remittances, illicit markets, gangs, human trafficking and, in a less negative tone, the proliferation of regional institutions.

One way or another, much previous work on Central America has paid attention to 'the interconnectivity across nations' and the 'social processes, political movements,

and cultural networks extending beyond nation-state borders' at the core of the concept of transnationalism (p. 7). In fact Roniger does an excellent job bringing together a broad array of recent literature, mostly in the social sciences but without neglecting the cultural turn, to create a comprehensive and well-crafted narrative putting transnational processes at the centre of the stage. (The book does have occasional lapses – a discussion of *mestizaje* in Central America without acknowledging the work of Jeff Gould?) Given the nature of the work, research on primary sources does not play a significant role until the last chapters.

The project of historicising transnationalism is successful, and Central America is an ideal case for exploring the concept. For someone more interested in Central America than in looking for insights on transnational theories, the book reads like an excellent, sharp, theoretically informed survey of Central America from a transnational perspective but is unlikely to modify the reader's basic understanding of the region. A transnational dimension has always been implicit in most authors' analysis, but putting the concept at centre stage is a very useful way of approaching the present-day reality of Central America and of thinking about the prospects for the near future.

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Molly Todd, *Beyond Displacement: Campesinos, Refugees, and Collective Action in the Salvadoran Civil War* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 2010), pp. xviii + 286, \$29.95, pb.

In this excellent book Molly Todd illuminates the wartime flight of peasants in El Salvador's northern regions from pursuing government troops, their resettlement in refugee camps in Honduras and their wartime repopulation of abandoned villages and hamlets. Todd argues that these peasants, often portrayed solely as victims, organised themselves into a force that contested for political space and rights, and amidst difficult circumstances, scored victories over the years. In so doing they affected the war's outcome and post-war conditions. Many other studies of El Salvador's war, Todd asserts, either remove the displaced from history, see them as passive, fatalistic non-subjects, or see them as followers led by liberation theology priests or the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN) guerrillas.

In Todd's compelling account, persecuted peasants from the northern provinces of Chalatenango and Morazán fled on foot in organised groups, which, although it made them easier for the enemy to spot, maximised collective security. Once in the refugee camps, the peasants – mostly women and older men – struggled with their 'protectors', such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the directors of the camps, various international NGOs and the Honduran government, for better living conditions, control of education and health care.

Eventually the peasants pushed to return to their home villages, as a matter of right, even though the war still raged. They negotiated with the Salvadorean government, which dragged its heels, and demanded safe passage. Once in their villages they wanted freedom from harassment by the military. They raised transport funds and enlisted the support of international actors and the Church in the form of material aid and bearing witness. Todd also accounts for the repopulations that emanated from

Church-run camps in El Salvador. In a few years, organised groups that had fled for their lives had developed complex tactics and multilevel negotiations while maintaining, sometimes forcefully, group cohesion.

Todd's analysis rests upon extensive documentary research and interviews with veterans of the process. One of the latter testifies: 'We have achieved everything through concrete actions ... by forcing the issue.' Todd is at pains to portray the autonomy of these groups from the FMLN by citing differences. For example, the groups recognised the Salvadorean state (though they thought that bad people ran it), negotiating with it and asking for identity cards, well before the FMLN entered into negotiations with the Salvadorean government. However, she cites another scholar who notes that the repopulation groups in Morazán had increasing autonomy from the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary People's Army, ERP), the wing of the FMLN that was dominant there, which suggests rather less than full independence.

There can be no doubt that Todd convincingly makes her case about the peasants' agency. However, their relations with the FMLN are, in the account, subtle and somewhat opaque. By asserting the refugees' autonomy from the FMLN, Todd may have missed for the moment an opportunity to more fully engage with the complex research of Elisabeth Wood (*Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*, Cambridge University Press, 2003). Wood's wartime work on peasants in the south-central province of Usulután focused mainly on those who, in a variety of ways, supported the FMLN – a distinction from her own case that Todd underscores.

In Usulután, an area with large coastal plantations and upland coffee plantations, these peasants, as well as some who were not supporters of the FMLN, took over lands when the well-to-do landowners left under threat, and in some cases supported the FMLN with food, water and military intelligence. Some, like Todd's northern peasants, had been active in the 1970s until repression forced them to 'lie low'. Wood asks what led these groups to active agency when under enormous risk of death if caught, and how they differed from others who tried to avoid both sides in the war.

My estimation is that these two sets of groups – in Todd's and Wood's books – are more similar than different, particularly on the question of agency under conditions of high risk, and the differences between them, worthy of exploration, have less to do with proximity to or relations with the FMLN than they do with the military correlation of forces, and the contrasting agrarian structures and geography, in the two regions of the country. On the issue of relation to the FMLN, Wood's work shows a range of types of 'support'. In Todd's case, the Salvadorean government's opposition to repopulations from Honduras stemmed from its perception that the refugees sympathised with the FMLN and would support it when back in El Salvador. While it was perhaps exaggerated, the government's perception was not mere fantasy.

I was part of a small delegation from Cambridge, Massachusetts that went to a repopulated village for a week between Christmas and New Year 1986, a few months after the refugees had reclaimed San José las Flores. In San Salvador we were loaded into a van festooned with a six large piñatas, filled not with candy or toys but with medicines. The military prohibited taking medicines to repopulated villages, claiming they were meant for the FMLN. We made it through two military checkpoints, then stopped by a grown-over, burned-out village, where the road north had been blocked by the FMLN years earlier.

After dark, villagers with pack animals arrived. We hiked eight kilometres and were greeted by the five-person directorate of the villages – and the wild cheers of kids, once they spotted the piñatas. At dinner by the church, we were joined, perhaps as Christmas Eve guests, by two FMLN commanders, obviously not from peasant backgrounds. We didn't see them again. Later the military lobbed a mortar shell that exploded about 100 metres beyond the village.

An eventful week ensued. One peasant narrated for two hours the story of his group's flight to Honduras, and how the FMLN had assisted them. There was a visit by an Irish priest, then a small Jesuit delegation. An infant died of diarrhoea; a funeral was held. Small groups of FMLN fighters, mostly men, passed through occasionally. Some could be seen entering villagers' homes. The directorate emphasised that the town government was independent of the FMLN, and of the national government. Midweek we walked to a small hut a few hundred yards from the town centre and were met by a weathered FMLN fighter dressed in black. He offered greetings from the FMLN. On New Year's Eve there was a modest party with a battery-driven music player. In the dark, young men with assault rifles could be seen shyly dancing with young women from the town.

Did this town support the FMLN? Extreme poverty would make much material support difficult. Might any of those medicines have found their way into FMLN knapsacks? I think the answer would have to be yes. Although living under very different conditions and walking different paths, these villagers were rather similar to the peasant 'insurgents' in Wood's account. This does not undermine Todd's central argument about agency, but it does invite comparison of these two social histories of the Salvadorean war zones.

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Irina Carlota Silber, *Everyday Revolutionaries: Gender, Violence, and Disillusionment in Postwar El Salvador* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), pp. xvi + 238, \$27.95, pb.

The central characters in Professor Silber's searching and compelling post-war account reside in a hamlet she calls El Rancho in the rural municipality of Las Vueltas in northern El Salvador, a municipality that was 'repopulated' during the 1980–92 war. In the early 1980s government troops drove civilians from their villages, killing many. Silber begins her book with a 1981 AP report of ten Las Vueltas men being pulled from their homes, tortured and murdered. Survivors, in organised flight, made their way to refugee camps in Honduras, suffering more losses en route. They asserted their interests in the camps, eventually including the right to return home, even with the war raging. Other figures in Silber's account had been fighters with the FMLN (FPL branch), or party cadres. Some characters work for urban-centred, pro-FMLN NGOs.

The book traverses three main periods: the immediate post-war years, the end of the decade, and this century, when some of the characters of different generations migrated to the United States. Although elements of chapters move back and forth in time and space, the book roughly follows this chronology. As the author notes, at the outset of her field research just after the end of the war, post-war ethnographies were new. She uses this uncharted analytic space to create a rich narrative form. In between its chapters of ethnographic accounts and social theory are shorter 'interstitials' that

introduce themes, images and emotions. Two of the interstitials are poems. Silber is self-reflective, recording research frustrations and fatigue, subjective reactions to various characters and moments, and perhaps her own disillusionment as post-war dreams fade and solidarity frays among the villagers.

Silber's analysis runs counter to the perception in international peace process circles that El Salvador's peace and democratisation have been a success. The positive case? Unlike other countries there was no return to war, or even to the war-related political violence and chaos that plagued neighbouring Nicaragua. The FMLN became a successful electoral party. Foreign aid poured into the country, financing hundreds of development projects, and a land transfer process provided loans to enable former FMLN fighters and peasants who had occupied war zone lands abandoned by titleholders to purchase those lands. GDP grew rapidly, also in sharp contrast to Nicaragua.

Early on, the villagers had a sense that at great risk and sacrifice they had contributed to these national successes. Their heroic repopulation was a key step in the peace process. Ten years and more of organising had earned them high levels of social capital. With peace at hand, their collective strength and imagination could continue to shape their destiny. Women had played and continued to play key roles in this process. Their history itself became a post-war resource.

Why, then, the disillusionment, which Silber tells us had become palpable by 1997? A member of the town council and former guerrilla refers to the 'rebuilding' process as 'spectral'. By 1997, post-war international 'development' money had moved on to the next case – Guatemala. National growth rates dropped from an annual average of 7.5 per cent in 1992–3 to 1.7 per cent in 1996, and 3.3 per cent over the next three years. Many local development projects did not sustain themselves, or if they survived, they provided, in instances illustrated by Silber, minuscule income. Infrastructure projects (electricity, road-building) helped, but this corner of El Salvador contains marginal farmlands. The daily grind of rural poverty remained, another kind of 'everyday violence'. By 1997, rosier dreams about the post-war future had not materialised, and perhaps were not even spectral in the context of national neoliberal policies only occasionally blunted by the FMLN's substantial minority in the National Assembly. Participatory democracy, as opposed to voting every few years, increasingly fell short of an imagined ideal.

In an interview a few months after the Peace Accords, a cynical US embassy officer made a prediction to me that the FMLN's post-war problem would be that its organised base during the war had not intended to sacrifice itself merely for the right to elect an FMLN *comandante* to the National Assembly. The Peace Accords successfully implanted electoral democracy and important constitutional changes. They reformed the military and displaced it as a political player. But they did not touch the economic riches of the few families that had controlled agricultural exports for a century. El Salvador, for example, retained a regressive tax code and, compared to other Latin American countries, collected very few taxes, so public education and health were vastly underfunded.

With few resources at the local level (and much of the municipal budget controlled by the national government), local participatory democracy could deal only with issues that had low material stakes. Feeding into the disillusionment Silber portrays was the perception among villagers that some of those working for the FMLN-aligned NGOs had done relatively well in material terms. Calls coming from NGO representatives, some historic figures in the FMLN during the war, for greater community

participation in keeping with the heroic war years, eventually began to sound more like hectoring than rallying cries. Another long meeting to attend, and with what result? So, in participatory and social senses El Rancho, ten years after the war, was less 'everyday' revolutionary and generally less robust: lower participation, fewer projects, some corruption and much disillusionment.

People began to leave for the United States, some of whom Silber locates, visits and interviews. These undocumented migrants are 'on their own' in urban settings, in contact with El Rancho by phone and sending money, the opposite of the community solidarity which perhaps delayed for a decade migration from El Rancho. Nationally the outflow of Salvadoreans and the inflow of remittances grew rapidly from 1988 (the year after the first repopulations from refugee camps in Honduras) through 1998. National remittances went from US\$ 250 million to US\$ 1.4 billion. Departures from El Rancho early this century were part of an increasing flow of Salvadoreans. In 2008 (before the Great Recession), remittances had reached US\$ 3.7 billion.

Despite emigration and disillusionment, the FMLN has retained the electoral loyalty of Las Vueltas and other nearby repopulated communities. In the 2012 elections, not a big electoral year for the FMLN nationally, the FMLN took 694 votes (86 per cent) of 807 votes in Las Vueltas; the second-place finisher got but 64 votes. However, the FMLN's electoral success, unlike its wartime necessities, does not rest on this loyal, if disillusioned, rural base in former war zones that were considered FMLN 'liberated territory'. Rather, its electoral success depends upon popularity in larger urban, working-class municipalities. Las Vueltas and El Rancho retain a historic heritage, but have lost importance, another possible contributing factor to disillusionment and migration.

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Rachel Corr, *Ritual and Remembrance in the Ecuadorian Andes* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2010), pp. xi + 184, \$45.00, hb.

Ritual and Remembrance is a wide-ranging examination of the religious practices of indigenous Salasacans in highland Ecuador. This historically informed ethnographic discussion expounds on the interplay of indigenous highland, Catholic and Amazonian cosmologies, and demonstrates the ways in which Salasacan actors draw upon, negotiate, transform and localise these multiple symbols and paradigms in their own religious and ritual practices. In particular, Corr draws attention to the role that the landscape plays in both collective and individual rituals. In chapter 2, for example, she introduces the interplay between sacred space and sacred time and illustrates, with stories of the quishuar tree, how the dominant Catholic religion became localised within Salasacan sacred space. Similarly, chapter 4's account of the *mu*y and ritual pathways elucidate how cultural memory is enacted through the reorientation of 'Catholic' fiestas, practices and symbols. This theme continues in part II, which is focused primarily on individual rather than collective experience, with Corr showing how cosmological power is understood to emanate from the earth, and how purgatory is located in an alternative geographical reality.

Corr presents archive documents, oral narratives and observations to substantiate her arguments, and pays close attention to the poetics and meaning of language.

She makes good use of this multivocality, reading historical accounts against the grain and weaving them into her discussion without ever privileging them over Salasacan voices. She thereby successfully avoids the trap of unearthing and presenting cultural traits as static retentions by illuminating areas of convergence, and her framework is dynamic in that she emphasises the agency and actions of Salasacans while also situating them in broader global processes. This emphasis on agency is particularly evident in the second part of the book, which elucidates how narratives and experience are dialectically constitutive and shows how the individual both draws upon and reproduces the collective. By demonstrating how ritual and healing practices are given authority because they are understood to work, while also emphasising the room given for individual interpretation, scepticism and alternative modes of health care, Corr not only demonstrates the interculturality and multimodality of Salasacan lived religion and ritual, but also demonstrates the interplay between embodied experience and textual formations.

The agency of Salasacans is also evident in Corr's discussion of mediators, the position of priests and healers, and the negotiations between the Catholic Church and its Salasacan congregation. Corr shows that Salasacans did not submissively accept the political authority of the Church; at times they used the Church's hierarchy, textual language and discursive norms for their own political advancement, bypassing local priests and writing, through the mediation of scribes, to archbishops in order to settle matters of ritual sponsorship, for example. Thus Corr demonstrates how the Catholic Church provided a site for individual prestige within the community, albeit one contained within broader social hierarchies. The theme of mediation continues in her later account of shamanism, particularly in reference to cultural knowledge and the relations between bodies and the landscape. *Ritual and Remembrance* thereby draws our attention to relations between the Andes and the Amazon, showing that Salasacan religion is not just an interplay of Catholicism and indigenous highland beliefs, but also incorporates symbols and spirits from the Oriente. This challenge to Andeanism is significant, and Corr builds upon Salomon in highlighting the salience and historicism of relations between these two sites.¹ This discussion could have been even more fruitful, however, had Corr considered how, by constructing the Amazon as a site of ancient knowledge and spiritual power, Salasacans potentially also reproduce 'moral topographies'.

While the arguments regarding agency and interplay are convincing, Corr's assertion that these practices are tantamount to a distinct Salasacan identity is less so, and there is some slippage in the manner in which ethnic identity, cultural memory and relatedness are presented as synonymous. This points to an unresolved tension within the book between Salasacans being represented, on the one hand, as rather open to, and actively engaging with, global processes, and being depicted, on the other, as an endogamous social group. To elucidate, Corr's discussion of the *muy* is based around Salasacan cohesion and entrenched community relations. Yet, her earlier account of sponsorship indicates power struggles and political manoeuvring within the Salasacan community and, although she hints at significant change – for example, migration and the introduction of a mestiza girl band into a Catholic fiesta – the potential tensions that arise from these processes are not addressed. Thus, contrary to

¹ See Frank L. Salomon, 'Killing the Yumbo: A Ritual Drama of Northern Quito', in Norman E. Whitten (ed.), *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 162–208.

Corr's intentions and focus on agency, Salasacans are, at times, represented as rather static and homogenous. Likewise, the accounts of intergenerational transmission and the critical role that affines play in death rituals raise more questions than they answer, and I was left wondering where those households that include non-Salasacan affines and migrated kin fit within Corr's dichotomous framework of indigenous Salasacan and mestizo-white households.

Questions regarding ethnicity and self-identification are not incidental in Ecuador, and Corr appears to be arguing that Salasacan subjectivity is performed through cultural memory and ritual practice while also implying that it is founded on descent and kinship. While these forms of belonging potentially interplay, *Ritual and Remembrance* could have been strengthened if these questions had been tackled directly and Salasacan self-definition further unpacked. These issues relate, in part, to a loose use of terminology. Corr eloquently and convincingly shows us how memories and knowledge are transmitted through ritual practices, many of which are kin-based. These processes are evidently related to ethnic belonging, but they are also not necessarily as one, and the seamless association Corr makes is problematic. Consequently, conclusions regarding unique ethnic identity appear more tenuous than is perhaps necessary. These concerns about 'ethnicity' aside, *Ritual and Remembrance* makes a nuanced contribution to discussions of cultural memory, landscape, lived religion and agency, and significantly enriches the ethnographic record of Ecuador and the Andes.

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Dolores Trevizo, *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), pp. xviii + 245, \$64.95, hb.

On 2 July 2000, in a presidential election that was one of the cleanest in Mexican history, Mexicans voted in favour of the right-wing opposition candidate Vicente Fox. Thus ended the 71-year rule of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI), the party that had dominated Mexican politics since its inception in 1929. In *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico*, Dolores Trevizo offers an interesting perspective on this move towards apparent democracy by exploring the dynamics between the city and countryside, seeking to understand how the PRI's traditional strongholds were eroded. More specifically, the book 'tells the story of how some of the unarmed rural movements undermined the PRI's hegemony among one of its most important clients, the peasantry' (p. 13). She identifies the student movement of 1968 as pivotal to this process, arguing that the politicisation of some of those who took part in the protests led to their future involvement with social movements. Although Trevizo somewhat overstates the argument that after 1968 there was a 'general ideological shift to the left among youth' (p. 73), certainly few would contest her later assertion that 'the political repression of 1968 radicalized many students' (p. 123).

As its title indicates, this book is also an analysis of the forces that led to the birth of Mexico's 'fragile democracy' (p. 153). Trevizo convincingly links 'the making of Mexican democracy' to the aftermath of the 1968 student movement. She reveals the impact of international affairs (Cold War politics and the global economy) on rural

communities, and how Mexican civil society was gradually strengthened as a result of state concessions and, paradoxically, the state's use of repression against social movements. Particular focus is given to the presidency of Luis Echeverría (1970–6): his attitude towards peasant communities, his 'dirty war' against guerrillas, non-guerrillas and Communists, and his involvement in the repression of Mexican students in 1968 and 1971 that would lead to him being charged with genocide in 2005. The case against the aging Echeverría was subsequently dropped because the statute of limitations had expired.

While never ceasing to retain the connection with rural protest, Trevizo's introduction also clearly outlines Mexico's 'peculiar' political system. Further chapters provide an insight into the role of the Partido Comunista Mexicano (Mexican Communist Party, PCM), as well as the evolution of the Partido de Acción Nacional (National Action Party, PAN) and its growth to such a position that in 2000 it was able to evoke sufficient voter confidence to bring a peaceful end to the PRI's monopoly of power. Trevizo also charts the emergence and trajectory of the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (Party of the Democratic Revolution, PRD), underlining 'the rural forces [that contributed] to the PRD's resiliency' (p. 154). These same forces, she maintains, are rooted in the leftist social movements that emerged in the 1970s, particularly in the rural south.

Trevizo's research reveals how those on the political left worked closely with peasant organisations in an atmosphere that fostered a degree of mutual respect. This, she underlines, can be seen in the strong support for the leftist Frente Democrático Nacional (National Democratic Front, FDN) and the PRD in the 1988 and 2006 presidential elections. Although the Left was ultimately unsuccessful in the final count of both these elections, Trevizo points out that 'the PRD's electoral resiliency has contributed to democratization ... The PRD has blocked the road to a two-party system at the national level, and viable three-way elections have ensured that policy options do not regress toward the center.' Her evidence, she argues, 'strongly suggests that its [the PRD's] resiliency reflects a legacy of left activism, including that in the countryside' (p. 186).

The tables, figures and appendices give an indication of the extent of the solid research on which Trevizo has based her book. She also includes valuable 'added extras' that will benefit students of Mexico and other academics alike, including her diagrams of the organisational structure of the PRI (p. 7) and movement and counter-movement dynamics within Mexican democratisation (p. 20), the rationale for her research techniques and the classification of her data. There appears to be an error on p. 59 ('former president Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' should be Lázaro Cárdenas), the blend of terminology ('Indians', 'indigenous' and 'Native Americans') can be rather confusing, and the lengthy discussions of the data may be difficult for non-political scientists to digest, but this does not diminish the overall value of this study.

The 2012 presidential elections saw the PRI returned to power. Yet, as Trevizo states in her conclusion, 'Voting in presidential elections is no longer a measure of successful PRI patronage, corporatist mobilization, or voter intimidation. Instead it increasingly represents individual choice about policy ... Mexican citizens are now freer than before to discern and express their political views and elect their rulers' (p. 192). She underlines the important contribution of social movements to this process. The repression against the student protesters in 1968 may have crushed their movement, but by the 1970s it had 'radicalized and then dispersed activists across different geographic locations and/or across opposition movements' (p. 199).

Detailed and meticulously researched, this book offers an important contribution to the scholarship of Mexican politics and social sciences.

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Roderic Ai Camp, *The Metamorphosis of Leadership in a Democratic Mexico* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. vii + 301, £40.00, hb.

Roderic Camp has a worldwide reputation as a chronicler of the careers of Mexico's various elites. His method comes from elite theory and is based on the idea that prominent people play a key part in shaping the economy, the political system, the business environment and so on. This is a valuable approach, if a somewhat narrow one, and Camp has made it his own on the basis of a considerable number of scholarly publications.

The work under review moves the story on from authoritarian to democratic Mexico, although there is also some recapping of earlier trends and findings. The book is organised around discrete topics and mostly asks what change democratisation has made. Most of the conclusions are convincing, if in many cases not entirely surprising. For example, the book concludes that the career paths of democratic leaders have involved much more experience of elective office than in the past. This is surely what one would have expected to find given both the extent to which elections have become more contested and the enhanced political importance of local office-holding. Indeed, some conclusions appear to have surprised Camp more than seems warranted. One of them is that the degree of party membership and activism was in decline during the years of PRI domination and has increased during the onset of democratisation. However, authoritarian Mexico was run by a state elite rather than a party elite, and party politics tended to be seen as a threat to the pre-eminence of the presidency. In fact, the most celebrated conflicts in post-revolutionary Mexican history – Calles versus Cardenas, Carlos Madrazo versus the governors, Reyes Heróles versus Echeverría – precisely reflect this fault line, and party figures lost in all cases. By the 1980s the PRI had been downgraded to a kind of 'Ministry of Elections'. This made the party apparently unequipped to deal with democratic competition when it came about, yet the PRI survived and prospered. The question that really needs to be asked is why the PRI proved able to provide effective electoral competition now that it no longer controlled either the federal government or the federal district. The increased role of PANista party militants under the Calderón administration is not really surprising either. Calderón himself was a political militant from an early age, and his appointments when president would thus reasonably reflect political partisanship.

Some of Camp's findings are more surprising and intriguing, and one of the most interesting is the diminished role of economists in government. Economists have tended to lose out to lawyers and business executives. This may perhaps reflect political alternation; the PRI is much more a party of economics graduates than the PRD or PAN, and it has been out of the presidency since 2000. Political decentralisation may, as Camp notes, have been a factor too. Another rather surprising finding is that the Distrito Federal (Federal District, DF) remains over-represented in senior government appointments. Whether this is because of a concentration of talent in the capital or because of the contingent fact that the PAN is electorally stronger in the DF than in

other parts of the country is not clear. The same point in reverse may apply to the under-representation of the south – after all, the south remains mostly PRIista.

Overall, Camp has documented a complex mosaic of career patterns that reflects not just Mexico's transition to democracy but also some of the institutional changes that have accompanied the transition. A generation ago Mexico was a centralised technocracy, whereas it is now a federalised semi-partidocracy. Some things, though, do not change. The political prominence of the Altacomulco group may be one of them – this relatively small group of people from the Estado de México has played a wholly disproportionate part in controlling the PRI, and in 2012 once again produced that party's presidential candidate. Meanwhile, the DF, which shares many characteristics with the Estado de México, has been governed by the PRD since 1997. The causes of this continuance in both cases have to be understood in the context of pre-democratic Mexico.

What the book perhaps lacks is broader discussion of the relationship between institutional and personnel changes so that we get more of a sense of what is driving what. That said, Camp's material is impressively full and interesting, and there is a real store of value to be found in these pages. The book is also a good read.

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Paul Garner, *British Lions and Mexican Eagles: Business, Politics and Empire in the Career of Weetman Pearson in Mexico, 1889–1919* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. x + 319, \$65.00, hb.

Hard upon the heels of the recent biography of John Thomas North, the so-called 'Nitrate King', reviewed last year in this journal, comes this study of another Yorkshireman, Weetman Pearson, who also made his substantial fortune in Latin America. Superficially their career paths followed similar trajectories: they both engaged in and profited from business dealings overseas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and for some 20 years afterwards in Pearson's case, the period when the subcontinent more fully participated in an increasingly integrated world economy. But the similarities soon fade. North has been largely forgotten on the Pacific coast of Latin America, the location of his corporate empire, and in the land of his birth, but Pearson, subsequently Viscount Cowdray, remains an important figure for Mexicans. While North's investment portfolio soon folded after his death in 1896, Pearson plc is still a presence in the City of London. If North's dealings continue to attract obloquy, Pearson's reputation at home and abroad remains largely intact. North failed to enter Parliament when he fought the West Leeds constituency in 1895, while Pearson, in the very same general election, won Colchester, which he held until his elevation to the House of Lords in 1910.

At its core Paul Garner's book explains the significance of Weetman Pearson's career in Mexico, examining its character and achievements during the three decades from 1889, when the first public works contracts were started, to 1919, when El Aguila, his oil company, was sold to Shell. But there is much more to this study than a simple business biography. Garner supplies the essential context: in Victorian Britain, where the family firm of S. Pearson & Son originated; in the United States, which viewed any British involvement in the affairs of its southern neighbour with suspicion; and, more particularly, in Mexico, where the Díaz regime still arouses controversy.

The business environment of the republic shifted markedly in the transition from the relative calm of the Porfiriato to the chaos of frequent regime change after 1910. The rapid rise and fall of successive Mexican governments and their adherents made contracting and oil extraction hazardous undertakings.

Weetman Pearson's career in Mexico can be viewed from a variety of perspectives. First, Garner's research adds to the discussion of the extent of and limitations to the powers of expatriate businessmen. While British businessmen abroad clearly had preferences, sometimes declared, sometimes not, about the composition of the governments with which they worked, it is now becoming increasingly recognised that their alleged involvement in politics and policy was more apparent than real. What expatriate businessmen wanted was economic and political stability irrespective of who was in office, so that contracts could be arranged and their terms honoured. Pearson clearly identified with Díaz's vision for Mexico, and he cultivated a network among the republic's elite to the extent of earning the parliamentary soubriquet in Britain of the member for Mexico. What Pearson fully understood was the importance of giving Mexicans a stake in the business – as company directors, shareholders and paid advisers. Essentially Pearson remained a practical businessman rather than a political opportunist or an extended arm of Britain's overseas ambitions to create an informal empire in Mexico.

Further, Garner's story exemplifies the links between business and political decision-making from which, so critics might argue, only corrupt public officials, local collaborating elites and rapacious expatriate entrepreneurs prospered. It is impossible to quantify fully the economic benefits to Mexico of Pearson's public works and transportation projects, under which the state provided the investment and hence bore the risks, or of his oil extraction business, which he funded. For a start, that would require a counterfactual analysis of the Mexican economy without his capital and know-how. If the direct effects of the contracts are difficult to estimate, the indirect and derived benefits though their backward and forward linkages are even less open to scrutiny. Nevertheless, Garner's view is that Pearson plays a positive role in Mexican development. To what extent did Pearson himself profit from the contracts? In the final analysis, without a more rigorous analysis of the returns on the capital employed in Pearson's Mexican ventures, it is hard to explain how he made his fortune. The use of commercial archives can be misleading – businessmen are much more likely to discuss their problems than their triumphs, so silence is generally the record of Victorian business success.

Garner also contributes to the debate about the quality of British entrepreneurship. Turn-of-the-century expatriate businessmen like Pearson seemed to display all the characteristics of flair and risk-taking that their domestic counterparts are said by some to have lacked. Pearson clearly had a grasp of detail as well as an ability to see the bigger picture; he recruited outside managers on whose judgment he relied; and he negotiated with government officials as skilfully as he displayed his formidable technical and business acumen. He was also lucky, a must-have quality for all successful entrepreneurs. He was in the right place at the right time – Mexico re-entered the international arena at the end of the 1880s, just as world demand for oil began to rise.

Professor Garner has produced an impressive work which will be required reading for scholars of Latin America on both sides of the Atlantic as well as north and south of the Rio Grande. It is clearly written, its judgments are nuanced and it constructs a coherent narrative through the dense thickets of contractual negotiation. The production quality is high, as befits the imprint of Stanford University Press.

The usual academic apparatus of extensive footnotes and a substantial bibliography, as well as a map and a collection of photographs, further enhances the book's attractions.

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ROBERT GREENHILL

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Geoffrey Jones and Andrea Lluch (eds.), *El impacto histórico de la globalización en Argentina y Chile: empresas y empresarios* (Buenos Aires: Temas, 2011), pp. xvi + 280, \$30.00, pb.

Business history literature has remained segregated from other literatures, especially those dear to the pragmatic, ahistorical hearts of mainstream scholars at business schools – that is, works addressing strategy, organisational studies and international business. It also seems destined to remain apart from the disparate literature on globalisation. For example, the growing Latin American business history bibliography is absent in a recent study (William I. Robinson, *Latin America and Global Capitalism: A Critical Globalization Perspective*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008) that presents a severe and critical account of contemporary globalisation in Latin America. The present volume, co-edited by Geoffrey Jones, the renowned UK business historian based at Harvard Business School, and Andrea Lluch, a promising young Argentine scholar, makes a novel and welcome contribution to bridging the gap between business history and globalisation studies, as well as between business history and business management scholars. Its content is relevant not only for specialists in Argentine and Chile, the two cases in point that illustrate similarities and differences in economic development across the countries of the subcontinent. The book is also a source of insights for those Latin Americanists who view companies and entrepreneurs not as either villains or heroes in the journey toward development, but as economic and social agents worthy of study. It is also illustrative reading for business historians whose sub-discipline – at long last – is on track to expand its scope around the world.

The nine contributed chapters address three broad themes: entrepreneurs, business groups and corporate governance (two chapters); foreign direct investment, multinationals and internationalisation (four chapters); and relations between private enterprise and the state (two chapters). Two of the nine chapters (those by Spaniard Javier Vidal and UK academic Rory Miller) are, in the final analysis, comparative studies of Argentina and Chile; both are in the part of the book addressing foreign investment. The final essay, written by the editors, compares the economic performance of Argentina and Chile throughout the twentieth century. Focusing on the second half of the century, this comprehensive work sheds light on the institutional context of economic policies and their impact on business and entrepreneurial structure and behaviour. The authors/editors make a well-crafted, compelling argument.

This book represents a step forward for Latin American business history for a number of reasons. First, it responds to the repeated critical call for research in this field to take an analytical approach, one that is up to date with theoretical and methodological advances in the sub-discipline at the international level. Needless to say, the authors represent a wide array of approaches, reflecting the varied disciplinary influences in the evolution of business history in this part of the world, which is not merely economic history, and certainly not of the cliometric type. A few examples

illustrate this: to analyse the evolution of UK investment in Argentina and Chile between 1930 and 1970, Miller (chapter 6) draws on the human resource management and international business literature on recruitment strategies and selection of executives among expatriates in UK multinationals. For her part, Barbero's outstanding piece (chapter 1) advances her study of business groups in Argentina (mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century) by focusing on two key issues in the debate in the international literature on business groups: the reasons (market imperfection, institutional vacuums, regulatory frameworks and public policies) for the existence of this organisational form that departs from the managerial capitalism/Chandlerian model, and the characteristics and organisational capabilities that allow business groups to compete satisfactorily in various markets. In turn, Bucheli (chapter 3) employs both political science literature, in particular collective action theory¹ and the resource-based view applied to business groups,² to orient his research into the relationship between local business groups, multinationals and energy policy in Chile between 1913 and 2005. And Lanciotti's essay on Argentine public services (chapter 7) puts the Latin American literature on the role of the state in dialogue with neo-institutionalist and governability literatures.

Second, from different standpoints, the ten authors contributing to this volume remind scholars, consultants and practitioners that globalisation is a historical process covering vast periods and centuries, not merely a neoliberal phenomenon arising at the end of the twentieth century. As Lluch states in the introduction, 'History matters ... the globalization process is complex, asymmetrical and non-linear.'

Third, while the majority of these authors are known in the multidisciplinary Latin American business history community that has only recently begun to coalesce, this volume succeeds in bringing together three economic development scholars who have experience in multilateral agencies. One is the author of a historical analysis of corporate governance and property structure in Chile (Islas, chapter 2); another is concerned with the 'two-way street' of transnationalisation in Argentina through the country's three major stages of development from 1870 to 2001 (López, chapter 4); the third focuses on public-private relations in Chile over the past 20 years (Muñoz, chapter 8).

Fourth, while the various articles have a solid historiographical base grounded on primary and secondary sources, there is also novel and skilful use of oral history (in-depth interviewing) in two of the works: the final chapter by Jones and Lluch, who interviewed business leaders as part of a Harvard Business School project on 'Latin American Oral History', and the chapter by Miller, who interviewed senior British expatriates in Argentina.

Overall, these essays edited by Jones and Lluch not only provide rich accounts of the path of globalisation in Argentina and Chile, but also have a conceptual grounding with the potential to make Latin American business historiography more inviting to business historians and management scholars in other latitudes. There are enough reasons why this valuable, insightful and readable book should be translated for the English-speaking international academic audience.

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CARLOS DÁVILA

¹ See Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

² See Mauro F. Guillen, 'Business Groups in Emerging Economies: A Resource-Based View', *Academy of Management Journal*, 43: 3 (2000), pp. 362–80.

César Yañez and Albert Carreras (eds.), *The Economies of Latin America: New Cliometric Data* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), pp. xvi + 240, £60.00; \$99.00, hb.

Readers of this book should not be put off by the subtitle. It is an excellent guide to current thinking on Latin American economic history. It also includes new material based on original research, as well as ideas about how existing sources can be used in more imaginative ways to shed light on economic development in individual countries. The background to this book is the long-running debate about when and why Latin America fell behind the United States. The book does not offer any new theories about the 'why', although it is suitably sceptical about many of the established theories based on institutions, geography and culture. It does, however, have a great deal to say about the 'when', based on a synthesis of the new or revised data that have become available for many Latin American countries in recent years. It also broadens the comparison so that Latin America is frequently compared with Europe as well as North America.

This is the thrust of the introduction by the two editors, César Yañez and Albert Carreras, as well as the first chapter by the latter. This chapter also introduces the reader to the editors' preferred metric of modern energy consumption per capita using the notion of tonnes of oil equivalent. Carreras has been able to push these estimates back to 1890 for all Latin American countries. The results for the early years do not in general reverse previous thinking, but they do confirm the privileged economic status that Argentina, Chile, Cuba and Uruguay enjoyed as the nineteenth century came to a close.

Carreras' conclusion is that 'those countries which adopted modern technical procedures which industrialisation had made available to the markets – and especially those that facilitated the shift from biomass to fossil energy – managed from the start to prevent their economic backwardness from growing excessively. In contrast, those countries which adopted modern procedures late fell behind from very early on compared to European countries. This established path dependence with long-term effects, leading to a wide variety of national experiences' (p. 17).

Many of the subsequent chapters are concerned with what we can learn from foreign trade statistics. To allay any fears of the reader regarding the quality of such data, chapter 2 by María del Mar Rubio and Mauricio Folchi compares export and import data in one year (1925) for two relatively homogeneous products (petroleum and coal). The import data come from Latin American countries and the export data from the US, the UK, Germany and Belgium. The results, using a technique known as the non-parametric Wilcoxon-MPSR test, are most encouraging, at least for these two products, since in most cases the exports and imports, both volumes and values, are very similar.

This is the kind of detailed research that informs all of the book. The next chapter, for example, by Marc Badia-Miró and Anna Carreras-Marín, looks at geographical trade patterns from 1860–1930 and asks the question of whether the First World War was decisive in shifting the pattern of Latin America's trade towards the United States. The authors find, on the contrary, that the shift had already taken place in many countries before the First World War started. There is also a chapter, by Frank Notten, that uses foreign trade statistics to measure the impact of the First World War on Central America.

The foreign trade statistics are mined in chapter 4 by Xavier Tafunell to explore the structure of Latin American investment in equipment goods during the 'mature

period of the first globalization' – that is, 1890–1930. This is the period in which Tafunell has specialised, including an article in this journal on the Latin American cement industry, and what he has been able to uncover is very impressive. The most striking result is the relative under-investment in agricultural machinery compared with industrial machinery, the main exception being Argentina.

The foreign trade data are also used by César Yañez in a most illuminating way to compare Chile and Cuba before the First World War and by André Hofman and Cristián Ducoing to examine capital goods imports in Chile over the long run. There is also an excellent examination of the terms of trade in Colombia from 1875 onwards by Santiago Colmenares; in this study, the net barter terms of trade are adjusted for productivity changes in Colombia and outside to yield the double factorial terms of trade, which are generally regarded by economists as more significant than the net barter terms of trade that are based only on export and import prices.

There are also three chapters that are very original and add a great deal of value to this book. One, by José Jofré González, looks at energy use and deforestation in Cuba from the eighteenth century onwards. A second, by José Alejandro Peres Cajías, uses primary sources to construct the fiscal accounts for Bolivia from 1900 to 1931. A third, by Carolina Román Ramos, builds a demand function for the consumption of durable goods in Latin America from 1890 to 1913.

Readers expecting yet another broad-brush approach to Latin American economic history based on a single dimension such as quality of institutions will be disappointed by this book. Those looking for a detailed analysis of individual countries and time periods that goes beyond sweeping generalisations will be delighted. The editors, and their chosen authors, should be congratulated for an excellent piece of research. It suggests that this is still a very active area of investigation with much remaining to be done.

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Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. xvi + 297, £66.00, £16.99 pb.

Any visitor to Cusco cannot ignore the skills of the Inka masons in cutting stone, building walls and carving or enhancing large boulders or rocky outcrops. They are informed that even a piece of paper or a knife cannot fit in the joints between the blocks in the well-fitted stone walls of the city and its environs, and are amazed at the intricate carving of seats, steps, platforms and niches as well as a few animals on boulders. Carolyn Dean, an art historian, has pieced together a very interesting book on the meaning of stone for the Inkas, based on observations she has made on 'hikes and outings' and supplemented by good use of colonial documentation. The book is well written and well illustrated with photographs, but alas there is no map and no site plans or line drawings. Its four chapters ('Rock and Remembrance', 'Rock and Reciprocity', 'Rock and Rule' and 'Rock in Ruins') relate four principal aspects of her thesis as she lays out the role that stone played in Cusco during Inka times, in the colonial era and into the modern day.

The most impressive chapter is clearly the first, in which Dean argues that rocks, whether carved or uncarved, represent Inka *w'aka* – that is, sacred places – that are

generated by the nature and location of the rock itself. Dean states that the Inkas believed the very rock was animated and imbued with a life force, which they utilised through the petrification of ancestors and the use of stone in various objects – some portable, such as *wawki* (brothers or effigies), and others very large and immovable, including *wank'a* (petrified owners of places), *saywa* (boundary markers), *puruwawqa* (petrified warriors), *sayk'uska* ('tired' stones) and *sukanka* (horizon pillars). She defines two other categories: 'echo stones', which are rocks that are either natural or have been shaped to mirror the form of the landscape beyond them; and *apacheta*, which have traditionally been considered rock piles left by travellers on passes or crossroads but which through various chroniclers, such as Arriaga and Murúa, she considers 'built structures'.

While Dean cogently develops the Andean notion of animation and essence (*camay*) for stones as a mode for the interpretation of particular geographical features and artefacts, it must be said that rocks do not offer, by any means, a complete picture of the Inka understanding of landscape. Everything, living or inanimate, was considered to have been created and hence possessed *camay*, and to play a role in the everyday life of the people and their environment. Therefore, springs, pools, waterfalls, fountains, trees, tree roots, mountains, hills, cliffs, caves, the sky, clouds and stars as well as certain animals, birds, shells, flowers and man-made objects, including pottery, clothing, pins and knives, have *camay*. These features are found throughout the Cusco landscape, in the Andes in general, and among all objects, utensils, tools, plants and animals. The Inka and Andean landscape is ordered, and everything is in association and interplay with everything else, to the extent that whole areas can be regarded as having animation or are identified as a human or other body with feet, legs, torso, hands, arms, head and so on. It is not just that the rocks are animated, but rather that everything has these qualities for memory of events, for memorialising the past and for creating an understanding of the world.

In the second chapter, Dean argues that rocks were important elements of the Inka sacred landscape and as such, stonework in structures, terraces and tombs was symbolic of the all-pervading qualities and essence of rock. She uses this argument again in the third chapter to posit that for the Inkas, stoneworking was a signature that displayed their hegemony and power over the conquered peoples and provinces of the empire. She views the well-fitting stonework as a metaphor for the Inkas' engagement with, and control of, the *camay* of stones, which their masons revealed by 'nibbling' each block, transforming it in order to construct their impressive buildings and terraces. This is a very strong argument, but is it correct? It is true that the Inkas valued certain stone blocks to the extent that they transported them as far as southern Ecuador and probably elsewhere in Tawantinsuyu. However, it is probably not their worked or 'nibbled' nature that was important but the fact that this andesite had come from the flanks of sacred mountains in the Cusco valley, namely the Rumiqlqa quarry close to the important Urqos Wiraqochan mountain; a second andesite quarry, Waqoto, lies on the flanks of Pachatusan, 'the stanchion of the world'. Indeed, these stone blocks came from places associated with the Creator, Wiraqocha Pachayachachiq, and while some of them had been selected for the most important architecture in Cusco, others were taken north to build a structure in a 'new cusco' at Tumibamba (Cuenca).

Dean is puzzled by the fact that in some cases well-fitted stone facades had been covered with plaster and therefore could not be seen. However, this should not be

puzzling at all as many important buildings were made not of such high-quality stonework but with substructures of various grades of stonework capped by adobe brick or even *pirka* (random rubble) walls. Even buildings within Cusco are known to be of such mixed construction, as the buildings at royal palaces such as Qespiwanka, Chinchero and Tambokancha and the temple complex at Rajchi were also well made with adobe superstructures, while the urban *kancha* of Calca and Ollantaytambo had superstructures made from *pirka*.

Dean's book is the fourth study by an art historian of Inka rocks in and around Cusco since the 1980s and is certainly the most accessible and readable. It should be read by all serious scholars of the Inka people. It explores the importance of *camay*, but is far from the most definitive work on that subject or on the importance of landscape to the Inkas.

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IAN FARRINGTON

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Susan Schroeder (ed.), *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), pp. xiii + 273, £65.00, £25.00 pb; \$94.95, \$39.95 pb.

The flood of scholarly writing about indigenous histories of the Americas that picked up steam around 1992, the year of the protest or celebration – depending on one's point of view – of the Quincentennial, has not abated; nor has the influence of major works published around that time, especially James Lockhart's *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford University Press, 1992) and Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America* (Harper Collins, 1996), diminished. Lockhart and Todorov, in very different ways, expressed and encouraged the interdisciplinary turn not only toward the textual and cultural but also toward an examination of colonial indigenous history through indigenous ways of seeing the world. This much-needed corrective to a historiography that remained rooted in triumphalist perspectives for far too long has led lately to a growing body of research dealing with Spanish conquests.

This emergent scholarship emphasises the use of indigenous-produced documentation to understand these events through the worldviews of indigenous peoples. Matthew Restall recently examined this trend in an essay on the New Conquest History (in *History Compass*) and characterised it as having 'profoundly altered' understandings of the conquest period. One of the books he mentions, *The Conquest All Over Again*, I review here. It constitutes a significant contribution to the New Conquest History and is based upon intensive analyses of indigenous-focused texts (whether produced by indigenous, mestizo or, in one case, Spanish authors), and covers a wide range of document types, including annals, plays, confessionals, primordial titles and pictorials. In these varied genres, Nahuas (and in one essay, Zapotecs) grapple with the impact, meaning and consequences of conquest. Each essay shows the challenges wrought by invasion, war, and new forms of rule and expression. These challenges led natives to produce literature that sometimes spoke to that new audience of Spanish officials but more often addressed primarily native audiences and concerns. Rather than discuss the essays in the chronological order in which they appear in the book, I group them here as texts that speak largely to indigenous audiences, those that are what I call 'outer directed,' and those whose audience is potentially bicultural.

Among the essays are texts (by Terraciano, Burkhart, Townsend, Tavárez and Haskett) that appear to have been directed solely or primarily to indigenous audiences. Kevin Terraciano's essay analysing three texts relating to the conquest of the Tlatelolca, the people he calls 'the *other* Mexica', features a virtuoso translation of an obscure document dating from approximately 1545, connected to a text known as the *Annals of Tlatelolco*. The Nahuatl-language text deals with the Cortés expedition to Honduras during which several indigenous rulers, Quauhtemoc among them, were put to death by Cortés. Comparing this fascinating early text to two other Tlatelolco-based indigenous accounts, Terraciano provides a detailed overview of Tlatelolca renderings of the conquest, their resentment of the Tenochca, and the disruptions and cruelty wrought by the Spanish and their native allies. Whereas indigenous writings from other regions (see Haskett's essay on Cuernavaca) sometimes downplay disruptions caused by the Spanish invaders, these Tlatelolco-based texts most certainly do not.

In Louise Burkhart's essay, concerning a Nahuatl-language retelling of a Castilian play, 'La destruycion de Jerusalem', about the Roman-led fall of Jerusalem, we also see references to violence. While the playwriting tradition she discusses owed much to Franciscan efforts to use drama as a tool of cultural persuasion, many such plays were adapted or written by Nahuas for Nahuas. This essay provides a fine introduction to this body of texts, the subject of a four-volume compilation and analysis co-edited by Burkhart and Barry Sell, another contributor to this volume. Three other essays focus on indigenous writers writing for their communities. Camilla Townsend analyses an annalist and his writings from seventeenth-century Tlaxcala from the perspectives of identity and linguistic change. David Tavárez considers Zapotec primordial titles and calendars and how Spanish legal concepts became deeply embedded and meaningful within eighteenth-century Zapotec-language texts, clearly intended for local time and history-keeping. And Robert Haskett, also writing about the eighteenth century, investigates Nahua renderings of the coming of Catholicism to Cuernavaca as described in primordial titles from that area. Each of these essays demonstrates how vibrant Mesoamerican traditions took stock of new ideas, practices and beliefs and found ways to encode them within regional and ethnic linguistic and literary traditions, largely for the purposes of individual communities.

Other authors analyse pictorial or textual traditions that are more explicitly addressed to colonial officials. Travis Barton Kranz works with a series of pictorials related to and including the Lienzo de Tlaxcala and details how Tlaxcalteca promoted themselves and their *altepetl* to the colonial government by means of these texts. He explains how related images across the series changed as indigenous painters and writers responded to what they believed the most persuasive forms of visual and written rhetoric would be to maintain privileges granted to Tlaxcala and its nobility during the sixteenth century. Amber Brian compares don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's two conquest-related accounts, the 'Thirteenth Relation', part of his *Compendio historico* and the incomplete rendering of conquest history in his *Historia de la nación chichimeca*. A highly acculturated figure, Alva Ixtlilxochitl nevertheless created and added to a kind of indigenous archive, in his case with the purpose of extolling the glories of Tetzcoaca history as the descendants of its pre-Hispanic nobility sought help from the Spanish king and other officials to maintain lands and privileges. In his *Historia*, this author produces a more Spanish-centred conquest account that downplays some of the bitterness he had expressed in the earlier 'Thirteenth Relation'.

The tension and contradictions within his body of writing speak to the multiple perspectives Alva Ixtlilxochitl brought to the task of writing Spanish-language native histories that would promote Tetzcooca identity and the interests of its colonial nobility.

We come finally to two essays about writers whose audiences need more explanation. This is especially the case for the well-known seventeenth-century writer, Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin. A Nahua who wrote mainly in Nahuatl, Chimalpahin also made a copy of an important Spanish account of conquest, Francisco López de Gómara's *La conquista de México*. Why and for whom did Chimalpahin write? On the one hand, his well-known annals present highly detailed pictures of Mexico Tenochtitlan and other cities, and he wrote a chronicle about Amecameca, intending to provide an historical record for these Nahua communities. But he also produced that copy of López de Gómara's book, preserving not just Nahua histories but also a Spanish version of the conquest of Tenochtitlan, embellished with additional information on native practices as well as many Christian references. Whereas Alva Ixtlilxochitl used indigenous history, texts and oral accounts largely to address Spaniards, Chimalpahin is unique among indigenous chroniclers in copying and editing a published account in the Spanish language. Schroder speculates that 'he may have intended nothing more than to make a true copy of *La conquista*; he was going to use the book as a copy text for a Nahuatl-language edition that revised and challenged the Spanish version; or both, that is, he used his Spanish copy with his important but rather conventional changes as a cover for what he rewrote for an exclusive Nahua readership' (p. 108). He took care to display his devotion to the Catholic faith, however, which suggests his belief – or perhaps worry – that Spanish eyes would come upon the text.

Barry Sell's essay describes papers of the gifted Jesuit linguist Horacio Carochi, among which are some 30 folios of confessional samples produced early in the seventeenth century. The focus of these pages is not on the questions that priests should ask (the typical focus of confessional manuals), but lies instead on the answers they might receive from native parishioners. Carochi seems to have intended to relay something of Nahuas' experiences in daily life to priests who would hear confessions throughout the churches of rural and urban central Mexico. Thus he was translating Nahua culture and behaviour for men who would be immersed in bilingual and bicultural interactions during the colonial era.

This carefully edited volume, featuring chapters of uniformly high quality, gives the reader entrée into a series of indigenous- or mestizo-authored texts that do not so much replace Spanish-authored writings (though these essays will certainly inspire more complex re-readings) as provide readers with an introduction to an array of lesser-known or unknown authors and texts telling different stories of conquest for a variety of purposes and audiences. The book largely shares with the New Conquest History a de-emphasis on the conquest as cataclysmic and transformative. This school or approach is not the place to learn about early colonial demography, political change or labour issues, but for readers interested in colonial indigenous literacies, literatures and cultures and Mesoamerican history in the post-conquest era, this volume illustrates how the vast central Mexican indigenous archive is transforming understandings of conquest and its consequences.

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Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg (eds.), *Negotiation within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2010), p. xvii + 264, \$70.00, hb.

In his foreword to *Negotiation within Domination*, Brian Owensby asks how a relatively small number of Spaniards could assert dominion over such an extensive, diverse and populous region as New Spain, and do so for roughly 300 years. This collection of eight essays responds to Owensby's question by detailing the flexible and contingent nature of that dominion. Covering four distinct regions of New Spain – the northern frontier, Mexico City, Oaxaca and the southern gulf coast – and spanning the entire colonial era, these essays document various forms of native engagement with colonial rule, and the consequent remodelling of the nature of domination. Susan Kellogg's introduction sets the work within a historiography of recent decades that has begun the exploration of how the dominated came to shape the institutions of the imperial state, highlighting the frequent indigenous embrace of Spanish legal norms as a means to negotiate colonial rule. Colonial authorities, in the form of *encomenderos*, missionaries and royal representatives, were forced to adapt their goals and controls as different indigenous peoples challenged Spanish rule on terms specific to their own cultural perspectives.

Jovita Baber examines indigenous negotiation in Tlaxcala as the new colonial system was being forged during the first generation after the conquest. Quick to adopt Spanish legal tactics and rhetoric, in 1528 Tlaxcalan elites petitioned for and won status as free vassals of the crown, self-governing and exempt from being awarded as part of an *encomienda*. Then in 1535 Tlaxcala gained recognition as a city, giving it municipal authority over neighbouring *pueblos*. Such negotiations served the Tlaxcalan elite, who expanded Tlaxcalan authority over rival communities to beyond pre-Columbian limits. These negotiations also served the crown, which sought to preserve its own authority in the face of increasingly powerful *encomenderos*. Baber argues that such negotiations show that the crown relied on accepting native elites as allies against power-hungry conquistadors. Furthermore, these negotiations set precedent in the construction of Spanish colonial rule, leading the crown to encourage viceroys to recognise indigenous municipalities across the colonies, creating 'a system of compromises – a system in which political institutions accommodated and often encouraged the continuity of local customs and traditions' (p. 33).

The struggle between the crown and Spanish colonisers continues in Ethelia Ruiz Medrano's examination of the 1560s conspiracy by the *encomenderos* of central Mexico to revolt against the crown. In this early age of colonial development, Spanish authority was still a fluid project. Relationships among the representatives of Spanish authority, both religious and political, remained hotly contested. Friars denounced the actions of high-level colonial officials while Philip II sought to contain the power of *encomenderos*. Mexica nobles tried to retain what authority they could over their native subjects by choosing which representatives of Spanish authority to recognise. Ruiz Medrano argues that Mexica nobles sought to side with the *encomenderos*, seeking potential power in a state free of Iberian control. If the nature of indigenous obedience to colonial rule was fluid in central Mexico in the immediate wake of the conquest, it remained so two centuries later. Edward Osowski explores the dependence of Spanish authorities on native town councils and community leaders to mobilise resources for the annual Holy Week festival. The processions of Holy Week were clear manifestations of the triumph of Christianity over the native population, and essential

demonstrations of colonial authority. Yet Spanish authorities were forced to preserve the authority of powerful indigenous communities and their leaders to organise native participation in the festival. Thus Holy Week processions were both acts of faithful obeisance and expressions of native autonomy.

Further south, Zapotec natives applied Spanish notions of legal justice as a tool to secure domination over rival native communities. María de los Angeles Romero Frizzi's study of indigenous deployment of Spanish law in the Sierra Zapoteca highlights the collision of 'two distinct legal codes: that of the Spanish magistrate, with his ideas and image of the world, and that of the Indians, the two interlinked in a complicated, ever-changing relationship' (p. 113). In this milieu of conflicting concepts of legality and power, indigenous communities that embraced the Spanish system of rule were able to assert greater authority over rival pueblos. Yanna Yannakakis explores how the Zapotec inflected their usage of Spanish law with traditional conceptions of legal legitimacy. Zapotec leaders challenged the state through legal proceedings, deploying the language and practice of indigenous custom, or *costumbre*, as an alternative model to state power, again forcing the imperial state to adapt colonial law to local conditions.

In his study of Bourbon-era efforts to pacify the northern border of the colony, Cuauhtémoc Velasco Ávila identifies how Spanish negotiations with the Apaches and Comanches necessarily had to be adapted to each group. These negotiations were characterised by internal conflict among the Spanish commanders, who variously favoured bellicose or political approaches to resolving the future of the northern frontier. Velasco Ávila challenges the idea that it was Bourbon militarisation that brought peace to the frontier, instead arguing that peace on the frontier was reliant on negotiated settlement with native peoples, and that the inconsistency of Spanish policy toward frontier peoples prolonged unstable relations in the regions of Texas and New Mexico.

The final study in the volume is José Manuel Cháves Gómez's account of the peregrinations of several Maya communities of south-western Yucatan along the perimeters of Spanish dominion. These groups, some of whom had earlier fled the depredations of Spanish officials or the scourge of disease outbreak, and others who had remained outside the radius of Spanish incursion, shaped colonial domination not through direct resistance to Spanish authority but through flight and eventual judicious acceptance of Catholic doctrine.

In all of the examples, negotiation as much as domination defined how Spanish colonial authorities were able to establish and maintain authority among a population that vastly exceeded their own. From the first generation of colonisation until the last decades of Bourbon presence in New Spain, the Spanish authority was evolving not merely to seek its own ends, but to do so within the limitations imposed by native people's efforts to preserve their own autonomy. *Negotiation within Domination's* most significant contribution is the degree to which it illustrates the multifarious ways in which negotiation shaped colonial New Spain. Negotiation was much more than a binary dialogue between natives and Spaniards; rather, it was a crowded and evolving conversation among numerous constituencies on both sides of the machinery of colonialism. 'Colonial states and legal institutions did not exist as static monoliths,' writes Yanna Yannakakis, 'but rather emerged over time in dialectic with native litigation and political-legal culture' (p. 138).

Ana Lucia Araujo (ed.), *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011), pp. vii + 456, \$129.99, hb.

This volume results from a multiple-session workshop at the 2010 meeting of the American Historical Association, on the topic of 'Slaving Paths: Rebuilding and Rethinking the Atlantic Worlds'. As editor Ana Lucia Araujo's introduction stresses, the dozen contributions focus on 'the lived experiences of the Africans and their descendants' (p. 6), not on the economic enterprise of the Atlantic slave trade, in order to emphasise the extent to which the processes involved in the transit of people, commodities and ideas, rather than being coterminous with the slave trade, 'are still today the objects of continuous transformation and reinvention' (p. 7).

Following Araujo's concise and useful introduction, the volume consists of four sections, each including three essays. The first, 'Moving Paths', centres on concepts of mobility and networks as essential contributors to both individual and corporate ideas of race and identity, and begins with Jennifer L. Anderson's study of the role played by New England merchants in the Caribbean, and in particular the ways in which the traders and mariners of a region little associated with slaveholding 'reshaped people's lives as they redistributed labor through their carrying trade' (p. 22). In Craig T. Marin's essay on maritime slaves and resistance in Charleston, he builds upon the seminal works of, among others, Marcus Rediker and Jeffrey Bolster in order to show the extent to which maritime labour was highly racially and ethnically diverse, often involved intra-racial cooperation, and offered comparative freedom of movement even to the enslaved men on ship. Jeffrey A. Fortin tracks the forced relocation of the Maroon community of Trelawney Town, Jamaica, to the inhospitable climate of Nova Scotia; this was an act which a British observer stated was 'little short of National Murder' (p. 71), and which, Fortin asserts, 'illustrates the tenuous nature of freedom in the Atlantic world,' as the Maroons, though not slaves, were nonetheless subjected in Canada to a situation far closer to bondage than to liberty.

The volume's second section, 'Paths to Freedom', analyses the ways in which the transition from slavery to emancipation played out across the hemisphere, in the United States, the French Caribbean and Brazil. Céline Flory's essay discusses the experiences of 'new Africans', or indentured workers, in Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana in the second half of the nineteenth century, and she finds that, although on the surface these men and women soon adapted to the new realities of life and work in the French colonies, their race limited them to the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder. This situation encourages Flory to 'question the legacy of slavery ... and to highlight the configuration of new forms of servitude' (p. 123) across the Atlantic world. In 'The Ship of Slavery', Sharla M. Fett studies the activities of the African American abolitionists of 1850s Manhattan, especially ex-slave James Pennington, in conjunction with interracial radical groups' attempts to stamp out the illegal transatlantic slave trade; she concludes that 'the contested destinies of Africans rescued from illegal slavers became interwoven with the liberty of New York's free black communities' (p. 132) on the eve of the Civil War. Looking southwards, Peter M. Beattie interrogates the connections between abolitionism and opposition to capital punishment in late nineteenth-century Brazil, which was one of the first countries to outlaw the death penalty but the last in the hemisphere to end slavery.

The third section, 'Paths of Identities', studies three former slaving ports in the South Atlantic in relation to the Afro-creole identities that emerged there both before and after the slave trade ended. Lisa Earl Temple's study of Salvador de Bahia, Brazil,

looks at a particular temple of *candomblé*, the Afro-Brazilian syncretic religion, to emphasise the ongoing connections between Africa and Brazil in the eras of both slavery and emancipation. Similar ground is trod in Mariana P. Candido's study of commercial links between Bahia and the west central African port of Benguela in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while Wendy Wilson-Fall discovers a fascinating subculture of sharp female slave traders in eighteenth-century Senegal and Madagascar.

The final section, 'Paths of Representation', is devoted to the ways in which images of enslaved men and women have allowed the retention and reinterpretation of memories of slavery throughout the Atlantic world. Peter H. Wood discovers a hidden history of slavery in Winslow Homer's iconic 1899 painting *The Gulf Stream*, while Jeffrey Kerr-Ritchie's contribution contrasts the ubiquitous abolitionist image of a kneeling slave with bound wrists, looking imploringly heavenwards, with post-emancipation depictions of 'an alternative dialectic of *slaves supplicant* and *slaves triumphant*' (p. 328, emphasis in original). Finally, Awam Amkpa and Gunja SenGupta focus on several filmic depictions of the black Atlantic in light of the way they respond to issues of race, identity and particularly concepts of home.

Although the scholarly quality of the dozen essays included here is uniformly high, *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, like so many edited volumes produced from conference proceedings, is likely to appeal in its entirety to a fairly limited audience, as it is difficult to imagine that many readers, or their students, will be equally interested in, for example, Brazilian *candomblé* practitioners, the art of Winslow Homer and the fate of the Jamaican Maroons. Nonetheless, the quality and variety of the contributions make this book a desirable purchase for research libraries, and scholars of the history and culture of slavery and the black Atlantic are well advised to direct their attention to the essays which best match their interests and to consult the extensive and up-to-date bibliography of primary and secondary sources with which *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade* closes. Araujo and her contributors deserve praise for putting together this exciting collection, as does Cambria Press for producing it as an attractively designed and well-laid-out volume.

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NATALIE ZACEK

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Kris Lane, *Colour of Paradise: The Emerald in the Age of Gunpowder Empires* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. xiv + 280, £25.00, hb.

There was a time in Colombian history, during the couple of decades before the start of the cocaine boom in the 1980s, when the illegal mining and peddling of emeralds from the Muzo fields provided the high profits and criminal liaisons that *narcotráfico* was later to bring far more abundantly and brutally. The contraband in emeralds was, however, so completely overshadowed by the cocaine boom that the traffic in illicit gems now seems something of an innocent pastime, a veritable vicar's tea party compared to the fabulous fortunes, insidious corruption and ferocious violence that sprang from Colombia's emergence as the centre of the international cocaine trade. Nonetheless, the extraction and exchange of Colombian emeralds has a long and intriguing history that, as Kris Lane shows in this book, is well worth telling. In his hands, this story is not simply an interesting theme in Colombian economic and social

history, reaching from the sixteenth to the present century, but also a history that reveals much about the extraordinary webs of exchange which the gunpowder and commercial empires of the Atlantic world forged with their rich and powerful equivalents in the Middle East and Indian subcontinent. Indeed, as he argues, the history of emeralds in the age of gunpowder provides an instructive case study for the 'reorienting' of early modern history away from Europe and towards a fuller appreciation of the part played by Asian economic growth in driving the global interconnections made possible by European maritime exploration and colonial expansion.

The key thesis of the 'reorientation' approach is that Asian rather than European markets were the dynamo of international trade, since it was the insatiable Eastern demand for silver, principally from China, that drove the growth of Spanish American silver mining and thus fuelled the expansion of the Atlantic and Eastern trades that energised European commercial capitalism. Lane shows how emeralds contributed to the construction of this new, 'global' world. Emeralds were similar to silver in the sense that they were an essential medium of exchange for the Asian commodities that Europeans wanted. But they differed from silver in having more complex meanings, infused by the courtly cultures of Mughal, Safavid and Ottoman princes. Here, perhaps, is the most interesting part of the book: the explanation of the growth of the Colombian emerald trade in terms of Eastern potentates rather than bejewelled European aristocrats or encrusted Christian altars. Mughal kings incorporated emeralds into a princely economy of power that pivoted on lavish gift-giving and aimed at winning awe and respect and devoted allegiance by a 'profligate philanthropy' (p. 151); Safavid and Ottoman kings also prized emeralds as props in a theatre of power and, because their intense green evoked the pastures and palms of Paradise, as emblems of Islamic piety. China was much less interested in emeralds, preferring the jade which it sourced and worked within its own territories, but the demand from the Muslim world was sufficiently rich to finance the complicated routes which took emeralds from Muzo, via northern Europe and the Mediterranean, to the East. Ironically, Europeans enriched themselves from emeralds because Eastern princes valued them for rituals and sacred dramas comparable to those of the Amerindians whose conquest had given Spaniards access to the sources of the gem.

The book is replete with intriguing details on several subjects related to the Colombian emerald – called 'Oriental' because it was confused with the inferior Egyptian gem – and its history as a globally traded commodity. Professor Lane gives a comprehensive picture of the source of emeralds in the Muzo mines and the character of their workforce (initially Indian tributaries and African slaves), the techniques and cycles of extraction, the conversion of gems into jewels and, not least, the economic and social organisation of the international emerald trade. Emeralds, like other gems and jewels, were largely traded by Sephardic Jews operating under the Luso-Hispanic umbrella until, by the mid-seventeenth century, the focal points moved towards London and other northern European centres, and other Jewish merchants were drawn in. Throughout, the Portuguese *Carreira de Índia* played a pivotal part in the trade, with Jewish merchants operating out of Lisbon turning Goa into the centre for gem trading in South Asia. Here, again, the historical traces left by the emerald trade reveal the huge importance of Eastern markets in the development of global trade, not in this case the markets of China but those found in the Muslim-dominated worlds of Persia, Turkey and, above all, India. Asian consumers, like Europeans, thus played their distant, unwitting part in the exploitation of Amerindian and African labourers

who were forced to mine emeralds; indeed, they continue to do so today, when impoverished miners dig emeralds to feed the fashion for Mughal-style jewellery among the new Indian bourgeoisie.

This is not a conventional book of Latin American history; it is, as the author says, more an 'experiment in global history by way of a luxury commodity' (p. 2). But that is its strength, for the author makes a strong case for 'reorienting' Latin American colonial history. Through the prism of the Colombian emerald, he tells us much about the dynamics of global commodity trades, the relation of European mercantile expansion to Asian societies, the imbrication of Luso-Hispanic mercantile networks, the interactions of Jewish traders and Muslim courtly cultures and, above all, the significance of Asia in driving early modern European commercial capitalism.

Well written, well illustrated, imaginative in its approach and deploying an impressive and eclectic range of sources, this book traces the history of an exotic Spanish American commodity to great effect. By paying as much attention to demand as to supply, the author shows how this very special commodity created new global commercial connections between communities and cultures of very different kinds, and thereby throws new light on the origins and consequences of Spanish colonisation in America, Portuguese expansion in the East, and the first globalisation that came in their wake.

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ANTHONY MCFARLANE

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Sherry Johnson, *Climate and Catastrophe in Cuba and the Atlantic World in the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), pp. xiii + 305, \$39.95, hb.

This book chronicles how bad weather, particularly dozens of hurricanes, marked Cuba in the long eighteenth century. It links the growing interest in environmental and climate history with the never-ending effort to rethink the political disturbances on both sides of the Atlantic in the late eighteenth century. *Climate Catastrophe* aims to show that hurricanes, floods and droughts not only moulded the Caribbean but also helped prompt and shape the Atlantic Revolutions. The author convincingly demonstrates the former idea; I remain sceptical about the latter.

Severe weather in the Caribbean in this period was more a norm than an exception as El Niño/La Niña struck almost annually. The appendix listing hurricanes, storms and droughts in the Caribbean from 1749 to 1800 runs for four pages. Core chapters focus on how these phenomena affected key moments in Cuba: the 1762 British victory in Havana, the brutal year of 1772 when multiple hurricanes struck the Caribbean, the transition from King Charles III to Charles IV in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and warfare with France in the 1790s. Each of these chapters reads well and tells an interesting and important story concerning the political and economic impact of floods, droughts and hurricanes.

By devastating food production and distribution, these catastrophes prompted merchants and consumers to circumvent the restrictions the crown maintained on goods produced outside of the Spanish realm and the onerous rules controlling trade within it. When Cuba could not produce enough food, as was frequently the case, it had to turn to Mexico (often confronting its own shortages) or English or French colonies (especially the Thirteen Colonies, Jamaica and Saint-Domingue) through

legal or illegal channels. While Cuban authorities and in several cases those of Madrid punished those who broke the law, they also reacted to these crises by adjusting trade policy. They sought to make sure that Cubans and others had enough to eat, understanding hunger and rampant illegal trade as inimical to imperial control. The sections on catastrophe, smuggling and the debates about 'free trade' form the strongest part of the book – the author shows how bad weather, fragile environments, imperial rivalries and mercantilist notions made a volatile mix. The hurricanes were not the only rapidly moving object: political alliances as well as agrarian trade policies changed frequently throughout the eighteenth century.

Johnson tells the story well, moving with ease between Havana, Philadelphia and Madrid and demonstrating that the venerable debates about *comercio libre* and Spanish imperialism can benefit from the consideration of environmental issues and fluctuating food policies. She stresses the catastrophe's impact on life in Cuba and, above all, on imperial policies. Some readers might have wanted more on how different groups understood hurricanes and how these events shook up transatlantic debates about climate and society in the Americas. With her deep research in archives and libraries in several countries, however, the author provides the material for such follow-up studies. The chapters on specific hurricanes and their impact are rich; the analysis of 1762, for example, shows how food shortages and the ensuing illnesses and mass disgruntlement weakened Spanish defences and facilitated the British attack on Havana. The Spanish troops suffered from fevers and hunger at this crowning moment of the Seven Years War. Textbooks always cast the English invasion of Havana as a humiliation for the Spanish; Johnson's lively description of emaciated soldiers and panicked authorities, debating whether to evacuate Havana in part because of food shortages, deepens our understanding of this turning point. This and other chapters underline the advantages for historians of the Atlantic world and the Caribbean of taking climate seriously.

The introduction and conclusion are the weakest sections of the book. Johnson's argument about the centrality of hurricanes to the Atlantic Revolutions far too often approaches hyperbole. The author feels compelled to underline how her study helps rethink events in the Caribbean, North America and Europe. In my mind, and this is a matter of style and thus a personal decision, her work demonstrates the close relationship and even dependency between climate, food and warfare. In light of this major contribution, the author did not need to cast her work as a rethinking of the long eighteenth century, or its revolutions. Too much of the first and last chapters reads like back-cover material or a grant application. In the same regard, Johnson's listing of theoretical influences weakens an otherwise smart conclusion. No reader will be surprised or impressed to learn that she built on 'interdisciplinary theories' or 'principles of transnationality' (pp. 199, 200). Although she uses the phrase 'of course' when pointing out that hurricanes are by definition transnational, the point seems unnecessary. Few historians today would sustain that they don't venture over disciplinary and national borders; none working on such a quirky, devastating and by definition global occurrence such as hurricanes would do so. Nonetheless, Johnson builds from the literature on 'natural disasters' and contributes greatly to our understanding of Cuba and the often surprising and always significant impact of hurricanes and storms in the eighteenth century and beyond.

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Stefan Rinke, *Las revoluciones en América Latina: las vías a la independencia, 1760–1850* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2011), pp. 407, pb.

The seemingly irresistible desire of Latin American institutions and scholars to celebrate the bicentenaries of the independence movements of the early nineteenth century has spawned in the last decade or so numerous conferences and publications, of variable quality. This occurred even in Brazil, Mexico and Peru, countries whose dominant elite groups remained fervent royalists during the decade following 1810. These elites were determined to fight against insurgency, especially that supported by those whom they regarded as their social and racial inferiors, until continuing political turmoil in the centres of metropolitan power left them by the early 1820s with no real alternative but to follow the examples of the peripheral regions of the Río de la Plata and separate from Portugal and Spain. US and European scholars have been somewhat more circumspect than their Latin American counterparts in commemorating the bicentenary, with the exception of those in Spain; the latter have also found something to celebrate in the 1812 Constitution of Cádiz – *La Pepa* – which, they argue, left an enduring legacy of respect for liberal principles in both the emerging nation-states of Spanish America and in peninsular Spain itself, notwithstanding its abolition by the absolutist Ferdinand VII, first in 1814, and again in 1823 following its restoration in 1820. In this context, significant publications include the lavish *Construyendo patrias: Iberoamérica 1810–1824* (Banamex, 2010), edited by Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach; *Revolución, independencia y las nuevas naciones de América* (Fundación MAPFRE, 2005), edited by Jaime E. Rodríguez O.; Manuel Chust Calero's *América en las Cortes de Cádiz* (Fundación MAPFRE, 2010); and John Lynch's outstanding biographies of the two most important revolutionary leaders in South America, *Simón Bolívar: A Life* (Yale University Press, 2006) and *San Martín: Argentine Soldier, American Hero* (Yale University Press, 2009).

The historiographical context is relevant to an evaluation of Rinke's monograph, because the major issues that need to be addressed in reviewing his new history of the causes, processes and consequences of independence are not only what it contributes to recent scholarship, but also the novelty or otherwise of its interpretation(s) of this particularly crucial period in Latin American history – this has already been scrutinised in great detail by the seminal works of a substantial number of previous commentators, including John Lynch in *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (W. W. Norton, 1986) and Jaime E. Rodríguez O. in *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge University Press, 1998). The first substantive difference, of course, is that these earlier works deal only with Spanish America, whereas Rinke provides detailed coverage of the processes that led to the independence of Haiti from France in 1804 (pp. 79–131) and that of Brazil from Portugal in 1822 (pp. 291–324), albeit without providing any particularly novel conclusions. The former, it is argued, 'se convirtió en inspiración para posteriores movimientos de descolonización en América y mas allá' (p. 131) – perhaps an unconsciously ironic suggestion, given the shamolic state of the former colony of Saint-Domingue throughout its two centuries of post-colonial existence. The latter, by contrast, was a cautious, conservative process, organised by elite groups determined to preserve colonial institutions – notably black slavery and monarchy, which survived until 1888 and 1889 respectively – and to exclude the lower classes in general from political representation and participation in the new state.

A further novelty, of degree rather than absolute, in Rinke's approach to the independence era is the very detailed attention that he gives to the history of Ibero-America during the half-century prior to 1808 in 'Las bases coloniales', and to post-independence problems in the new states prior to 1830 in the concluding chapter, 'El precio de la libertad'. The former emphasises the emergence in the last quarter of the eighteenth century of a growing sense of creole identity but dismisses the rebellions and protests against the tightening of metropolitan control and increasing taxation that did occur as 'más bien la expresión conservadora de una protesta colectiva' (p. 77), while the latter draws the obvious conclusion that 'el precio de la libertad fue alto, y la libertad que se había obtenido ... había sido coartada en muchos sentidos' (p. 354). The two core chapters of the volume provide a coherent, systematic and well-informed survey, based entirely upon published sources, of the reasons for the onset of insurgency in Spanish America following the 1808 abdication of Ferdinand VII, and of the inexorable collapse of royalist authority from 1816. The first makes frequent and interesting references to the broader theme of Atlantic revolutions – notably the American and French revolutions – and, at a different level, provides a very sound explanation of why the Constitution of 1812 failed to resolve the crisis of legitimacy in Spanish America in 1810–14, when many creoles might have accepted autonomy within a constitutional monarchy as an alternative to full-blown independence. It also emphasises, correctly, the diverse nature of the early movements for independence and the deep divisions within the creole elites, complicated by intense regional rather than national identities. As is conventional, 1816 is defined as a critical year, when the independence of the 'United Provinces of the Río de la Plata' was declared in Tucumán, thereby scuppering the possibility of a royalist reconquest in southern South America. In Venezuela, Simón Bolívar began a military campaign which by 1822 had secured, for what it was worth, the independence of all the territory of the former viceroyalty of New Granada. This, with Venezuela, became the short-lived 'Gran Colombia'. With the Mexican elite already having secured in 1821 the independence of the former viceroyalty of New Spain, that left only Peru in royalist hands until 1824, when the largely Colombian army of Bolívar won the decisive battle of Ayacucho and imposed independence upon the conservative elite that fought against it to the bitter end. Rinke describes these processes accurately and fluently, and his book can be strongly recommended to non-specialists seeking an up-to-date introduction to the history of Latin American independence.

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Sarah C. Chambers and John Charles Chasteen (eds.), *Latin American Independence: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2010), pp. xvii + 248, £11.95, pb.

The leaders of independence movements in early nineteenth-century Latin America had one eye on how they would be remembered by history at the same time as they fought battles, wrote constitutions and negotiated with imperial powers. The first written histories of independence were often penned by retired generals or serving cabinet ministers. History-writing and the making of history were perceived by contemporaries as interlinked and mutually reinforcing processes. Previous

anthologies of primary sources from the independence era reflected these origins, reinforcing what Sarah C. Chambers and John Charles Chasteen now see as an inaccurate 'Great Men' interpretation of history (p. xi). The work of historians in the last three decades has, of course, largely overturned this vision of independence, and brought the participation of women, indigenous, black, mestizo and *pardo* groups back into the frame as historical actors, as well as highlighting the role of economic, ideological and demographic factors, and the interventions of external imperial powers (especially Britain, France and the United States) in shaping the disintegration of the Iberian monarchies in the Americas. In this collection of 34 primary sources, the editors attempt to reflect these historiographical shifts by providing 'access to the words of people, both prominent and humble, who played roles in drawing rooms and on battlefields of the Latin American struggles for independence. Their voices are diverse, their motivations complex, and their stories defy simple heroic narratives of national liberation' (pp. ix–x). The editors want to give readers who do not speak Spanish or Portuguese the resources to make their own minds up regarding the 'contradictory birthing pains of these new nations' (p. xi), particularly 'elite nationalism, imperial breakdown and popular activism' (p. xii).

The documents are divided into three parts: 'The Colonial Experience', 'The Crucible of War' and 'Nations and Commemorations'. The intention that the book will be used as a stand-alone text by students means that several previously translated, well-known texts are here, often in heavily abbreviated form. The major strength of the book is in its providing access for English-language readers to new texts that had never been translated before. The documents relating to racial politics in Colombia during the 1828 Padilla affair, or the correspondence of Javiera Carrera in exile from Chile, for example, will give such readers the chance to really engage with the interpretations of historians who have worked on the Spanish originals. Other valuable inclusions (and there are many) are the first translation of the war diary of the drummer boy from Oruro, José Santos Vargas, entitled *Diario de un comandante de la independencia Americana 1814–1825*, and the letters of María Antonia Bolívar, sister of Simón and, as Inés Quintero's work has shown, a hugely influential and significant figure in her own right.

The editors take the bold step of omitting the term 'creole' from their documents and presentations, arguing that it 'obscures important historical meanings' (p. xiii) and preferring instead to retain usage of *americano*, and to use 'European-born Spaniards/Portuguese' instead of *peninsulares*. This decision carries two advantages: it generally means staying closer to the original texts, and it helps to break down the artificial divisions between 'creoles' and 'peninsulares' which characterised some earlier historiography. Consequently, the editors logically prefer to 'preserve and apply the term *América* (with an accent), which was what patriotic *americanos* called their homeland, the region that became Latin America only decades later' (p. xiv). I applaud this decision, whose disadvantage might be that it discomforts monolingual English-speaking readers who dislike the idea that not every concept can be easily translated to their mother tongue without some loss of context or meaning. The editors have worked together on the translations, which are extremely readable and accurate. Where previous translations already exist, there are sometimes notes to say that they have 'adapted' (p. 60), 'drawn upon' (p. 231) or been 'influenced by' (p. 137) them. On occasions, as in the case of Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones peruanas*, it is unclear why the existing translation (in this case, by Helen Lane) has not been used. I would have appreciated a

translators' note to clarify the extent and nature of these revisions; if scholars are going to use these translations in their research, it is important that translators (Chambers and Chasteen foremost among them) are recognised and cited in the proper way.

This book should be the first item on the reading list of any course teaching Latin American history and the independence era. The editors have packed a lot of perspectives into the book which, used carefully by the teacher, will enable a unit to be designed around it so that students can engage critically with the latest research publications. The sources presented on the post-independence period should certainly prompt students to think about the way independence has passed into historical memory across the continent. The Mexican Independence Day speeches, and the extract from Arturo Usler Pietri's *The Red Lances*, are brilliant choices in this respect. The scholarly introductions, to the book overall as well as to each section, are magnificent works of synthesis and will allow readers who are new to the subject – as well as those who are well versed in it – to get to grips with the primary sources. This is an excellent and very welcome anthology.

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MATTHEW BROWN

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Nancy Vogeley, *The Bookrunner: A History of Inter-American Relations – Print, Politics, and Commerce in the United States and Mexico, 1800–1830* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 2011), pp. viii + 341, \$35.00, pb.

The transformation of the political culture in Mexico in the wake of its achievement of independence has been an emerging focus of the historiography in recent years. Nancy Vogeley's book relates to the opening of Mexico to direct imports of foreign books immediately after independence. It is based on the account of Thomas W. Robeson, the agent of prominent Philadelphia bookseller and publisher Mathew Carey, who in 1822 brought a shipment of books to Mexico City and who left 20 letters detailing his trip. Vogeley insists that this first coming together of the United States and Mexico, rather than being a marriage of unequals, can best be described as romantic first love. For Mexico it was an early step toward decolonisation, disconnecting from a Spanish mindset in an environment of limitless possibilities and comparatively unfettered openness. There was an eager audience of literate elites thirsting for books, maps, knowledge and ideas that had previously been carefully if not always effectively restricted by the crown and Inquisition. On the US side there was quite remarkable openness to the culture of the nearest newly independent Spanish American country. 'The partners were equal in their Americanness' (p. 5) is how Vogeley phrases it. It is an intriguing theme for a book.

Vogeley dismisses any assumptions by the United States that it was (is?) automatically the voice of the Americas, and in a treatment that is highly aware of and respectful of Mexican thought and culture presents both countries as young, struggling, newly independent lands with a pervasive need to establish identity and foreign respect. This is, after all, a sensitive topic because of the modern Mexican resistance to the frequent Anglo-American assertion that change in Mexico occurred because of US influences. Instead Vogeley argues that the period from 1820 to 1830 was a moment of 'postcolonial Americanism' characterised by broad perspectives on both sides. By 1830, however, US thought would begin to presuppose US superiority.

It is important to get this perspective right, because in 1821 Mexico was twice as big and twice as populated as the United States. Philadelphia was the centre of thought and commerce in the United States, New York City was just emerging and Washington, DC was a small new town in a swamp, but Mexico City was still, as it had been for three centuries, the largest city in the Americas.

In a treatment that is both subtle and nuanced, Vogeley shows clearly that despite the romance inherent in the theme, this is fundamentally a story about business, trade and commerce. She discusses the sociology of the book, tracing its reception and circulation and focusing chiefly on its publication and distribution, as well as on the myriad of authors. There is a strong argument, which really is eye-opening, that in this early period the United States was multilingual, not just English-speaking, and that its publishers often produced books in other languages, not least in Spanish. Thus, all the books Robeson carried to Mexico were in Spanish; all were political essays and economic treatises; some were written originally in Spanish, while others were translated by Carey's firm. The authors came not just from Britain, France and the United States, but also from Spain and Mexico, sometimes exiles from those countries. The major limiting factor in this trade was that Mexican duties were high and books were very expensive. In addition, Vogeley emphasises that publishing in Mexico, now free from the constraints of prior – although not post-publication – censorship, was extraordinarily active and lively.

It is not so much the influence of the imported books that Vogeley traces, since that would be highly diffuse and difficult to sketch, but rather the import and sale of the books, together with a good deal of information about their authors, publishers and contents. Extensive discussion of the contents of many authors illustrates wide-ranging research and Vogeley's thorough mastery of the intellectual climate of the period. She traces the publication of Spanish-language books and periodicals in Philadelphia, New York and Mexico City, as well as in London and Paris. Mathew Carey, an Irish Catholic immigrant to the United States, particularly focused on Spanish and Catholic authors. The motivation, however, was business, not ideology; Carey published what he thought would be of interest to Mexican readers. It is particularly significant to note that of the books Robeson carried to Mexico, which included such obvious titles as Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Paine's *Rights of Man*, by far the best seller was the Venezuelan Juan German Roscio's *Triumph of Liberty over Despotism*. The explanation, Vogeley cogently proposes, is that Roscio, who had written Venezuela's 1811 declaration of independence, understood the uniqueness of Spanish America's independence movement and approached such issues as the role of the Church, the Inquisition and the Spanish crown from a Catholic perspective. The fact that Roscio's work was not an angry attack on Spain but, rather, an argument in favour of distinguishing between the spiritual role of the Catholic Church and its inappropriate meddling in politics, well suited the temper of the time in Spanish America. In general, Vogeley argues, the works of Protestant English-language authors, who tended to be dismissive of Spanish culture, and of radical French revolutionary authors, who were often viewed as irreligious, were of little interest to Spanish Americans. Again, this is a valuable corrective to the historiography.

Disappointingly, this insightful book is not as clearly laid out as it could be. The narrative at times seems disjointed and almost random, and the amount of detail is burdensome. This seriously detracts from what is otherwise an astute portrayal of a moment of parity between Mexico and the United States, a brief few years in which

each country was open to ideas and interaction with the other, and in which commerce rather than ideology was the operative principle.

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TIMOTHY E. ANNA

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Karen D. Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens: Local Liberalism in Early National Oaxaca and Yucatán* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. xiii + 289, \$60.00, hb.

Caplan's welcome study on how nineteenth-century liberalism was understood, appropriated, translated and applied in provincial Mexico, with the onus being on how the indigenous communities of Oaxaca and Yucatán made national political projects work for them (or not, as the case may be), follows in the tradition of fine scholars such as Guy Thomson and Peter Guardino. It provides a groundbreaking interpretation of early national politics that eloquently demonstrates the extent to which *indígenas*, as the author likes to refer to them, actively engaged with the political ideas and practices that became prevalent after the consummation of independence. Belonging to that genealogy of scholarship that has shown how liberalism and/or federalism found a popular voice at a local or regional level, Caplan's research allows us to appreciate the extent to which the transition to liberalism, from its earliest manifestations as expressed in the 1812 Cádiz Constitution to its eventual triumph as the defining cornerstone of the Porfirian nation-state, was one characterised by ongoing negotiation. Breaking away from the idea that gentlemanly *criollos* imposed their liberal project on the nation from the enlightened and honourable institutions and salons of the capital, Caplan's rural portrait is beautifully crafted around the tensions that arose with regard to the negotiated assimilation and implementation of liberal policies and practices in the remote Indian-dominated villages of Oaxaca and Yucatán. Worthy of note is that this was a period in which there was as much change as there was continuity. Making use of documents found in the state and municipal archives of Oaxaca and Yucatán, as well as national archives like the Archivo General de la Nación (for example, council minutes, indigenous representations, penal proceedings, tax records, and correspondence between local political figures such as sub-prefects, mayors and judges), while bringing into play recent historiographical findings, Caplan succeeds in developing a particularly persuasive argument that combines the local with the national, ensuring her comparative regional history of Oaxaca and Yucatán never loses sight of the broader picture.

Perhaps unsurprisingly (just considering how the Roman Catholic faith acquired a very particular indigenous flavour as part of a similarly negotiated process of evangelisation), albeit noted for the first time in Caplan's study with regards to early republican politics, Oaxacan and Yucatecan local liberalism was dynamically syncretic: a continuously changing, fluid and hybrid variant of the kind of liberalism that creole intellectuals such as José María Luis Mora, Lorenzo de Zavala, Valentín Gómez Farías and Mariano Otero advocated in the corridors of the National Palace. It was a liberalism that incorporated local indigenous customs and colonial practices, and entered into dialogue with local circumstances and needs as the independent nation experimented with several different constitutions. If one may be allowed to recall Karl Marx's dialectical materialist view, the synthetic nature of Oaxacan and, to a lesser

extent, Yucatecan local liberalism was the result of the national liberal thesis combining with, rather than overpowering, its traditional indigenous village antithesis.

Having said this, Caplan's indigenous citizens were not fundamentally or intrinsically traditional. They were actively predisposed to grapple with the new ideologies and institutions, and to find ways of ensuring these aided them in their own specific attempts at resolving the political and systemic problems they faced on a daily basis at a local level. That their liberalism did not necessarily evolve into the creed which the 1857 generation of the Reforma came to espouse is one of the fascinating aspects of Caplan's book: a time would come when national liberals would take on local liberals as the quest for nation-state homogeneity became a key goal of Benito Juárez and his party. Interestingly, local liberals would resist the national reforms, believing their hybrid liberalism to be a preferable form to that advocated by the authors of the reform laws of 1855–7. In Oaxaca, the self-termed liberal state government would thus find itself mediating between Miguel Lerdo de Tejada's law of 25 June 1856, the national brand of liberalism and local indigenous interests (as well Oaxaca's own particular hybrid regional–local liberal consensus).

That Caplan has chosen to concentrate on two different regional contexts with very different indigenous and non-indigenous populations affords her study praiseworthy scope and depth. Rather than assume, from the Oaxacan experience, that all local liberalisms were syncretic and entailed a negotiated process in which villagers succeeded in reinterpreting and reorienting national liberal trends to suit their needs, the Yucatecan case study forces us to appreciate how different the early national period was from one given region to another. In Oaxaca the transition to liberalism was relatively peaceful. In Yucatán it entailed significant violence, culminating in the particularly sanguinary Caste War of 1847–55, in which between 200,000 and 300,000 Yucatecans lost their lives. Caplan gives a number of reasons for this (for example, Yucatecan villages housed both indigenous and non-indigenous people in ways that differed significantly from Oaxaca), but ultimately argues that, unlike Oaxaca, the local Yucatecan political culture of protection of indigenous practices and needs was in direct conflict with the developing free-market economic impulses of the region's entrepreneurial elite. The different regional experience of the transition to liberalism, negotiated in one state, brutally fought over in another, would result, by the second half of the century, in indigenous rights and privileges remaining part of the political culture of liberal Oaxaca, while they were completely eradicated in Yucatán. The liberal state would consequently acknowledge and accommodate, to a certain extent, indigenous customs in Oaxaca. In Yucatán, following the Caste War, the liberal state would eliminate indígena political participation, setting the indigenous communities aside and apart from it.

Indigenous Citizens is structured in such a way that, following an introductory discussion of Mexico's many liberalisms and a comparative chapter on Oaxaca and Yucatán between 1812 and 1821, it focuses on the Oaxacan and Yucatecan case studies alternatively; the book's analysis follows the chronology from independence to the pre-Mexican-American War/Caste War period in chapters 3 and 4, and then the reform period in chapters 5 and 6, with the comparative conclusion stretching into the Porfiriato. This is, undoubtedly, a major contribution to the historiography, and one, moreover, that opens up future lines of enquiry into the nature of local liberalism in other states such as Chiapas and Michoacán. Caplan deserves to be congratulated for writing such a groundbreaking piece of research.

Rachel A. Moore, *Forty Miles from the Sea: Xalapa, the Public Sphere, and the Atlantic World in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2011), pp. xiii + 230, \$49.95, hb.

In *Forty Miles from the Sea*, Rachel Moore's prime concern is to argue that Xalapa, inland and at 1,500 metres above sea level, constituted a virtual Atlantic frontier and a surrogate port city. Entry permits into New Spain and, later, the Mexican Republic would be issued at Veracruz, but passports for the onward journey would be issued in Xalapa, once the traveller or merchant's purpose had been properly scrutinised. In view of the real danger of yellow fever outbreaks in the port of Veracruz, especially during the rainy season, the author points to the 'reconstitution of port functions inland' (p. 74). A quarantine station was established in 1806 in the region of Xalapa.

The general idea behind this book, then, is to place Xalapa within the Atlantic world, despite its location in the *tierra templada*. The model is the growing literature on 'Atlantic history' and on port cities in particular. Xalapa belonged to 'Atlantic Mexico' (p. 2): this town and Veracruz lived in a 'lopsided symbiosis' (p. 35). The Xalapa–Veracruz corridor, linked to Atlantic concerns, always retained a certain autonomy towards central government, whether viceregal or republican. These features explained the nineteenth-century appeal of federalism and liberalism. Xalapa became the site of the commercial fairs for the transatlantic trade, the first of them held in 1720; it became a *villa* in 1791, was attached to the jurisdiction of the newly established Consulado of Veracruz in 1795, and was raised to the status of the state capital of Veracruz in 1823.

By contrast, the other city on the slopes of the Sierra Madre Oriental, Orizaba, further to the south, remained 'anchored to central Mexico' (p. 81). Throughout the book, the author makes a point of contrasting the experiences of these two cities. It is a pity that Orizaba has not been included in the book's title, a decision which would have made the comparative dimension uppermost. What we might call the lesser comparison between Orizaba and Córdoba might also have been broached: one is told in Orizaba that the city clings more closely to Puebla, while Córdoba looks more to Veracruz. Perhaps there might have been less emphasis on the 'public sphere' idea and shorter discussion of the details of the postal services, and much more to strengthen and develop the comparative character of the book. The subject of a historical comparative analysis of the two cities, Xalapa and Orizaba, is a gift, and the author already has the data from which to construct it. I appreciate that this is just one reviewer's perspective, and one, I should admit, who has never been impressed by the all-embracing role attributed to the 'public sphere', a hypothesis derived from Habermas and given prominence by François-Xavier Guerra. This notion is a creeping tide, submerging historical issues beneath it. The attention given to it here threatens to sink a comparative study repeatedly struggling for the surface.

In the middle of the book, Santa Anna makes an appearance. As befits this son of Xalapa, he is given special treatment from p. 102 to p. 118. Rachel Moore convincingly argues that Santa Anna's character and viewpoint were rooted in the Atlantic world of the Xalapa–Veracruz corridor. His frequent periods of residence on his Hacienda Manga de Clavo, purchased in 1825, resulted from his instinctive dislike of party and ideology. From there, he exercised leverage; this makes his political behaviour seem less erratic and less opportunistic. While such a view coincides with what might be described as the 'new Santa Anna historiography', the author does stress the onerous and conflictive nature of censorship under the general's rule, especially the Lares Press

Law of 1853, and reminds us of the expulsion of Juárez and Ocampo, though without comment. Opinion in Xalapa quickly cooled towards the resplendent general. The author might have made some mention of Santa Anna's catastrophic behaviour at Cerro Gordo in 1847, which allowed the US invaders entry into central Mexico.

Santa Anna stands out in the book because few other local figures appear consistently. Instead, there is constant reference to 'Xalapeños' and 'Orizabeños' without saying who any of them were. Here the comparative dimension might have taken a grip: in what ways, for instance, did the personnel of the town councils of the two cities differ from one another and over time? If they did, how significant was this? Postmasters are given considerable attention, but Orizaba's resident writer, Rafael Delgado, is not mentioned once despite probably being Mexico's most important nineteenth-century novelist.

On p. 101, the author tells us that the experiences of Santa Anna and the War of Reform radically altered the relation of Xalapa and Orizaba to the central government. Although we have Santa Anna, the reform, by comparison, has somehow slipped out of the picture. Much could have been made of the different experience of the two towns during this period of intense conflict. We are told about pamphlets, broadsheets and periodicals, but how did the great issues of the day divide opinion?

These remarks are designed to encourage a 'sequel' to the present *Forty Miles from the Sea*, which this reviewer would certainly welcome. The two towns, as I have intimated, make a marvellous research topic when taken together – that is, as opposed to histories of one or the other written in isolation. The State of Veracruz is rich and diverse and has a long and varied history. Although current historiography has placed attention on peasant and Indian communities in the northern areas – Papantla and the Huasteca, for example – the central core towns and the south have been strangely neglected. Rachel Moore's research makes a helpful contribution to remedying this neglect, and I hope she continues with this theme.

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BRIAN HAMNETT

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Ernesto Capello, *City at the Center of the World: Space, History, and Modernity in Quito* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), pp. xx + 290, \$27.95, pb.

This book is not for everyone, and it is certainly not for those hoping for a comprehensive history of Quito from the 1880s to the 1940s. Instead, Ernesto Capello offers a more idiosyncratic selection of topics, focusing on what he terms the construction of 'chronotopes,' or variously, 'phantasmagorical chronotopes' (p. 159), the 'synechdochal chronotopical' (p. 171), 'heuristically developed chronotopes' or the 'polyvalence of multiple chronotopes inflected by an extended history of refraction' (p. 213).

What interests Capello is the unmasking of the essence of Quito's urban milieu. To do this he has selected several episodes in the city's history – moments, he thinks, when the shared perspective 'of a particular group ... [was] at the center of a global metanarrative' (p. xvii). Capello considers in turn the 'totalizing discourse[s]' (p. xvii) of rich white intellectuals, city map-makers, some members of a nearby indigenous community, and the Durini family architectural firm that worked for a time in the city. When the Spanish first came to the highlands of Ecuador in 1534 the local

indigenous people understood the valley's name, Quito, to mean 'the center of the world'. Today the equator marker – *mitad del mundo* – lies just north of the city. Capello translates this phrase also as 'the center of the world', and to him many Quiteños saw their city in this way.

After President Eloy Alfaro took office in 1895, more national revenues generated by the busy commerce of the coast started flowing into the capital. Tapping into this resource, Quito enjoyed a time of urban renewal. There was special national attention given to dressing up the capital for the 1909 and 1922 centennial celebrations of key events in the process of independence. Capello does a fair job in exploring the struggles for local control over the building of potable water lines, sewers and other urban sanitation measures in these years.

To Capello, however, what most defined Quito in this era was its determination to market itself as a tourist destination, with the colonial old city as the principal attraction. It succeeded in this effort, he argues. Especially after the railway reached the capital in 1908, Quito developed 'a vibrant tourist economy' (p. xv) and 'transcended its relative provinciality to become a site of world historical importance' (p. 215). The city, he concludes, 'was established at the center of the world' (p. 217). But distant Quito, tucked away in the towering Andes, is hard to see as a big draw for tourists during these decades. Some convincing regarding 'the growing tourist trade' (p. 52) is surely in order. Even if one cannot accurately count the number of visitors, it should still be possible to count the number of new hotels. Capello does not do this. Nevertheless, he asserts that the tourist industry soared as city fathers acted forcefully to protect the old colonial city's architecture. It is not clear, however, how much forceful protection was really needed. Indeed, if it were the case that not much new business was actually coming to the city, it may have just been easier to add such structures as were needed outside of the old town in the open lands to the north.

Capello spends a good deal of space offering his thoughts about city maps from the era. To him maps were used not so much to find one's way around as to convey culturally coded messages. Although it takes him many words to decode these discourses, the uncovered messages do not always surprise – for example, that maps made for the rich focused on area businesses and did not always sketch in the poor neighbourhoods.

Many pages are given over to Capello's examination of several minor Ecuadorian works of fiction from this period. He labours through the content of a small journal, *Caricatura*, justifying this time allocation by stressing how popular and influential the publication was. The trouble is that the journal folded after just three years. Capello likewise presents a detailed family history of the Durinis, but aside from having designed a few city buildings and statues, it is not clear how important this family was.

Capello then turns to scrutiny of a minor land dispute involving the Tumipanba family in Santa Clara, a tiny hamlet away from the city. This 'tussle' (p. 189), as he terms it, concerned a small, unworked and evidently abandoned plot. It is hard to share in Capello's enthusiasm for working through the court records of what appears to have been a rather inconsequential quarrel.

This book is marred in several ways. Several of the map reproductions are so dark that they cannot be read. There are many errors of fact. Ecuador joined Gran Colombia in 1822, not 1824. Gabriel Garcia Moreno took power in 1861, not 1858. The Julian Revolution in 1925 installed a government that was in some ways mildly reformist, but was certainly not 'socialist'. Elected presidential

candidate Neptalí Bonifaz Ascasubi was born in Quito, not in Peru. The writing is an issue, too – to Capello, people aren't rich, they 'perform ... prosperity' (p. 198).

I do not know if what Capello is attempting is in fact doable. It may not be possible to find a core essence of a city, a 'totalizing metanarrative'. Cities are at least as complex as the people who live there, and whatever they may think of their cities, there are surely more opinions than there are people, depending on the day and one's mood. Capello's core assertion – the centrality of Quito – remains highly problematic. Quito is not now nor has it ever been at the centre of things, and it seems unlikely that many Quiteños ever really made this claim. Quito is a city near the equator. Quito is not a city at the centre of the world.

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RONN PINEO

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Ximena Soruco Sologuren, *La ciudad de los cholos: mestizaje y colonialidad en Bolivia, siglos XIX y XX* (Lima: CANJE, IFEA and PIEB, 2011) pp. 258, pb.

The author of this book, published under the aegis of the French Institute of Andean Studies, has a PhD in literature from the University of Michigan, but the study is delightfully free of the enforced vanities of contemporary scholasticism. There is no barrage of tenure-track footnotes, and the reader is spared serial deconstructionist *enfilades*. One warning, though: if you prefer your etymology free of proctological intrusions (or vice versa), avoid p. 106, where Foucault makes a solitary and entirely apposite appearance. This is an interdisciplinary work well beyond the mainstream sense of some petty larceny from a neighbouring social science. Soruco varies her expressive register for the paintings (Melchor María Mercado for the mid-nineteenth century), novels (Nataníel Aguirre for the nineteenth century, Armando Chirveches and Enrique Finot for the twentieth), photographs (principally the Cordero studio, 1900–1960s) and dramas (largely the work of Raúl Salmón, 1940–70) that provide the 'textual' core of a rich cultural history of creole depiction of the *mestizo/cholo* over the last 150 years. The author herself refers simply to her historical 'register', and, already armed with an abundance of literary and visual evidence, makes modest reference to statistical, journalistic or other documentary sources. So, even though we are given a compellingly concise depiction of late nineteenth-century property disputes through the Arteché mining case, the primary concern here is with politico-cultural power as deployed through projections of race. The outstanding quality of the book's argument is its demonstration of the shifts in elitist essentialism over time, and in this chronological calibration it possesses a firm historical sensibility. The theory that underpins this account is indeed worn lightly, but this is by no means an under-theorised work – Soruco has shown elsewhere that she quite enjoys a little taking of abstractionist vapours, and here the ideas of Benedict Anderson and Doris Sommer are most politely demonstrated not to work for the case of Bolivia. Equally, as a politically engaged intellectual, Soruco brings her analytical reach allusively forward beyond the revolution of 1952, through the *katarismo* of the 1980s, to the government of Evo Morales, which could be depicted in terms of the lexicons identified here as Indian-mestizo (as opposed to the mestizo-creole racial register adopted after the 1952 revolution, the creole-mestizo voice emerging in the 1930s

from the Chaco War, and the unsteadily contested creole anti-*mestizaje* adopted after the liberal revolution of 1899).

At the heart of the study is the understanding that the emergence of a cholo culture from the mid-nineteenth century 'has enabled the questioning and transformation of the colonialist republican state' (p. 16). Yet the conundrum – evident over the long term and vividly illustrated in recent years – is that '*lo cholo* lives in constant transition ... it is not a cultural bloc that competes as such for hegemony because it cannot project itself, reproduce itself in its children, or project an autonomous national discourse' (p. 127); hence René Zavaleta's poignant remark, cited here (p. 137) with respect to 1952, that there is no impotence quite like that bestowed by victory. (Perhaps the most recent example of this would be the dispute over the highway through the TIPNIS reserve planned by the MAS, supported by the highland indigenous *cocaleros* who have 'colonised' the surrounding Chaparé, and resolutely opposed by the *originarios* of the area?)

Such 'high politics', though, are not an abiding concern of a book that is primarily about public power as articulated through private relations, particularly through gender relations, and most especially through the masculine vision of non-creole women. Indeed, this is really a study of *cholas* – how and why they have dressed themselves, how and why they appear under the male gaze. In the latter, they are sometimes not there at all (elites are not above being solipsistic), sometimes hyper-sexualised into disgrace, sometimes elevated to national motherhood. In her adroit treatment of the novels, Soruco guides through these permutations and their sub-declensions, bringing a tapestry of nuances to the bleakly familiar 'debate' between Alcides Arguedas (somatic pessimism in the style of Carlyle) and Franz Tamayo (Nietzschean expectation of the correct destination of coupling DNAs). She also writes with persuasive precision about costume, from the adoption of already antiquated Hispanic petticoats in the late nineteenth century, through shifts in millinery in the 1920s (here, I feel, some mention of the spread of motor vehicles would be merited), through to the era of the *birlocha* – 'a woman who uses western clothing, but still bears the stigma of having been a *chola*' (p. 104).

In fact, *La ciudad de los cholos* represents a telling empirical development of Zavaleta's disturbingly evanescent '*lo nacional-popular*' in its combined sensitivity to the creole-elite (*señorial*) eye and to the material actuality of plebeian-elite culture. As is to be expected of any enterprising scholarly venture, there are a few unresolved questions of fact and judgement. Some are precise: I would not describe Uyuni – a railway junction with no pits of its own – as a 'mining centre'. Others are more demanding: how is it, *al fondo*, that Raúl Salmón, the most popularly voiced mestizo literary figure of twentieth-century Bolivia, was in exile throughout the eminently 'mestizo' revolution of 1952? The issue of the book's title is of a different order since the study is both about La Paz and beyond it; nothing cholo prospers for long when disconnected from that city. Here, though, Soruco the stylist prevails. Her opening and closing passages are bravura portraits of *paceño* sights and sounds, creating a parallax fully fitting for a subject that hurries in and out of 'otherness', rather like *una mujer de pollera* on her brisk way to market. Fully illustrated and handsomely produced, this excellent work of scholarship deserves a wide readership in and beyond Bolivia.

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Ori Preuss, *Bridging the Island: Brazilians' Views of Spanish America and Themselves, 1865–1912* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2011), pp. 237, pb.

Ori Preuss has written a provocative intellectual history focused on redefinitions of Brazil's national self-image in the context of its changing views of the Spanish American republics. The phrase 'Bridging the Island' metaphorically expresses the book's thesis. Independent Brazil regarded itself as radically different from its South American neighbours. Unlike them, it had long been ruled by an emperor whose royal court was in Rio de Janeiro, rather than in Europe. It made a largely peaceful transition to independence, and then maintained a stable political system, free from the bloody uprisings, coups and dictatorships that characterised political life in the Spanish American republics during the age of the caudillos. And, Brazil abolished slavery far later than its Spanish neighbours.

Informed by discussions of significant events in Brazil, Spanish America, Europe and the United States, Preuss details a process through which Brazilians redefined their nation's identity, moving from a sense of exceptionalism to a more inclusive identity that emphasised commonalities with Spanish America. This contributed to the emergence of a broader regional identity – the idea of Latin America. Preuss suggests that the Paraguayan War (1864–70), which saw Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay emerge victorious, altered Brazilian perceptions of those nations. They, along with Chile, came to be seen as principled and progressive.

The 1898 Spanish–American War underscored Spain's decline and heightened concerns about the US's rising power and its aggressive, materialistic civilisation. Pan-Americanism, which began in 1899–90 with a conference in the United States, gave rise to the Pan-American Union. The next international conference took place in Mexico in 1901–2, but subsequent meetings occurred in 1906, 1910 and 1923, hosted by Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Along with exchanges of presidential visits among the former Triple Alliance allies, these contributed to the change in Brazil's sense of itself and its proximate neighbours. In a reciprocal process, Latin American countries began to see themselves as 'civilised nations', a term of great resonance at the time. Latin America nations, says Preuss, began to redefine themselves as members of a larger community. The existence of these 'bridges' prompted further reconceptualising of similarities and differences.

This was not a unilinear process, nor did it result in a shared hegemonic idea of Latin America. Rather, it took the form of a highly nuanced and lengthy courtship that moved in fits and starts, marked by 'transnational gazes and dialogues regarding national and regional identities' (p. 23). Hence, while detailing how the 'island' was 'bridged', the book's concluding chapters focus on 'close encounters of the peripheral kind' and a Brazil that in many respects continued to see itself as exceptional, but retained 'bridges' to Spanish America.

The author's argument rests mainly on close readings of the published works and correspondence of five Brazilian intellectuals: Quintino Bocaiuva, Joaquim Nabuco, the Baron of Rio Branco (José Maria de Silva Paranhos Jr.), Rui Barbosa Eduardo Prado and Oliveira Lima. These men, whose lives bridged the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, formed part of a small elite that was connected through ties of family, education and wealth. They exemplified the 'writer-statesmen' intellectuals who played important roles in the political affairs of their nations, a pattern common in Brazil and Spanish America (pp. 23–4).

Eduardo Prado used the metaphor of Brazil as an island in his book *A ilusão americana* (*The American Illusion*), published in 1893, which soundly criticised the United States. He had harsh words for some of the Spanish American republics, but nonetheless found a few positive qualities, ones he viewed as being 'very Brazilian' (p. 44). The Spanish–American War caused Rui Barbosa to see the United States negatively and, like Prado, to identify commonalities between Brazil and the Spanish American republics. Preuss identifies this as beginning 'the final stage in the evolution of Brazilian elite views of Spanish America' (p. 182). While Brazil continued to see itself as exceptional, it also acknowledged a degree of kinship with Spanish America.

Growing formal and informal interactions between Brazil and Spanish America – 'close encounters of the peripheral kind' – multiplied opportunities for reflections by Brazilian writer-statesmen on both the Spanish American 'Other' and their own nation. At the 1906 Pan-American Conference, Oliveira Lima, speaking of the United States and the Spanish American republics, affirmed Brazil's kinship to the latter, 'bound by bonds of blood, economy, and civilization' (p. 172).

While Preuss ably contextualises his thesis in the lives and works of these leading intellectuals, he might have embedded it in a fuller portrait of that era. Thomas E. Skidmore, in *Five Centuries of Change* (Oxford University Press, 2009), identifies the years from 1870 to 1910 as a time of 'Making Brazil Modern', and discusses the attempt to both sell and whiten Brazil, which, although largely directed to Europe and the United States, also included other nations in Latin America. As well, Preuss stresses Brazil's sense of common identity with the Spanish American republics, but most of that discussion centres on Argentina and Chile, prosperous nations that represented themselves as white and civilised.

A broad gloss marks the author's suggestion that 'independence took place against a background of shared historical experience and a high level of cultural, linguistic, and religious uniformity' (p. 21). The divergent resources and colonial philosophies of Portugal and Spain, diversity in the New World's pre-colonial populations in terms of size, material development and exploitable resources, and varying degrees of success in creating stable governments belie that assertion.

Notwithstanding those concerns, *Bridging the Island* is a lively, engaging and challenging discussion of national and regional identities, and the processes through which difference and similarities are formed at a national level. It provides an innovative perspective on the formation of Brazil's national identity, highlighting a process through which the country redefined itself, its Spanish American neighbours and its place and role in the western hemisphere. Nuanced and at times contradictory, the book reflects the mix of continuity, change and contradictions common to processes of redefinition.

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GERALD GREENFIELD

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Eduardo Elena, *Dignifying Argentina: Peronism, Citizenship, and Mass Consumption* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), pp. x + 332, \$27.95, pb.

Eduardo Elena's book *Dignifying Argentina* constitutes a significant contribution to the field of Argentina's history. In the book, the author grasps the transformative moment that Peronism represented to the country from a fresh perspective that

explores the intersection of populism and mass consumption. In this respect, the book has a remarkable companion – as Elena recognises – in the research of Natalia Milanésio on the rise of popular consumer culture and in that of Rebekah Pite on domesticity, as well as that of Elisa Pastoriza and Juan Carlos Torre on the field of leisure and tourism.

The book's subtitle, *Peronism, Citizenship, and Mass Consumption*, is quite revealing of the author's perspective. The theoretical context takes into account both culture and economics, an approach which provides a useful analytical tool that is combined with a political overview of the concept of citizenship. Rather than analysing the relationship between social and political agents in the fields of elections, rallies and other similar accounts, Elena prefers not to 'collapse state–citizen negotiations into a familiar tale of representation versus resistance', choosing instead a narrative in which he explores 'the multiple (and often unexpected) outcomes of struggles over consumption'. As a result, it might be possible to study the reshaping of political subjectivity' (p. 3).

In the first chapter, Elena digs into the scenario in which Peronism would find itself when it reached power: a world of unequal distribution of wealth and a group of reformers eager to change such a situation. Reading this chapter, one question that arises relates to the late arrival of social reformism in Argentina, especially considering what occurred in other Latin American countries. By the 1930s, while Brazil entered Getúlio Vargas' reforms, Mexico saw the changes fostered by Lázaro Cárdenas and Colombia experienced the 'revolución en marcha' (revolution in progress), and Argentina faced failed experiments and little change in social issues, with the exception of the fascist governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Manuel Fresco. Chapter 2 works on the idea of a New Argentina that attempted to impose through the use of an adjective the concept of a dignified life. Citizenship became, then, linked to the argument for a better distribution of income. Although the reform processes took place in general in Latin America, as Elena asserts, Perón himself can be seen more as an interwar personality rather than a post-Second World War one due to the kind of management he applied to economic, social and political matters.

The third chapter, entitled 'The War on Speculation', digs into an interesting field of study which is the idea of 'price' that characterised Peronism. A process of inflation accompanied the economic expansion of the first Peronist years. The government then decided to control prices – nothing unique in Latin America or in world history. But more revealing about Peronism is the struggle in society imposed by this control, with a marked division between those who produced and those who lived on artificial rents. The merchants who would not follow the price controls were viewed, in Peronist discourse, as the epitome of the latter, with the threat of store closures if they did not toe the line of the New Argentina. Chapter 4 develops around the idea of living standards and market and state discourses. Notions of comfort, fashion, sexuality, taste and beauty became part of the government's aims. By working with letters sent to Evita, Elena reconstructs the complex relationship between the state and the market in a 'dignified life' and highlights the efforts made by the state to persuade the people that the government and not the free market was the leading force in the process. As the author says, 'officials envisioned nonmarket consumption as creating not a carnival of consumerist pleasure marching to a capitalist beat but an orderly social parade in which labouring majorities were no longer mere spectators but joined other classes in enjoying a share of the economic bounty of modern times' (p. 152). The fifth chapter analyses how the Peronist government aimed to discipline consumption. Opposition

members were depicted as wasteful spendthrifts, while the typical *compañero* (comrade) was portrayed as a simple woman or man. This did not mean at all that the working class following Peronism rejected consumption in order to maintain a 'dignified' standard of life (an idea that superseded that of basic needs), but consumption policies had to be implemented by the state from the Peronist perspective. In this chapter, the reader might ask how the programme of economic constraint applied from 1951 onwards changed these policies in the Peronist administration and how much the idea of constraint could have been imposed.

Finally, *Dignifying Argentina* delves into a counter-discourse and criticism on the area of consumption. With this goal in mind, the author examines the Second Five-Year Plan and the campaign to get the populace to write letters under the slogan of 'Perón Wants to Know What the People Want' (a source that has been used by Omar Acha for his study on civil and political society). We do not know how much impact the campaign had on the government, but the fact that these letters, otherwise unanimously in favour of Perón's administrations, expressed unsatisfied demands is revealing of the people's feelings, as they expected more of Peronism.

The book uses various kinds of sources, some of them fresh, some barely or only recently examined. The historian's craft is also exemplified in the comprehensive bibliography. For these features and the interesting development of the topics I have mentioned here, *Dignifying Argentina* is a must-read for those interested in Argentine and Latin American twentieth-century history.

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FERNANDO ROCCHI

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Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), pp. xvi + 375, \$45.00, hb.

Tanya Harmer's book is an exhaustively researched study of the Chilean revolution in the context of regional international relations. Drawing on archival sources from seven nations and numerous interviews with participants in the events of the early 1970s, she argues that the demise of the *Vía Chilena* should be understood in the context of a regional Cold War. While the United States certainly played its part, the struggle in Chile was, she asserts, far less of an East–West conflict than a contest between regional actors, particularly the United States and Brazil on one side and Cuba and Chile on the other. The author also concludes that previous scholarship has seriously overestimated the importance of Washington's role in the demise of the Allende government.

In developing these arguments, Harmer provides a detailed account of the interactions between Chilean, Cuban, US and Brazilian officials, recounting both Castro's growing admiration for Allende and his regime's increasing commitment to Allende's success. The narrative paints a picture of a US response to Allende's election that was less strident than that of Brazil's military rulers, who urged the Nixon administration to take a far more aggressive stance toward the new government in Santiago. The author also offers insight into the intense debates going on within the Allende administration regarding relations with the United States. In particular, there were sharp differences over whether a form of regional détente could be achieved with Washington even as the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity, UP) government sought to reorient the country's diplomatic and economic relations away from the

United States and Europe, and toward the Soviet Union and many of the neighbouring states in the Americas. Harmer concludes that Allende and many of his advisers took an overly optimistic view of the chances that the Nixon administration would be open to negotiating a *modus vivendi* that would ensure the survival of the *Vía Chilena*.

While its principal focus remains on the web of international relations that enveloped the Allende government, the book does not neglect the domestic side of the UP story. The author strongly suggests that ultimately, flaws in the regime and the strength of its domestic opposition proved far more important than international affairs in bringing about the overthrow of Allende. As Harmer notes, the UP was in fact a deeply divided political coalition, struggling with the divergent courses of action proposed by the Communist and Socialist parties, and grappling with the militant actions of the far Left. Furthermore, Allende and many of his ministers maintained a naive faith in the apolitical stance of most senior military officers. The attempt to transform Chile into a socialist society appears to have been doomed from the outset by the UP's internal divisions and its opponents' key weapon, the Chilean armed forces.

The study certainly adds considerably to our understanding of events during Allende's presidency, especially in terms of regional international relations and their role in the developments that eventually led to his overthrow. Yet the author tends to overemphasise distinctions between her work and that of earlier studies. She asserts that Henry Kissinger's assessment that the United States had been given far more credit for the coup than it deserved is more accurate than the interpretations of many past works on the subject. Previous studies have certainly detailed the role of the United States in terms of economic sanctions and covert actions, and in the years immediately after the coup some authors depicted the toppling of the government as a simple manipulation of Chilean actors by Washington operatives. However, serious scholars familiar with other US interventions such as those in Guatemala and Iran have long known that in those actions the United States never simply manipulated or dictated the course of events. Rather, it used diplomatic and economic pressure combined with threats and covert actions to help create the conditions that would make a coup more likely. The Nixon administration from the start pursued a course of economic warfare and covert support for the regime's domestic opponents to support such tactics as the anti-Allende media campaign and the truck owners' strike in October 1972. Those facts and the role of Washington that they define remain unaltered by this study. At the same time, the focus on a regional Cold War and the further elucidation of the parts played by actors such as Cuba and Brazil are valuable contributions. However, as the author herself points out, much of what transpired at this time in the region represented a very old story that had repeated itself time and again long before the term 'Cold War' ever came into use. The United States as the dominant hemispheric power would not tolerate challenges from Latin American nations to its economic and strategic interests, and worked assiduously, as it had during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to reduce or preclude the influence of any powerful European competitor in Latin America.

Although the author's interpretation of events in Chile may not diverge as dramatically as she suggests from the views of other scholars, this book is an important new contribution to the study of international relations during the Allende years. It offers new insight into the dealings between key actors, in particular Cuba, Brazil, the United States and of course Chile itself. It provides another promising example of the

new materials now available on an era of inter-American relations when activists on both the left and the right believed that their struggles would have implications not only for the region, but for the entire world.

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THOMAS F. O'BRIEN

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Marissa K. López, *Chicano Nations: The Hemispheric Origins of Mexican American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), pp. x + 258, \$75.00, \$24.00 pb.

This feathery study purports to break new ground in American literary studies by emphasising the term 'hemispheric' in its subtitle. It approaches Mexican American literature beyond the confines of US history, looking at the way in which authors of the last 150 years have understood concepts such as race, space and nation as part of a global perspective. Unfortunately, the volume delivers little that is truly original.

Its author, Marissa K. López, is a professor of English at the University of California in Los Angeles. Early on, she recognises her own limitations by announcing that such hemispheric investigations have been around for decades, although under various disguises. Her objective, therefore, is to make it apparent. Her argument is that Chicanos have understood themselves not as part of one but of several nations and that the constant border-crossing should be seen as a manifestation of that international perspective.

To accomplish her task, López organises her material into three historical moments: the fever for independence in Latin America in the nineteenth century, which coincided with the quest for territorial expansion by the United States; the Mexican Revolution of 1910; and the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. She analyses these moments through the prism of authors whose writings are about what is today the United States. The first of three parts of the book is about '*Latinidad* abroad' – that is, intellectuals from Spain and Latin America whose travels and memoirs through the United States employ categories such as race to view their own societies – and '*Mexicanidad* at home' – about Mexican authors in the United States who do the reverse. The figures at play are Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (*Travels in the United States in 1847*), Lorenzo de Zavala (*Journey to the United States of North America*), Vicente Pérez Rosales (*Times Gone By*) and Mariano Vallejo (*Memoirs of the Vallejos*).

In the second part, called 'Inhabiting America', López reflects on the work by María Cristina Mena (*The Collected Stories of María Cristina Mena*) and Daniel Venegas (*The Adventures of Don Chipote*), authors who 'inhabit "America" at the same time that the United States is inhabiting Latin America'. And with her dissertation on Jovita González (*Caballero*, co-authored with Eve Raleigh), López discusses the possibility of going beyond paradigms like assimilation or Anglo supremacy in order to embrace a third option which she sees as 'total spiritual uplift' of the kind promoted by Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos (*The Cosmic Race*).

The third and final part is called 'American Diasporas'. It looks at the way Chicanos address issues of identity by reacting to the tension resulting from a government that criminalises immigration, and by exploring the way that the plight of other Latinos such as Central Americans in the United States complicates the status of Mexican Americans. In this section López reflects on Ana Castillo (*Sapogonia*), Alicia Gaspar

de Alba (*Desert Blood*), Martín Limón (*The Door to Bitterness*) and Mario Acevedo (*The Nymphs of Rocky Flats* and *The Undead Kama Sutra*).

The limitations of *Chicano Nations* are evident when one considers its target audience. While seeking to expand the field of Chicano literary scholarship by discussing authors whose view is global, López undermines her effort by selecting from an essentialist shelf of authors. Some exceptions are Sarmiento, the author of *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* and one of Argentina's presidents, and Pérez Rosales, the Chilean politician and traveller. Almost all the rest offer a *Weltanschauung* that looks at the hemisphere through a frighteningly small window or, worse, by means of a pseudo-multinational view that is less about genuine openness than it is about sheer posturing.

This problem is highlighted in the conclusion of *Chicano Nations*, entitled '... Walking in the Dark Forest of the Twenty-First Century'. In it López briefly discusses the work of Guillermo Gómez-Peña and his avant-garde theatre project, La Pocha Nostra. Bizarrely, Gómez-Peña remains a dandy in Chicano scholarship in spite of the fact that his innovative work dates back to the 1980s. In the last couple of decades, his oeuvre has been nothing if not trite and repetitive, portraying itself as 'border-crossing' when in fact its rhetoric reinforces narrow-minded conceptions of the boundary that separates Mexico from the United States. López, in her conclusion, falls prey to this lazy thinking by suggesting that each of us 'determines the value of our own history' and that 'race, space, place and nation are all states of mind'.

Since their inception during the civil rights era, Chicano studies have been marred by small-mindedness and internal dissent. The drive to see beyond the local parameters is allowed expression only to be vilified as a form of treason. López is part of a generation of academics – one that includes Kirsten Silva Gruesz and her book *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton University Press, 2001) – which seeks a more cosmopolitan approach to Latino and in particular Mexican American literature. This is to be congratulated. The problem is her writing style: it obfuscates the English language through the use of jargon ('national imaginary', 'the limits of the abstract', 'remapping Chicana/o time'), eclipsing rather than revealing meaning. The pomposity undermines the value of literary criticism, making it elitist, not to say solipsistic – that is, anything but global.

(A curious note: In *Chicano Nations*, López embraces the term 'Chicana/o'. This adjective tacitly rejects the gender-specific nature of Romance languages, choosing instead to turn it into an ideological banner. However, the title happily omits the 'a/o', assuming, perhaps, that the concept of nation is masculine – which, ironically, it isn't in Spanish.)