

This is an excellent work. It looks deeply into the question of Franciscan spirituality as it attempts to uncover the basis for the divisions within the order in New Spain and to explain why so many friars expressed dissatisfaction with the very mission they had embraced so fully at the outset. The one criticism I might levy deals with the treatment of Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop and later archbishop. Turley should have been more careful to distinguish Zumárraga's ideas and actions as a Franciscan from those he undertook in his role as bishop. On a few occasions, there is more than a bit of confusion.

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David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xix, 352. Illustrations. Appendixes. Glossary. Index. \$45.00 cloth.
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David Wheat's richly researched book boldly argues that a profound "Africanization" of the Spanish Caribbean took place during the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns between 1580 and 1640. Under this union, a dynamic Luso-African-Atlantic world connected Upper Guinea and Angola with the Spanish Caribbean and circum-Caribbean port cities and their hinterlands. Africans and Afro-Latin Americans became the demographic majorities in the Caribbean and coasts of the mainlands, and they secured Spanish colonization of the region. In the Caribbean context of a catastrophic collapse of the indigenous population and meager Iberian immigration, forced migrants from Africa carried out the work of colonization and repelled northern Europeans' attacks, defending "towns that were, in many ways, their own" (4). Africans became "surrogate colonists" (14), sustaining "strategic maritime cities" (16) in the Caribbean.

Wheat demonstrates that neither a "sugar-centered framework" (8–9), nor one focused on major indigenous populations and silver mines, can explain Spanish colonization in the Caribbean during the unification period. Neither the large-scale plantation production of sugar for export that later came to dominate the region, nor the dynamics of labor and mining in mainland Mexico and Peru, explain how Africans became the majority and played significant roles in the settlement of the Caribbean. In fact, the focus on late colonial plantations and tribute and mining colonies renders Africans less visible in the region's historiography. This book shows convincingly how the Spanish Caribbean evolved as Spain established the transatlantic circuit of shipping and commerce and consolidated imperial structures in the strategic port cities of Havana, Cartagena de Indias, Panama City, Nombre de Dios, Portobelo, and Santo Domingo. Each area developed with rural and semirural supply zones that provisioned

the cities, produced export commodities, and supplied regional and intracolony trade networks.

The first half of the book explains the impact on Spanish Caribbean society of the close connection with Upper Guinea and West Central Africa through commerce, politics, and slave trafficking. These dynamics, along with diplomatic relations, Christianization, and cultural exchange, began in the Luso-African Atlantic world a hundred years before 1580 and were especially pronounced in Angola, which became the “predominant African provenance zone for the entire transatlantic slave trade” during this period (17). Prominent among the fascinating historical actors appearing in Wheat’s work to explain these connections are the Iberian and Capeverdean merchants and crew (*tangomãos*) and the sailors (*grumetes*), pilots, and guards who were Africans or of African descent. They extended into the Caribbean the “cross-cultural exchanges and social relations forged in coastal western Africa” (17).

The second half of the book explains how African migrants and their descendants participated as settler-colonists and became key protagonists in commerce and farming and as “cultural brokers and guides for newly arrived forced migrants” (252). “[I]n a context of overlapping African and Iberian worlds” (180), free women of color (*morenas horras*) in the Caribbean paralleled coastal west African women merchants (*naharas*) as businesswomen, owners of their own property, and wives and partners of Iberian men. In the rural lands, a rural black peasantry—both free and enslaved—emerged to work, manage, and sometimes own farms and ranches oriented toward local seaport populations, fleets, and regional exchange. Like West African translators (*chalonas*), Africans living in the Caribbean used their knowledge of Iberian languages, Christian religious practices, and Iberian social and cultural ways to facilitate the acculturation of successive waves of new arrivals as interpreters, godparents, and other less formal roles of social control and survival. Wheat’s book reveals how extensively Africans participated in the social, economic, and cultural creation of the Spanish Caribbean long before sugar and plantations became king and propelled a new transformation of the region and its people.

Wheat builds a substantial documentary foundation for his analysis with unpublished sources drawn from archives in Spain, Colombia, Cuba, and Mexico, as well as published primary sources. Longer footnotes occupying the bottom quarter or third of some pages seem unnecessary to support the argument. The five appendixes, however, deserve special praise for their 19 excellent tables that provide an approach to early population estimates and census categories, resettlements, and Havana’s baptismal records for the years 1590 to 1600 (267–303). The maps and drawings, both modern and contemporaneous, are well integrated into the text and prove helpful in understanding the complexity of the movement and resettlement of so many people.

This monograph’s unique view into the archives and into a key but only partially understood early colonial period in this region will interest both scholars of Iberian

colonization and imperialism and students learning how to trace western Africa's influence on the Spanish Caribbean.

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Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman, eds. *Contested Spaces of Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. Pp. 444. Maps. Notes. Index. Acknowledgments. \$49.95 cloth.
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Dedicated to the late David J. Weber, this edited collection appropriately reflects numerous facets of his work, starting broadly with his belief in a common history of the Americas. “Early America” refers here not to British North America, but to the entire hemisphere prior to the mid-nineteenth century consolidation of nation-states. The editors characterize it “as a single unified space defined by indigenous experiences with colonialism” (23), a colonialism that continued beyond independence. Weber’s dedication to the Spanish borderlands is also well represented—five of the twelve essays focus on regions now part of the United States Southwest and northern Mexico. The themes brought forth in these comparative essays—relations of power, land and commerce, kinship and alliance, forced labor and enslavement—reverberate throughout the book.

Not surprisingly, maps figure prominently in this volume dedicated to “spaces,” representing territories, geographical regions, ecological zones, landscapes, and sites. The editors’ introduction provides a brief, but insightful historiographical review of spatial representations of the Americas by Europeans and natives, starting with ancient petroglyphs. The two overarching essays in Part One emphasize a comparative approach. Pekka Hämäläinen places native-European interactions into three categories based on relations of “power.” The Iroquois, Comanches, and Lakotas were able to dominate others and use colonial rivalries to their advantage. In the French Great Lakes region and Spanish upper Rio Grande Valley, networks of kinship, mutual accommodation, and ethnic mixing encouraged collaboration. In the Southeast and Great Basin regions, an active slave trade engendered pervasive and highly destructive violence.

Allan Greer shows how British and Anglo-American commodification of land and use of treaties pushed people from their home territories, strategies that stand in stark contrast to the Catholic French, Spanish, and Portuguese incorporation of hierarchical societies and emphasis on labor and trade. Cynthia Radding describes both the native occupation of particular ecological zones, and the “contested spaces of heterogeneous populations” (141) in San Ildefonso de Ostimuri, a territorial unit later divided between the Mexican