

## Reviews

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02216545

Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall (eds.), *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1998), pp. 328, \$40.00 hb.

This collection of original essays on the nature and historical value of testaments composed by indigenous people in the colonial era marks the growing maturity of the ‘new philology’ approach within the field of ethnohistory. Practitioners of this method emphasise understanding the changing cultures and practices of the native peoples of Latin America through analysis of documentation produced by the subjects themselves, with minimal intervention – and distortion – by non-native agents. Some of these investigators became adept in the indigenous languages in which many of these documents are written.

The present volume devotes itself to just a single type of documentation, testaments, among various indigenous cultures, all of which are located within the zones of traditionally sedentary civilisations, Mesoamerica and the Andes. The ten contributors to the collection are well-established figures in the field, most of them trained in history, though several were in anthropology. In either case the authors draw broadly from both disciplines.

Kellogg and Restall remark that they solicited these essays with three intentions. First, the collection introduces the history of the production of such documents. Second, it examines the impact that the composition of testaments had on the indigenous members of the colonial societies. Third, it explores the contents of the testaments and the conventions of this genre of legal document. These considerations facilitate a close examination of the native cultures and societies and the ways in which they change over time.

The volume is divided into an initial section composed of an introduction by the editors and an essay by Sarah Cline on antecedents to these indigenous wills. It is followed by a section on Central Mexico, with contributions by Susan Kellogg on testaments from early colonial Mexico with a focus on gender differences, Rebecca Horn on interethnic ties among petty traders in Coyoacan to 1620, and by Stephanie Wood on the tensions between caciques and community interests. The section on southern Mesoamerica features Kevin Terraciano on expressions of piety in Mixtec testaments, Matthew Restall on cultural penetration in colonial Yucatán, and Robert M. Hill II on a corpus of seventeenth-century wills by Cakchiquel Maya in Guatemala. The section on the Andes includes Karen Vieira Powers on the invention of legitimacy by chiefs in the Northern Andes, Susan E. Ramírez on material wealth as the basis for political power in sixteenth-century Peru, and Thomas A. Abercrombie on charity, restitution and inheritance in the wills of caciques and *encomenderos* in sixteenth-century Charcas. A brief conclusion follows. The end pages contain a fine bibliography, list of contributors and index.

Every contribution adds materially to a deeper understanding of indigenous testaments. They cohere in both their thematic and geographical coverage. The chapters in the two sections on Mesoamerica, however, tend to be more multidimensioned than those on the Andes. The former benefit from having the testaments written mostly in indigenous languages, while those for the Andean societies are all composed in Spanish. The indigenous language aspect enables the writers on Mesoamerica to examine such trenchant issues as the use of indigenous terminology for objects and concepts introduced with the Spanish and the penetration of Spanish words into the native lexicon.

The authors resist imposing a simplistic dichotomy of supposed Spanish cultural imposition and either staunch indigenous resistance or meek compliance. In fact, they find that ethnicity was rarely asserted as a primary value by these indigenous societies, but instead was regularly challenged by rival values and identities, such as class and extended family loyalties. Characteristically, cultural change did not represent hispanisation, but rather a mixture of coexisting systems that often emerged without great disruption or duress.

The authors find certain commonalities in their case studies. A disproportionate percentage of indigenous testaments represent the established nobility and the well-off, as might be expected. The colonial era seems not to have witnessed an improvement in the position of native women. Land tenure and transfer played a central role in all of the bodies of testaments examined. The composition of testaments needs to be understood within the context of the larger impact of the spread of literacy in the indigenous world.

Rarely does a collection of assembled essays achieve the level of comparability and evenness of quality that this one attains. The authors of the individual pieces merit recognition. But the highest praise must go to Kellogg and Restall for obtaining such results while working with scholars who focus on diverse cultures situated across a vast expanse of Latin America. The resultant volume is worthy of emulation for both its approach and its findings.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02226541

David A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. xviii + 444, £27.95; \$34.95 hb.

David Brading is a large achiever in the field of early Latin American history, notable for the significance of his many works and for the breadth of his interests. He first came on the scene with truly major contributions to social and economic history, and he has made his mark in institutional history as well. He has also shown an ever increasing interest in intellectual history.

Whether because of his background or not, Brading is not your usual intellectual historian. Many practitioners of intellectual history leave their readers in the dark about the overall nature of the material they are studying. Not so Brading. Like his earlier *The First America*, *Mexican Phoenix* consists above all of well constructed, substantial précis of a large number of works and pronouncements. The corpus examined comprises public statements over the centuries about the Virgin of Guadalupe, who has become Mexico's indisputable

national symbol and yet has been at times a subject of fierce controversy. Here we find studied with unparalleled completeness the relevant written material almost up to the date of publication at the level of books, sermons, polemical tracts, public celebratory events and even the few truly scholarly publications on the topic.

Brading's ground is not new to recent scholarship, but nowhere will one find so much of a vast, centuries-deep corpus of propaganda and debate synthesised and made transparent. The author especially gives more attention than anyone before him to the literature of Guadalupan panegyrics and sermons from Miguel Sánchez (1648) far into the eighteenth century. Along the way he explains the rampant use by Sánchez and his followers of scriptural typology, that is, the use of biblical passages as the basis for metaphorical comparisons, or even their interpretation as prophecies. Brading makes another large contribution with his treatment of the sad circumstances surrounding Joaquín García Icazbalceta, one of Mexico's major historians, who in the nineteenth century laid bare in an almost definitive fashion the very late date of the composition of the legend of the appearance of the Virgin to Juan Diego, and suffered greatly for it.

Generally speaking, Brading's summaries are as even-handed as they are illuminating. Yet for Miguel Sánchez and succeeding practitioners of scriptural typology, Brading reserves explicitly approving words, including audacious, skilful and fertile. I would be tempted to counter with very different words. Brading also shows rather open disapproval of investigation aiming to establish some truths about the legend. Yet the relevant historical research concerned with factual truth is not some misplaced attempt to establish whether a supernatural being 'actually' appeared to a certain person. Rather it concerns a matter of importance to anyone studying the general development of Mexico. Not long ago international scholars of Mexican history were inclined to believe that the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe was widespread in Mexico from early in the sixteenth century, especially among the indigenous population, playing an important part in their conversion to Christianity. True, we had long known that early chroniclers and officials omitted mention of the cult, much less of any apparitions.

In the later twentieth century historians began to register surprise at the absence of Guadalupe in various new kinds of records they were beginning to examine. In time scholars discovered, with ever less surprise, that Guadalupe is lacking also from the record in the large corpus of Nahuatl mundane documentation until the mid-seventeenth century, with some exceptions in the immediate Mexico City vicinity. Over the years we have now seen: demonstration of the close modelling of the Mexican Guadalupe legend on that of the Spanish Guadalupe, and Guadalupe's initial primary association with Mexican Spaniards; a careful survey of the Guadalupan sources, showing the lack of any evidence of the apparition story before Miguel Sánchez; and work substantiating on philological grounds the judgment García Icazbalceta made long ago, that the now almost canonised Nahuatl version of the apparition story published by Laso de la Vega was based on Miguel Sánchez's Spanish. Without such investigation Brading would not be able to award Miguel Sánchez the position he does. For he does accept that Sánchez originated the legend, even praises his ingenuity in making it parallel to God's appearance to Moses. With his talk of Sánchez's theological greatness and of the action of the Holy Spirit, he seems to associate himself with the notion that Sánchez and related scriptural typologists enjoyed

inspiration little different from that ascribed to the writers of scripture. Taking such statements as metaphorical, I agree that Sánchez's biblical allusions had a vast influence on sermon writers of the following century or more. The far deeper influence on the country was that of the fable of Juan Diego, which, however, had to be stripped of the biblical allusions before it could have any broader impact. That Juan Diego's story, as simplified by Laso de la Vega and others, ultimately became canonical is an indisputable fact and gives Miguel Sánchez an even greater importance as an initiator at the national level. The actual progress of the Guadalupe cult at the level of popular reality, and just what place the Juan Diego story has in it, remains to be investigated. Neither in *The First America* nor here, with massive tasks of synthesis as the first order of business, has Brading's broad background resulted in intellectual history being truly integrated with the other branches. During the doubtless long future campaign to investigate the progress of the cult among the populace, *Mexican Phoenix* will be a crucial source book for the more public and polemical side of the matter.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02236548

David Treece, *Exiles, Allies, Rebels: Brazil's Indianist Movement, Indigenist Politics, and the Imperial Nation-State* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), pp. viii + 271, £54.95 hb.

During the five centuries since Pedro Álvares Cabral's fleet first visited the coast of Brazil, European attitudes to indigenous peoples have changed, in a pendulum swing related to the perceived threat from the Indians and to shifts in the political attitudes of the authors. At the outset, Cabral's brilliant scribe, Pero Vaz de Caminha, was dazzled by the apparent innocence of handsome naked people living in a luxuriant tropical paradise. They seemed to thrive without benefit of organised religion, monarchs or a judiciary, and these 'noble savages' had no greed for personal possessions. The Portuguese chronicler Magalhães de Gandavo noted that the Tupi language did not use the letter F, R or L which happened to be those of fé, rei and lei (faith, king, law), and various philosophers developed this (somewhat distorted) observation into a subversive political theory.

With the planting of permanent colonies in Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the fighting that accompanied this conquest and attempts to impose slavery, forced labour and Christianity, the initial benevolent curiosity degenerated into hostility and contempt for indigenous 'savagery'. Almost to the present day, frontier settlers dislike Indians from a mixture of fear and guilt. However, as Brazil's indigenous population disappeared in a demographic catastrophe produced by alien imported diseases, they ceased to be a military threat. This coincided with the enlightenment and then the romantic movement in Europe, so that it was again safe to view the Indians as tragic curiosities.

The literature about Brazil's indigenous peoples divides roughly into fiction and non-fiction. Historians have concentrated on the latter – official and government reports, chronicles and travellers' tales and, in the late nineteenth century, ethnographic studies. One of the great strengths of David Treece's *Exiles, Allies, Rebels* is that it is more concerned with the former, with fiction. He begins with Vaz Caminha's factual report, noting themes that were to be

constants in later centuries. Treece then pays due attention to the neglected works of *fiction* by the most famous of the first wave of Jesuit missionaries: Manuel da Nóbrega's *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* and José de Anchieta's morality playlets intended to help convert the Indians.

By the early seventeenth century, tiny Portugal had defeated attempts to colonise Brazil by France, Holland and other powers. The Portuguese were paranoid about threats to their prize colony, so they imposed an information embargo about Brazil. This security blanket coincide with a shift of interest to the spectacular civilisations conquered in Spanish America. So Treece's sources jump to the late eighteenth century, with the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Treaty of Madrid (1750) awarding Portuguese Brazil half South America, and the Enlightenment. Three remarkable epic poems in this period started the swing back to a romantic view of Indians. Basílio da Gama's *O Uruguay* (1768) shared Voltaire's contempt for missionaries; Santa Rita Durão's *Caramuru* (1781) defended the Church's protection of Indians; and Captain Henrique João Wilkens' *A Mubraida* (1785) described the seemingly miraculous surrender of the indomitable Mura tribe. David Treece rightly pays great attention to the *Mubraida*, because it is a fine but grossly neglected poem, and because it was by an active soldier explaining attitudes to 'pacification' of uncontacted tribes.

The Napoleonic wars led to the opening of Brazil to European travellers and savants and to the nation's independence in 1822. The nineteenth century was the heyday of the Indianist romantic movement. The famous works are analysed and set in their context of the politics of the Empire: José de Alencar's *O Guarani*, *Iracema* (the Indian maiden whose name is a symbolic anagram of America) and *Ubirajara*; Antonio Gonçalves Dias' cantos and *Os Timbiras*. The book is full of pertinent quotations (and fine translations of them) that remind us of the unashamed romanticism of these authors – and their remoteness from the reality of contemporary treatment of Indians. Treece also tells us about many lesser, near-forgotten, Indianist authors. He mentions the influence of the social-Darwinist historian Varnhagen who regarded Indians as a bar to progress, and of the interesting action-men Teófilo Ottoni and Couto de Magalhães, each of whom combined political and intellectual careers with failed attempts to colonise the Brazilian interior.

*Exiles, Allies, Rebels* is a valuable and enjoyable book that taps a rich vein in the history of Brazilian identity. I wish that Treece could have linked his fictional works more closely to contemporary history of Indians and to the non-fictional reports about them. The sad fact is that all the sympathy for indigenous peoples, and the idealising of their role in shaping the Brazilian national character, did little to help real Indians struggling at the base of frontier society. It would have been useful to show whether Indianist literature influenced the respective Indian Law of 1845 and its sequel the Law of Lands of 1850, or whether it inspired the Emperor Dom Pedro II to grant lands to the Kadiwéu of southern Mato Grosso or beleaguered tribes of the north-east. He is still venerated by those tribes, and the imperial land markers are still valid in their struggles to reclaim their territories. Practical help for Indians was left to Rondon and the Positivists of the early Republic. I also wish that David Treece could have continued his admirable study for a few more decades to cover that period.

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JOHN HEMMING

Charlotte M. Gradie, *The Tepehuán Revolt of 1616: Militarism, Evangelism, and Colonialism in Seventeenth-Century Nueva Vizcaya* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), pp. x + 238, \$40.00 hb.

This work is a welcome addition to the historiography of resistance and rebellion on New Spain's northern frontier. The subject is the Tepehuán revolt of 1616 in Nueva Vizcaya, but, in fact, only one chapter is dedicated to the uprising. Rather, the book is largely about what can be known of the region, its inhabitants, and Jesuit history. Thus, we come to know the rugged Tepehuán landscape, with its remote craggy mountains, its waterways and its plains. Less is known of the precontact Tepehuans, though apparently they were the inheritors of some of the culture and territory of the 'Chalchiuites', a people who flourished for centuries and who maintained trade contacts with populations in Mesoamerica. The Tepehuans themselves established important relationships with numerous native groups in their more immediate region, presumably for trade, but raiding and warfare were not uncommon. The Tepehuans were typically flood plain agriculturalists who supplemented their livelihood with hunting and gathering. They lived in *rancherías*, wore clothing, and had shamans and ritual communal gatherings, where there was dancing, drinking and the like. Gradie describes the Tepehuans as egalitarian, but later contradicts this assertion in her discussions of the power, status, authority, and prestige garnered through war by headmen, typically described as caciques, *principales* and warriors. Shamans, too, held important status, but their societal role is minimised.

The Society of Jesus, from its founding by Saint Ignatius de Loyola and Pope Paul III in 1540, to its beginnings in Mexico City in 1572, and so to its treks northward in the 1590s, receives considerable attention. However, Jesuit experiences in La Florida (with many martyrs) and Havana are used for comparison throughout the work. Perhaps because of the tragedy in Virginia, New Spain's new Jesuits, it seems, busied themselves with the building of their *colegios* in the capital and key urban centres. Primary and secondary schools were also established for Indians who were proselytised as they learned skills in reading, writing, music and technical arts. Gradie speaks of the Society's seminaries for native boys, but to my knowledge no Indian was ever ordained as a Jesuit priest.

Capitalising on fifty years of Franciscan evangelical activity in New Spain, the Jesuits recognised that learning native languages was an imperative if they were to succeed in spreading the Gospel. Vocabularies were compiled, grammars were written and the Jesuit church and school at Tepetzotlan became an important linguistic centre for priests who would eventually be sent to set up mission-like posts on the northern frontier.

The Jesuits suffered all the usual territorial squabbles with Franciscans, seculars and Spanish administrators and settlers as they went forth. Additionally, there was reluctance on the part of many of the priests to leave the society of the cities and make a place for themselves in what promised to be a wilderness of savages. They began to move into Nueva Vizcaya in the 1590s, following the conclusion of the decades-long Chichimeca War, where Spaniards had followed a futile policy of *a fuego y a sangre* to effect peace. Mining prospects were promising, and the Jesuits were to pacify the area through their ministering. They were to implement a new plan in their dealings with the Indians – peace-through-

purchase, making the Tepehuans dependent on European cultural items – which was now thought to be more efficacious than warfare.

The Tepehuans had been tentative in their dealings with the Spaniards. The ravages of Nuño de Guzmán, huge population losses from epidemic diseases and the brutalities of the Chichimeca War were vital memories. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were able to begin to build churches as early as 1596, and they congregated groups of Tepehuans into villages whenever possible. They indoctrinated and baptised, and they expected conformity. The priests introduced new forms of agriculture and livestock ranching, permanently altering the natives' diet, economic and subsistence organisation and, of course, their society. Old forms of religious worship were prohibited, shamans were discredited, monogamy was mandated and traditional practices of warfare, whereby men gained prestige, wealth and wives, were abolished.

Jesuit mandates for change were compounded by additional demands for labour and tribute from miners and *encomenderos*; drought and famine; and ongoing episodes of disease. By any measure, in less than a generation the loss to traditional culture far exceeded any recognisable gain that might be associated with the Jesuits and Christianity; and Tepehuán leaders across the region organised to rid themselves of all outsiders. The Jesuits, though, were their primary targets, and the natives used *a fuego y a sangre* methods, already so familiar, to purge their territory. They attacked in November of 1616, and it took months, even years, to restore order among the Tepehuans. At least 200 Spaniards died, and at least 1,000 Tepehuans were killed.

Gradie correctly attributes the revolt to a nativistic revitalisation movement, but states that it was the second such movement for the Tepehuans. It appears that she misinterprets the fundamental nature of such a profound endeavour, and states that the Jesuits had already revitalised the Tepehuans when they moved in among them. This was very much a first-generation revolt, and it has been studied in great detail by other scholars who focus on the complexity of indigenous culture rather than Jesuit perceptions. How the Tepehuans manifested their revitalisation movement is both tragic and fascinating; and it is good to have a book that adds to our knowledge of the event. Yet, one wishes that greater attention had been paid to both content and style. I wondered how Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Spanish administrators in New Spain could all agree and then publicly call for and presumably carry out a military policy of *a fuego y a sangre* in the north (1570–1585) while King Philip II simultaneously mandated through his *Ordenanzas* (1573) not to use any force against the natives (pp. 34–5); who the official viceroy was when Cristóbal de Olid revolted in Honduras (p. 41); and why Tepehuán culture is presented as static (p. 172). There are also numerous typographical errors: King Philip II (pp. 53, 55), Loreto, not Loroto (p. 179), Tarahumaras, not Tarahumares (p. 177), and the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, not 1676 (p. 179), for example. The index as well leaves much to be desired.

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Ben Vinson III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. xii + 304, £40.00; \$60.00 hb.

Race-based identity formation, transformation and dissipation are potent indicators of how hegemony can shape agency. Beyond expanding our understanding of colonial defence, Ben Vinson III in *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* significantly improves our understanding of hegemony, agency and identity in colonial Mexico. Using a multi-regional approach and focusing his research on the free-coloured (*pardo*, *moreno* and *negro*) militia units, he also sheds new light on the caste/class debate, military/militia dynamics, civilian/military relations, and corporate society and politics. He argued that the extension of privileges to free-coloured militia units created the opportunity for the pursuit and acquisition of privileges based on 'blackness', which served to enhance and strengthen racial identity.

Vinson opens his study with a discussion of the origins, defence and internal security roles, structure, financing and officer corps of militia units in general and free-coloured militia units in particular. Placing emphasis on the era after the pirate raid on Veracruz in 1683, he complements Christon I. Archer's *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760–1810* (Albuquerque, 1977). *Bearing Arms for His Majesty* identifies how rank, privilege and unit autonomy functioned and how unit pride contributed to free-coloured militiamen's racial identity. Profiles of recruitment, occupations and marriage patterns and comparisons between free-coloured units and the free-coloured civilians show distinct rural and urban patterns. Profiles of rural free-coloured militiamen closely paralleled the profiles of rural free-coloured civilians. Profiles of urban free-coloured militiamen, mostly artisans, distinguished them from the majority of urban free-coloureds, who worked in the service occupations; and marriage patterns among urban militiamen exhibited greater exogamy rates. Nevertheless, even though access to privilege accrued to urban free-coloured artisans, they still occupied a socioeconomic stratum below that of white militiamen. Contrary to arguments in the literature, participation in the free-coloured militia did not promote social 'whitening'.

The fourth and fifth chapters develop the author's argument that pursuit of privilege contributed to racial identity. Vinson details the extension of tribute payments to the free-coloured population and shows how the privilege of tribute exemption lured men and boys into registering for militia duty. Policies designed to eliminate tribute exemptions during the Bourbon Reform years and successful appeals by free-coloured militia units for exemptions further evidenced the strength of corporate race-based identity and its relationship to privilege. Vinson also draws attention to the *fuero militar*, the special privilege of a separate legal jurisdiction for civil and criminal as well as military law cases. Vinson provides ample evidence to support his argument that the *fuero* strengthened free-coloured racial identity: individuals, units and, in specific instances, entire communities actively defended that special privilege.

The final chapters explore the broader significance of racial language and the hierarchy of colour for free-coloured militiamen. Vinson's evidence shows that the colour-based social hierarchy of the hegemon became the hierarchy of the subaltern. Additionally, he illustrates how the attempts to eliminate the autonomy of the free-coloured militias after 1760, culminating in their extinction



in 1793, led to numerous written protests by free-coloured militia units. Subsequently, his documentation shows that the free-coloured corporate race-based identity that had emerged from the pursuit of privilege dissipated in the absence of free-coloured militias.

Some readers will quibble with some of the author's terms and with his discussion of the *fuero militar*. He refers to subjects of the crown as citizens in the first two chapters, for example. Also, he refers to the *fuero* as an exemption rather than a separate legal jurisdiction. There is no acknowledgement that the same procedural laws applied in military and ordinary jurisdiction cases. There is no recognition that the *fuero* applied in civil cases only when a member of the military or militia was being sued, but not when a member of the military or militia sued a civilian. Such quibbles, though, do not challenge or weaken Vinson's point that access to the *fuero* strengthened the collective racial identity of free-coloured militiamen.

*Bearing Arms for His Majesty* is a significant contribution to the literature. Its multi-regional approach; creative use of an admirable array of archival sources; and story of the emergence, vitality and meaning of the free-coloured militias for their members raises new questions about colonial racial identity based on blackness, about the militia tradition and community identity, and about the subsequent generation. Did the dissipation of corporate race-based identity differ in urban and rural regions? Did dissipation differ in Gulf coast, Pacific Costa Chica and interior regions? What role did continued access to the *fuero* play in community identities? What were the relationships among militias in *afromestizo* communities, the army and rebel armies during the tumultuous decades after independence? Ben Vinson III has shown that *afromestizos* participated actively in the construction of New Spain; future research is needed to show how *afromexicanos* participated in the construction of Mexico.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02266547

Kathleen J. Higgins, '*Licentious Liberty*' in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: *Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), pp. xii + 236, \$55.00, \$22.50 pb; £34.37, £14.06 pb.

There seems no limit to the fascination with the history of African slavery in Latin America, and in no area was this institution more important than colonial and nineteenth-century Brazil. While both Brazilian historians and foreign 'Brazilianists' continue to focus chiefly on slavery in the coastal areas and the export economy, recent books, including, for example, those by B. J. Barickman, Hebe Mattos de Castro, Nancy Naro, Marshall Eakin, Douglas Libby and Judy Bieber have moved the topic into new areas, and especially to Minas Gerais, the most important interior economy of the late colonial and early national periods. Perhaps hoping to avoid comparison with C. R. Boxer's literary style, several of the new studies have tended toward the heavily quantitative, most notoriously Laird Bergad's *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888*. Joining these now is Kathleen J. Higgins' *Licentious Liberty*. But if Higgins relies chiefly on the quantitative analysis of *cartório* (notary) records she also mines these for anecdotes and illustrations that advance her two

central arguments: slave life opportunities were not static over time but changed with changing social-economic circumstances, and these opportunities were heavily conditioned by gender.

Focusing on Sabará in the century after 1710, Higgins draws several conclusions about slavery in Minas. A socially-imposed division of labour that demanded males slaves for gold digging led to an extreme gender imbalance in the first half of the century and to the widespread sexual use of slave women by white miners. Many mixed blood children resulted. Nothing new here, but Higgins goes on to argue that high rates of manumission for these children, and for women, before mid-century were not, as many have imagined, the result of love and tenderness. Rather, bachelors freed mulatto children in order to have someone to whom they could pass their properties, and women gained manumission chiefly [75 per cent] by paying for it. As the century progressed socio-demographic conditions changed: more white women became available and mulatto children were less useful or likely to be recognised or freed. Accentuating this was an economic decline that made slaves relatively more valuable and tended to concentrate ownership. Manumission of women declined as they lost opportunities to earn the gold they needed to buy their freedom. By contrast, manumissions granted by women increased dramatically as a proportion of all such contracts, in part simply because women now owned more slaves, often by inheritance or as widows. Why women were more likely to free slaves is not clear: at one point [p. 172] Higgins suggests that they may have manumitted unruly slaves because they lacked the authoritarian force that men could muster, though why they should free instead of sell these valuable pieces of property is not addressed.

Contrary, perhaps, to expectations, the Church had little role in master–slave relations. Its opposition to concubinage, for example, had scant effect, and men of all colours and class resisted marriage; what women felt about marriage we do not learn. Whatever else the slaves might have gotten from joining religious *bermandades*, these played little role in securing manumission for their members. And not only did slaves and free owners have different views about the purpose of godparentage but the slaves themselves made different choices: men sought peers as sponsors, while women preferred those who were socially and economically better off, and preferably free.

The book ends with a chapter on resistance and accommodation. As in all slave societies, Minas had runaways, and the state seems to have been singularly ineffective in catching these or at repressing *quilombos*. Private entrepreneurs – ‘bush captains’ – took up the task but proved as much a problem as a utility for the masters, sometimes killing escaped slaves or illegally keeping and working recaptured slaves for their own purposes. To the despair of public authorities, masters in the towns commonly entered into contracts with their slaves that allowed the captives freedom to work on their own, in return for agreed-upon payments. The resulting ‘licentious liberty’ profited the owners as much as it worried the state.

Kathleen Higgins’ *Licentious Liberty* is thoroughly researched in Minas archives, and the author also assiduously takes up comparisons and theoretical debates, generally in the extensive footnotes. She makes a solid case for the inclusion of gender in the analysis of slave societies, both for masters and among the servile population. By focusing on the contractual aspects of slavery, whether, for example, in manumission or *escravos de ganho* (slaves for hire) or such oddities

as armed slave bodyguards, the analysis here purposefully blurs the difference between slavery and freedom, a blurring that Higgins argues reflects the lived reality of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. *Licentious Liberty* would be a useful addition to the readings in a course on slavery or colonial Brazil or on gender in colonial Latin America.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02276543

Katharina Bosl, *Die Sklavenbefreiung in Brasilien, eine soziales Frage für die Kirche?: Die Katholische Kirche und das Ende der Sklaverei in der Kaffeeprovinz São Paulo, 1871–1888* (Stuttgart: Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1999), pp. 336, DM69.00 hb.

Protestant activism made a significant contribution towards the abolition of slavery in the English or the former English colonies. What was the role of the Church, then, in the process leading to abolition in Brazil, the country that imported the biggest share of African slaves and which still claims to be the largest Catholic country in the world? Katharina Bosl's book attempts to provide us with an overall answer to the question. She examines the role of the Church in colonial Brazil and highlights early dissidents, like the two Jesuits expelled in the sixteenth century for condemning slavery. Such radical attitudes were rather exceptional, however, and the best the Church could offer was advice on how to avoid the worst 'abuses' of slavery. Thus the rules of the archdiocese of Bahia (1707) or the reformist treatise 'Etiopie resgatado' (1758) never challenged slavery as an institution. Yet, on the sacramental level, slaves were treated as human beings, 'enjoying' the right to catechism, baptism, marriage and funeral.

Bosl highlights the romanisation of the nineteenth century as a key to understand the discrete role of the Brazilian Church regarding the issue of emancipation. Even though the Brazilian emperor had kept the Portuguese right of royal patronage, which reserved him the right to appoint bishops, he could not prevent – and eventually even encouraged – the growing importance of ultramontane clerics in Brazil. Whereas the liberal clergy had provided the new nation with many 'exalted' politicians after Independence, the Church became increasingly conservative during the second half of the nineteenth century. This new type of Catholicism had no sensibility for popular religious feelings, nor the African roots of Brazilian Christianity. The traditional lay brotherhoods, organised along status and ethnicity, were now seen as an obstacle to romanisation and the struggle to discipline them resulted in a major confrontation with the State during the 'Religious Question' (1873). Fighting against liberalism and secularism, the Church became unable to listen to the emerging movement for abolition that was inspired by precisely these ideals.

It was only among the Catholic institutions marginalised by reform that some alternative policies were implemented. Here Bosl contrasts the attitudes of Carmelites and Benedictines. The former, like all regular orders in a process of economic and personal decline, considered their slaves mainly as capital, using their labour or selling them to pay off their debts. Violent reactions by Carmelite slaves (one uprising in Pará and the murder of a prior in São Paulo, who had not respected the slaves' customary right to have free holidays and Sundays) suggest that their treatment of slaves was no better than that of the average slaveholder.

The Benedictines, on the contrary, freed all their 4,000 slaves without conditions in 1871 and even tried to give them access to land. The author does not provide us, however, with any tentative explanation for such different postures.

Given the growing distance between the romanised clergy and Brazilian society, it is not surprising that the Catholic Church intervened only timidly, and at the very end of the process leading to abolition, when some bishops encouraged the unconditional emancipation of slaves by their owners. It was only among the lay brotherhoods that engagement for abolition became important from 1882 onwards. The *caifazes* organised the flight of slaves from the plantations in the interior to the city of São Paulo and from there to the port of Santos. Here slaves were hidden in private residences, and later, as their numbers grew, in settlements where they could feel relatively secure due to the solidarity of large sectors of the urban free population, which prevented their arrest, thus establishing a safe haven. This precipitated the final demise of slavery and made paulista planters ready to negotiate the transition to free labour. The leading figure of the *caifazes*, Antônio Bento, managed to mobilise new sectors for the fight against slavery. Through a white middle-class lawyer and journalist, he occupied a leading position in the former mulatto brotherhood of Our Lady of the Remedies. This organisation and black confraternities such as the Rosário provided radical abolitionism with infrastructure and militants, although sources still do not allow grasping very precisely the running of this informal network between abolitionists and the brotherhoods.

Bosl's thesis constitutes a competent overview of the role of the Church during slavery and in the process leading to abolition. Her analysis relies on the relevant bibliography and, for most chapters, on primary sources. The reader acquainted with the Brazilian historiography on the topic will however look in vain for some decisively new evidence. Even the core chapters rely mostly on sources and conclusions already put forward in recent books and dissertations, such as J. L. G. Piratininga on the Benedictines, and M. Helena Machado on the Caifazes and Arasia, the syncretic religious movement which mobilised slaves on plantations in Campinas. The merit of her work is rather to have put these findings in a broader perspective, contrasting the role of one heterodox order and one Catholic grass root organisation with that of the mainstream Church.

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MATTHIAS RÖHRIG ASSUNÇÃO

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0228654X

Rina Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico, DF: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2001), pp. xii + 130, \$17.50 pb.

Rina Cáceres' main concern in this book is to confront the long-standing historiographical assumption of the low impact the slave and free coloured population had in colonial Costa Rica. Her work focuses on the seventeenth century, a period that the author characterises as one of economic and demographic crisis. Cáceres concentrates her research on two fundamental issues. First, the role Costa Rican slavery played during the seventeenth century in the economic reproduction of the social élite; and second, to define the major features of the slave and free coloured population of two important colonial towns: Cartago and Esparta. The historical sources used are transactions of slaves contained in the records of the *Libros de Protocolos* of these two cities and

documentation of the city council and the colonial government about the free coloured population.

Following an introductory chapter, the second one presents a statistical study of 502 transactions of slaves registered in the *Libros de Protocolos* between 1600 to 1699. Most of them correspond to dowries, wills and donations – which the author calls ‘passive transactions’. Others refer to sales, manumissions and hiring of slaves. Examining prices of sales Cáceres finds that during the century the capital involved in the transactions grew steadily and the prices of slaves varied from 150 pesos for a child to 300 pesos for an adult. She also finds that people selling and buying slaves extended their networks beyond Costa Rica to Panama, Cartagena, Guatemala and Nicaragua. An examination of the ‘passive transactions’ reveals that towards the end of the century a growing number of slaves were given away as part of dowries and that they were valued in almost the double of their market prices. Based on the analysis undertaken so far, Cáceres concludes that a group of families from the elite were able to maintain the dynamism of the economy using slaves not just as labour force but also as economic value used as a means of payment in diverse transactions inside and outside the region.

In this chapter the author is also concerned with the characteristics of the slaves. Based on a corpus made from the number of slaves involved in the transactions Cáceres establishes the frequency with which the *casta* and sexual identity of the slaves were registered. What Cáceres understands as the slaves’ *casta* however, encompasses attributes which otherwise may be considered as two different criteria for identification: race (mulattos, ‘negros’, ‘criollos’ or ‘zambos’) and origin (according to the African region they were associated with: caravalí, mina, mandinga, etc.). Identities indicating African origin are scarcely represented in contrast with those indicating racial denominations, a fact the author assumes as a symptom of a clearly defined Afro-Costa Rican population among the slaves. As for the frequency of sexual identification the data shows that males appear slightly less than females (36 per cent vs. 40 per cent) but also contains a rather high percentage of undefined cases (24 per cent).

It is worth noting that the corpus here analysed is made up of the frequency with which slaves appear in the transactions. As the author is totally aware, this aggregate does not correspond with the actual number of individuals who were registered, as during the century the same individual could be registered in more than one transaction. Consequently, one may wonder whether the conclusions we are confronted with are more likely to speak about the characteristics of the corpus itself than about the slaves as actors of these local societies.

The third and final chapter concentrates on the free coloured population of Cartago. Cáceres defines three factors shaping the social identity of this population: the militia, the religious brotherhoods and the creation towards the second half of the century of the ‘*puebla de pardos*’, an urban space where the free people of colour were concentrated. Using the contracts the artisans made to receive boys for apprenticeship the author attempts to establish some characteristics of the freed coloured artisans of the city. The description of this type of contract and the characteristics of the relationship they promoted is comprehensive and clear. Nevertheless, the data extracted from these contracts seem too weak to serve as a basis for a statistical analysis aimed to arrive to general conclusions. In contrast, highlighting some interesting data from the description of individual cases Cáceres is able to grasp the dynamic, although

fragile relations this population maintained with the rest of colonial society. Permanent negotiations on physical and social spaces appear as an important feature on the free coloureds' aspirations and strategies for securing survival and better positions into the hierarchical colonial order.

The work of Rina Cáceres offers interesting information derived from the particular cases she uses to illustrate and reinforce the statistical study. The tension between the need to grasp the disperse and elusive traces individual cases offer and the difficulty of making them function on an extensive serial analysis is present throughout the book. This contribution of the Costa Rican historian is, nevertheless, an opportunity to reflect upon the many questions it poses and their potential to become the point of departure for future research and academic debate on the field.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02296546

Iván Jaksic, *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. xxiv + 254, £35.00; \$54.95 hb.

Intellectual history was not traditionally a strength of Latin American research. With a few notable exceptions the history of ideas tended to produce misleading accounts of the Enlightenment, celebratory studies of Independence, narrow versions of conservatism and liberalism and uncritical displays of Marxist concepts, practices that were rarely rooted in textual analysis and archival research. The subject presented easy targets for the new cultural history, and it was hardly noticed that lessons had been learnt and methods modernised, and that results were coming through in Venezuela, Chile and Argentina. One of the most distinguished of the new intellectual historians, Iván Jaksic, has turned his attention to Andrés Bello, whose productive life and eventful times make him a fit subject for research and reappraisal. In a field that does not lack *homenaje* the reader will learn more from Jaksic's concise and critical study, family based in the archives and expertly interpreted from texts previously researched by the author himself, than from most previous biographies.

Andrés Bello is not the most accessible of cultural leaders. His life and writings were unrelievedly sober and serious. He carried diffidence to a fine art. Jaksic in a sense pushes and pulls at Bello and shakes him out of his reserve, persuading him to speak to a modern class of students and an audience of our own day. He rightly observes that the great variety of Bello's writings, the many dimensions of his research, in grammar, civil and international law, philology, literature, and historiography, led to the proliferation of partial studies of Bello which have neglected the comprehensive nature of his scholarship, the great sweep of his production, and the existence of dominant themes in his life's work. The author sets out to bridge the compartmentalisation of Bello's writings and to identify grand themes, especially the overarching concern for the transition from colony to nation in the history of Spanish America. He is also convinced – and he has done the necessary research – that Bello's personal life holds the key to many problems in his public actions and that the private sadness and disappointment, especially of the London years, did much to influence his intellectual output. He refers to the religious faith of Bello, but leaves the reader to estimate the balance

between his secular policies and religious beliefs. Nothing can diminish the force of his ideas. A vital focus of the book is Bello's contribution to the historical process of nation-building in post-independence Spanish America. This is the framework for an inspired discussion of Bello's writings during periods of exile and diplomacy in England, and during the course of his achievements in Chile in education, legal codification and lawmaking. These thus appear not as separate chapters in a fragmented story but as themes inherent in his intellectual life.

A book about ideas, intellectual influences and political judgements is likely to provoke reactions, and this is no exception. In London Bello met Francisco de Miranda and wrote of him, 'That great exile personified in himself the Spanish American revolution. He was already 60 years old. But in spite of his age he seemed to be at the height of his youth and ideals, and he persisted in all the plans for promoting the independence of Spanish America, never losing hope of seeing this desire fulfilled.' It may be thought that Bello got his hero exactly right and identified the true Miranda. But Jaksić believes that the episode merely demonstrated the young Bello's naivety and his uncritical acceptance of the manipulative Miranda's 'designs'. The age of Independence is full of such controversies.

For the historian one of the attractions of Andrés Bello is his approach to historical research. This was encapsulated in his reaction to the celebrated lecture of José Victorino Lastarria on the Spanish colonial regime in Chile. Lastarria launched an intemperate denunciation of Spain's rule which, he argued, left the Chilean people 'without a single social virtue' and with a colonial heritage that still remained to be defeated. These conclusions were reached not by narrative of evidence but by using selected facts to illustrate a general argument. As Rector of the University of Chile and scholar in his own right Bello did not hesitate to respond to Lastarria, who with youth on his side regarded Bello precisely as a leading reactionary. Bello insisted on the importance of impartiality, especially in controversial subjects where the scholar was influenced by his political convictions. Moreover, historical detail could not be discarded in favour of sweeping generalisations: particular circumstances, periods, places, individuals, all contribute to the study of history. As for the Spanish colonial regime, it was not totally tyrannical but, like other colonial regimes, a mixture of severity, moderation and inefficiency. And its history was best approached not in a spirit of denunciation but with critical impartiality. In a keen analysis of the debate Jaksić places it in its intellectual and political context, and concludes that 'Bello advocated a politically neutral and research-oriented approach to the study of history'. A fitting description of his own approach to Andrés Bello.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02306540

Gustavo San Román (ed.), *This America We Dream Of: Rodó and Ariel One Hundred Years On* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2001), pp. 115, £12.00; \$19.95 pb.

By common consent José Rodó is one of the key figures in the history of Latin American culture. He was influential in a wide range of debates encompassing the role of the intellectual in politics, the tension between regionalism and universalism, the place of philosophical idealism in a materially deprived

continent, the potential of democracy, and – most notoriously – Latin America's relationship to the United States. As late as 1968, the Cuban critic Roberto Fernández Retamar published *Caliban*, an essay written in direct dialogue with Rodó's *Ariel* of 1900. In a prologue to the most recent English translation of *Ariel* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1988), Carlos Fuentes vividly captured the ambivalent inescapability of Rodó's influence on subsequent generations of Latin American intellectuals when he described him as '[our] irritating, insufferable, admirable, stimulating, disappointing ... Uruguayan uncle'. This autodidact from Montevideo, who died embittered by the belief that his work had failed to stimulate the cultural revival of which he had dreamed, in effect mapped out the intellectual terrain of twentieth-century Latin America. His writing was an inspiration not only to conservatives, such as José Vasconcelos, but also to radicals, such as Julio Antonio Mella. Many of Rodó's successors challenged his views, particularly his undeniable racism, but it was not until the 1960s that the grounds of debate among Latin American intellectuals began to shift markedly away from those that he had established. Despite his significance, however, there has been remarkably little published about him in English. Until the publication of *This America We Dream Of*, undergraduates and other newcomers to Rodó's work had little available to them apart from Gordon Brotherston's pioneering – and still invaluable – introduction to the Cambridge edition of *Ariel* (in Spanish) of 1967. Gustavo San Román's volume is highly welcome, therefore, not least as a teaching aid.

Like most edited volumes, this one sets out its stall somewhat randomly. The brief introduction does little more than justify attention to Rodó, summarise *Ariel* and rapidly survey the contents of the six chapters, noting their inconsistencies but making no move towards taking the debates any further. In the first chapter, Iain Stewart discusses Rodó's readings of the Argentine Generation of 1837 and the maverick Uruguayan *pensador* Juan Carlos Gómez, arguing that Rodó's admiration and sympathy was excited by the aesthetics rather than the politics of their work. In an intriguing and thought-provoking piece, Jason Wilson focuses on Rodó's critique of Darío, suggesting that the two writers personified the classical debate as to whether art should be *útil* or *dulce*, morally inspired and socially responsible or imaginatively liberated and pleasure-giving. Rodó is both fascinated and frightened by Darío's abandonment to sensuality, argues Wilson, and in consequence, like Plato, Rodó would banish such licence because it establishes a dangerous role model for the youth whom he saw as the vanguard of regeneration. Gordon Brotherston's eloquent and incisive chapter examines Rodó's literary Americanism, illustrating the extent to which his readings of key writers were conditioned by his persistent prejudice against indigenous cultures. Stephen Hart draws an interesting comparison between Rodó and José Martí, noting their shared commitment to the cultural and political independence of Latin America, but also exploring their differences, particularly as manifest in their contrasting images of Bolívar. Whereas Rodó emphasised the Liberator's Europeanness, suggests Hart, Martí saw him instead as a figure uniting the various ethnic groups of Latin America. Finally, in two chapters on the reception of Rodó's work, Stephen Roberts carefully analyses the Spanish reaction to *Ariel*, especially Rodó's vexed relationship with Unamuno, and Gustavo San Román explores the initially baffling and intriguing enthusiasm of Nye Bevan for Rodó's work. As the editor notes, there is still no sustained analysis of the reception of Rodó in the United States, a gap which is felt here.



All the essays in this volume are based on sound scholarship, and all tell us something useful about Rodó's intellectual development, the context in which he wrote or the reception of his work. Brotherston and Wilson are especially insightful. The book is well-produced, and copy-edited to an unusually high standard. Translations are provided of all citations in Spanish, which will help to extend the potential readership. However, there is no index, and while the footnotes include useful references, it would have been worthwhile providing a full bibliography, especially given that a lot of material has been published in recent periodicals. Overall, both in form and content this slim volume seems to take refuge in the notorious elusiveness of Rodó rather more than is desirable. There is certainly still plenty of scope for a more comprehensive attempt to explain why it was that the frustrating *mezcla* of subtlety and stereotyping that constitutes the text of *Ariel* proved so enduringly influential.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02316547

Timothy E. Anna, *Forging Mexico, 1821–1835* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pp. xiii + 330, £38.00 hb.

Timothy Anna has now produced a trilogy of well-crafted, important and widely cited works devoted (among other publications of his) to the political history of Mexico during its long and problematic transition from Spanish colony to independent state. With some other authors, he sees the process of nation- (as distinct from state-) building as not necessarily being coterminous with the establishment of state institutions in the wake of Independence in 1821, but extending far into the nineteenth century (some would even locate it in the period after the Revolution of 1910–20). Although one might find fault with some of the book's conceptualisation (on which more below), the reader of Anna's work will be struck with how reflective, acutely analytical and gracefully, almost aphoristically, written the present work is. Generous in citing other scholars' work and extremely knowledgeable about the historiography, Anna also lends an eye to the comparative aspects of state-making in the history of the United States and Canada. This book is not as primary source-heavy as some of Timothy E. Anna's earlier work, it is true, but certainly rests upon a skilful integration of archival materials with a deep reading of modern and contemporaneous historical works.

Telling the story of a young nation in an old country, Anna focuses his attention almost exclusively on the political and ideological tension between centralism and federalism in the history of early independent Mexico, especially during the pivotal decade 1824–1835. The book is in a sense an extended critique of the famous statement of Mexican statesman and intellectual Lucas Alamán (1792–1853), whom Anna and others have painted as hovering like an evil genius over Mexican politics almost until the Liberal Reform of the mid-1850s, that 'Federalism divided that which was united and made separate nations out of that which was and ought to be only one' (p. 28). Taking a very different view of the matter, Anna demonstrates that the federalist impulse behind the Constitution of 1824, for example, in fact grew from the logic of Mexico's geography and colonial history, which saw the Bourbon Reforms of the late eighteenth century significantly erode the centralist domination of the Valley of Mexico over the

colony's far-flung provinces, a domination that had never been very strong to begin with, even under Aztec hegemony. Anna goes on to make a convincing case that, far from being an alien scheme that rode in under the skirts of nineteenth-century liberalism, federalism as embodied in Mexican politics and law was the logical and hard-won *solution* to the problem of state-making after the destructive wars of Independence, rather than a reflection of recent provincial autonomist impulses, the short-sightedness of extra-capitoline interest groups, or the implosion of the national economy and political culture. In the process of thus turning the traditional wisdom on its head, Anna furnishes pithy treatments of such interesting themes as the colonial political legacy, the role of Agustín de Iturbide, Alamán and other major actors in early Mexican politics, provincial rebellions, freemasonry and the final linkage of the anti-federalist impulse to resistance to the principle of equality in politics represented by Independence chieftain, republican president and political martyr Vicente Guerrero.

Clear as his argument is (indeed, the relentlessly celebratory treatment of federalism tips over into redundancy at points) and skilfully deployed as his evidence is, sharper conceptualisations of some major ideas might have helped Timothy E. Anna tell his story even more compellingly. For one thing, although he locates the development of the Mexican 'nation' in the post-Reform era, he does not seem to allow that it was not just a *political*, but a *cultural* project (and not only of elites), and that it must therefore have had antecedents – *cultural* antecedents – in the period he examines in such detail. For another thing, the book lacks a deeply historicised discussion of what regions actually *were*, and how they were constituted and reconfigured over time. This conceptual fuzziness leads Anna into some confusion, for example, as when he conflates regionalism and localism – surely forms of spatio-political identity worth differentiating – in chapter three and elsewhere. Finally, in effectively advocating the beatification of the Mexican provinces and states in their struggles against the anti-democratic tendencies of centralism, Anna seems to equate the centralising regimes with cynical 'interests' and the federal states with 'the people', leaving aside a more nuanced analysis of state governments as themselves oligarchical power structures. Although these are not exactly critical quibbles, they do not in the end detract from the intelligence, eloquence and importance of Anna's latest book.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02326543

Will Fowler, *Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico 1795–1853*. (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), pp. xv + 308, £58.50 hb.

Among the many areas of research that need to be undertaken in the history of early independent Mexico, one of the most important concerns the lives of what might be called the second echelon of leadership. Will Fowler has provided the first study in English of one such figure. José María Tornel stood literally at the top of the second rank of national power and is primarily known as the leading supporter, ideologue, and friend of Antonio López de Santa Anna. But he was much more. Between 1821 and 1853 Tornel served in a sweeping array of

important positions: as Santa Anna's personal secretary; as personal secretary to the first president, Guadalupe Victoria; as a deputy in the federal Congress (twice); as governor or mayor of Mexico City (five times); as minister to the United States; as Minister of War (six times); as a senator; as president of the most important national educational society, the *Compañía Lancasteriana*; and as president of the Colegio de Minería. In addition, he was a poet, playwright, editorial journalist, orator, thinker and author of one of the most influential early histories of the first decades of independence, the *Breve reseña histórica*, which was left incomplete on his death in 1853. He became a lieutenant colonel in the rebel army of José María Morelos at the age of eighteen and later became an ardent supporter of Agustín de Iturbide. He was promoted to general in the Mexican army, although he served as commander of no military unit. But most of all, he joined forces with his fellow Veracruzans, Santa Anna, and became his speechwriter, his major propagandist, his source of information, his point man in Mexico City and the organiser of almost all of Santa Anna's revolts after 1833. Like Santa Anna, Tornel was the ultimate political survivor, and Fowler provides a fascinating study of how they did it.

Tornel's politics portray a substantial amount of ambivalence: he went from insurgent to *Iturbidista* monarchist; from *yorkino* federalist republican to moderate centralist republican, from extreme populist centralist to advocate of enlightened despotism in the final Santa Anna dictatorship. It is a complex history, and it is not surprising that Fowler's treatment of Tornel sometimes exhibits ambivalence in assessing such a man. Was Tornel a turncoat, a corrupt politician, a self-serving sycophant, as his opponents charged? José María Luis Mora, leader of the early liberals, called Tornel 'Santa Anna's butler' (p. 205), and lamented: 'Sad fate of Mexico to have ended up in such hands' (p. 218). Yet Fowler shows that while Tornel was undoubtedly careerist, he was often effective in his administration of Mexico City, he alone in all the early governments actually provided leadership to the military (in his frequent terms as Minister of War), and he did the most to spread public education among both enlisted men and civilians. All observers agreed Tornel was a major literary figure. Probably Tornel's greatest contribution of all to the cause of Santa Anna was that in the 1841 to 1844 period, in what was clearly Santa Anna's most effective administration, Tornel, serving again as Minister of War, used a deft mix of populism and careful fiscal management to convert the army officer corps into supporters of Santa Anna.

Fowler traces Tornel's life judiciously and soberly, adhering closely to the evidence, and based on extensive research. The book is subtle and understated, which heightens its authority. Nonetheless, there are several basic mysteries about Tornel that Fowler confesses he has not solved. For example, in the absence of evidence he does not speculate on possible explanations for the break in relations between Tornel and Santa Anna from 1844 to 1847. At times Fowler seems to challenge some of the more pointed judgments in the other recent book on Tornel: María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, *La palabra del poder. Vida pública de José María Tornel, 1795-1853* (Mexico City, 1977), but it is not always quite clear why he disagrees with her. The trajectory of political thought pursued by Tornel is deeply troubling, and that is precisely because it indicates the shift in thought of the political class in the early republic, as Mexicans went through stages which Fowler defines as moving from hope to disenchantment, to disillusion and to despair. After three decades of civil conflict and six fundamental

changes of political system, the story reached its nadir with the loss of half the national territory to the United States in 1848. Tornel mourned in his *Breve reseña histórica*: ‘The times of hope pass in nations with the speed of lightning, and those of despair and misfortunes last for too long in the cycles of time’ (p. 256). Tornel’s response was to call for Santa Anna to establish an authoritarian dictatorship, which he did from 1853 to 1855, the only actual dictatorship Santa Anna instituted.

This book is a substantial step forward in our knowledge of the Santa Anna era. The more we know about who supported Santa Anna and why, the less of a cipher he and his era become. More important, Fowler strongly implies (but never says outright) that Tornel did more than simply articulate Santa Anna’s changing political thought; it appears that Tornel was the actual creator of *santanista* thought. Since the existing historiography barely acknowledges that ideas played a role in the Santa Anna movement, never mind who generated them, Fowler’s book could aid in a genuine revision of the troubled first years of Mexican nationhood.

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TIMOTHY E. ANNA

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0233654X

Victor M. Uribe-Urán (ed.), *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001), pp. xxi + 261, \$60.00, \$21.95 pb.

As the editor of this collection of nine essays reminds the reader in his succinct ‘Introduction – Beating a Dead Horse?’, the notion that the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries constituted an ‘Age of Revolution’ in various regions of the world has gradually gained support among Latin Americanists, since it was first articulated by Eric Hobsbawm and developed by other scholars nearly 40 years ago. The particular significance of the thesis for Latin American historians, of course, was that it led them to question the earlier historiographical assumption that the period of independence (1810–1825) not only virtually eliminated formal colonialism in the Iberian New World but also ushered in decisive changes in Spanish America’s basic economic, social and even political structures. This new compendium revisits the debate about continuities versus contrasts, picking up some of the threads articulated in K. J. Andrien and L. L. Johnson (eds.), *The Political Economy of Spanish America in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (University of New Mexico Press, 1994) in its first two sections, each containing two essays, devoted to ‘The Region’s Political Economy’ and ‘Elites, State Building and Business’. The third and fourth sections, each again with two essays, venture into the more novel areas of ‘Gender and Family Relations’ and ‘Ideologies, Values and Cultural Practices’. The final essay, by Eric Van Young, addresses articulately the underlying central preoccupation of the previous studies in ‘Conclusion – Was There an Age of Revolution in Spanish America?’.

A pervasive problem with collections such as this is that some contributors tend to concentrate doggedly upon a particular region or country, making little or no effort to draw in evidence relating to others with which they are less familiar as researchers. Both essays on gender relations, for example, deal exclusively with Mexico: Sonya Lipsett-Rivera uses ecclesiastical records of divorce proceedings

and complaints of spousal abuse to examine the slowly-changing attitudes of men and women towards the 'marriage bargain' between 1750 and 1856, concluding that the rights and expectations of women were marginally improved by the early-nineteenth century. Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof takes a broader look at gender and family relations, and demonstrates a more overt awareness of the need to identify and evaluate changes in the 1750–1850 period, using mainly secondary sources to demonstrate that in urban Mexico women's education and legal rights improved during this period, as did their access to employment, but that there was little positive change in their economic circumstances because of rising levels of poverty during and after the independence period. The contributions on cultural history take us to the opposite end of Spanish America. In 'Patriotic Footwork: Social Dance and the Watershed of Independence in Buenos Aires', John Charles Chasteen provides a fascinating, if highly specialised, survey of attitudes and politics towards dance, showing that, notwithstanding even stricter prohibitions upon popular dances in the immediate post-independence era, the exploitation of dance as an expression of collective, nativistic identity gave popular culture an enhanced political significance. In this context, then, independence is seen as a watershed. To some extent Mark D. Szuchman extends this interpretation in his discussion of the relationship between architecture in urban Argentina in the half-century after independence, and the political transition from an authoritarian colonial régime to the post-1850 'new liberal state' (p. 214), whose leaders were determined to build, both physically and intellectually, a new Argentina drawing from British, German, French and Italian models, and thus consciously rejecting Iberian traditions.

The regional focus also predominates in the section on elites and business. Uribe-Uran provides a cogent analysis of the origins and attitudes of lawyers and bureaucrats in late-colonial New Granada/early-postcolonial Colombia. He shows that, although in 1820–1850 provincial and non-aristocratic families enjoyed greater access to office than before independence, they tended to adopt the social and moral attitudes of the traditional élite, blurring earlier status disparities, in part because of pressure from below exerted by insurgent groups of artisans. Marti Lamar concentrates upon the principal (33 to be precise) import-export merchants of Chile over a shorter period (1795–1823), stressing the familiar argument that prior to independence the majority were also prominent as landowners, miners, and urban property-owners. Independence, she concludes, brought some changes, including a greater tendency to separate family and business affairs, but in broad terms the early-republican period was characterised by continuity in business attitudes and practices, notwithstanding the displacement of *peninsulares* by British immigrants in the mercantile sector.

The essays on political economy are more broad-ranging, at least in terms of geographical coverage. Samuel Amaral and Richard Domingo present jointly a comprehensive survey of the political economy of the Hispanic world in 1750–1850. Their conclusions that independence brought little economic change to Spanish America, at least in the short term, is not novel, but it is useful to have it restated. In his discussion of "'Dutch Disease" and other (Dis)Continuities in Latin American History, 1780–1850', Richard J. Salvucci concentrates upon evidence from late-colonial New Spain and Peru in the 1840s, and to a lesser extent from Brazil, Cuba, and Costa Rica, to support his argument that export booms in primary products both before and after independence caused domestic

inflation and the neglect of manufacturing. Again, the emphasis is upon continuities before and after independence. Finally, Eric Van Young, although warning against rigid adherence to any form of periodisation in Spanish American history, confirms, presumably to the relief of the editor of the volume, that it is possible to identify an 'Age of Revolution', with 'substantial continuity over the century 1750–1850' in economic trends, certain repertoires of basic and intimate cultural beliefs, and behaviours' (p. 239).

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02346546

William Schell Jr., *Integral Outsiders: The American Colony in Mexico City, 1876–1911* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001), pp. xix + 274, \$55.00 hb.

William Schell has written a very stimulating, informative and entertaining book on the activities of the expatriate colony of US citizens who made their living, their home and (in some, but by no means in all cases) their fortune in Mexico during the long presidency of Porfirio Díaz. It is based upon a broad range of archival and secondary sources, making particularly good (and extensive) use of the English-language *Mexican Herald*, published in Mexico City after 1896, which was clearly the colony's trade paper. It is written with wit and flair, using telling anecdote but never losing sight of the broader context of the internal dynamic of Mexican domestic politics, US–Mexican diplomatic and commercial relations, and, in general, of the essential character of Porfirian political economy.

Schell nails his colours to the mast at the outset. He directly challenges the familiar, hopelessly inaccurate but nonetheless remarkably persistent perception of the Díaz era as a 'criminal conspiracy by weak, greedy Mexican elites and the powerful, greedy foreign capitalists who amassed wealth by looting the country, impoverishing the masses, and creating economic underdevelopment' (p. ix). Instead, as Schell amply illustrates, the relationships which developed in this period between the US colony and their Mexican hosts were far more subtle and complex. In essence his thesis is that US businessmen and entrepreneurs in late nineteenth-century Mexico were more the agents of Porfirian modernisation than the agents of US imperialism. For this reason he argues that, although they were (non-Mexican) 'outsiders', they were integral to the development of Porfirian 'tributary' capitalism (based upon the payment of 'commissions' or 'rents') which functioned in the absence of more formal institutional or regulatory mechanisms. *Gringo* businessmen operated as a *camarilla* within the domestic political structure – as both a self-interested pressure group and a source of political support for Díaz, acting as a lobby for the regime in Washington. The symbiosis was profound. The capital which US investors brought to Mexico not only helped to construct the physical infrastructure of economic modernisation (the railway network is always the classic example), and strove to invigorate business culture in Mexico, but also served to project the imagery and symbolism of progress and modernity at the heart of the Porfirian project. It also helped to lubricate the domestic network of political loyalties, enabling Díaz and his inner circle of modernising *científicos* to act as intermediaries between US investors and regional and local elites in the distribution of contacts and contracts.

The focus of much of the book is the activities of those whom Schell describes (in terms borrowed from the historiography of the Italian Renaissance) as the US

colony's *popolo grosso* (the wealthy and political class), but he is careful not to exclude their counterparts (the *popolo minuto* – the administrators, managers, shopkeepers and clerk), whom he describes as the 'backbone of the colony'. This is a useful (if somewhat deterministic) classification, because it not only describes the internal social hierarchy within the colony, but also highlights the central paradox of its influence within the Díaz regime. Although small in number (and Schell confirms here that, despite the repeated fears of Mexican conservatives, shared by *puro* liberals, of the *invasión pacífica* by *yanqui* imperialism, the number of US residents was no more than 1,200 in 1898), the colony's influence was much more significant *before* 1898. In numerical terms, measured in terms of both demography and levels of investment, the colony in general, and the *popolo minuto* in particular grew rapidly after 1898 – there were more than 10,000 US citizens in Mexico by 1910 – with the growing and visible presence of American clubs, societies, churches, patriotic rituals and sporting activities. However, the colony's influence over the 'high politics' of the Díaz regime diminished in almost direct proportion to its size. This was mainly because the growing intensity of US strategic and commercial ambitions in the Caribbean and Central America (demonstrated in Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 and Panama in 1903) stimulated real fears within the Díaz regime over the loss of economic and political sovereignty, and resulted in growing diplomatic tensions between Mexico City and Washington which played no small part, Schell argues, in the downfall of Díaz in 1911.

The book has many strengths. The research, whether concerned with the individual fate of the colony's members, or with the cause and impact of important shifts in policy and personnel, has been painstakingly assembled and skilfully presented. The analysis of serious repercussions of the adoption of the gold standard in 1905, largely absent from most accounts of the period, is very informative, as is the account of the suppression of the evidence of extensive fraud in the feverish speculation in rubber and coffee in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and the significant shifts in diplomatic policy towards Mexico between the Roosevelt and Taft administrations in the crucial years preceding the Revolution. It also brings a very human perspective to the usually dry and stereotypical portrayal of rapacious *yanqui* imperialists, highlighting the complex interplay of economic, political and cultural factors in determining the character, and the success (and, as Schell notes, the equally frequent failure) of diverse US enterprises. It is essential reading for all historians of nineteenth-century Mexico (whether their predilection is for cultural, political, social, economic or business history) and for those concerned with US–Latin American relations.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02356542

Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 311, £40.00, £13.50 pb.

*In Defense of Honor* builds principally from an analysis of deflowering cases in the city of Rio de Janeiro's court system from the end of the World War I to 1940. The crime of deflowering occurred when men seduced (not raped) women ages 16 to 21 with false marriage promises. Men convicted of this offence had the

option of repairing the young woman's honour through marriage (if he were legally able to do so) or to serve a sentence in jail. Caulfield skilfully moves outward from these court cases to incorporate creatively a broad array of sources including the sensationalist press, police journals, legal treatises, medical literature, memoirs, literature and elements of popular culture (including beach going and Carnival). The result is a finely grained exploration of competing views of how best to engender a just and harmonious social order based on stable working-class family households through the rough cultural equivalent of shotgun marriages enforced by state officials. Caulfield demonstrates how the state attempted to establish and to stabilise poor families by stepping up the enforcement of laws that criminalised the 'deflowering' of young women. Many times local law enforcement intimidated young men into marrying young women whom they had seduced. This practice was so common that 'married at the police station' became a popular expression of the era. Court battles over deflowering usually involved disputes about a young woman's body (most often resolved by a gynaecological examination) and her comportment. For judges, only 'honest' young women whose public life was circumspect and whose bodies and hymens conformed to prevailing medical legal notions of virginity deserved the state's protection.

Her interpretation of these sources is cogently located in the urban history of Rio de Janeiro and the imagination of its residents. Caulfield succeeds admirably in showing how disputes over virginity were linked to anxieties that riveted Brazil in the tumultuous 1920s and 1930s over changing relations in terms of gender, labour, race, the family and the state. Rio served as symbolic international stage upon which national authorities hope to exhibit the nation's advanced state of 'civilisation' and 'modernity', but some reformers found the 'Brazilian medico-legal obsession' with hymens (a science in which Brazilian physicians outdid the French) in Brazil's capital district retrograde and embarrassing. When Brazilian physicians on the basis of thousands of gynaecological examinations proved that intercourse did not always rupture the 'complacent' hymen and that some women's hymens ruptured without having engaged in copulation, 'science' displaced conventional medico-legal notions of virginity. In this sense, important aspects of honour in relation to family law had to be reformulated.

*In Defense of Honor* carried forward the innovative research begun by historian Marta Abreu Estevez in *Meninas Perdidas* who worked on the same topic in the early Republican era before World War I. Caulfield states that her approach to this topic is distinguished by its emphasis on 'competing conceptions' of gender roles and the geography of honour both among and within elite and working-class groups (chapter nine). Thus, Caulfield moves away from a more dichotomous approach to elite and popular cultures as distinct systems that she and other scholars, including Estevez, explored in previous work. Instead, she rightly argues that elites and the poor shared more than they differed in terms of a common language of honour and sexuality even while they disputed the significance of symbols, ideals and behaviours related to them. The idea that cultures are dynamic and interpenetrating rather than static systems that, be they 'primitive', 'civilized', 'working-class' or 'elite', can somehow be thought of as 'pure', 'authentic', or 'sealed off' is pretty much an established scholarly orthodoxy. This is a much more analytically fruitful and historically supple approach, but it does not set Caulfield's study of Brazilian working-class culture



apart from many that have preceded it. Rather, as I see it, *In Defense of Honor*'s most original and important contribution lies in its use of individual cases to paint a broader collective portrait of the strategies of working-class men and women who engaged with state authority. She illuminates how these actors made their own use of conceptions of honour and appropriate gender roles. Caulfield also brings methodological innovation to this topic by applying quantitative approaches to groom data from hundreds of trial transcripts of sexual crimes to provide a more solid contextual frame for interpreting spongy qualitative analysis. Her study sheds new light on this tumultuous period that will help many scholars to rethink aspects of their research. I, for instance, began to wonder if one of the reasons why deflowering cases might have increased in the 1920s could be related to the rise of military conscription during World War I. A traditional punishment for deflowering, summary military impressment, had been largely eliminated by the implementation of a conscription lottery in 1916 and every year thereafter. The relative absence of this threat might have pushed Rio authorities to look to the courts as a way to put fear back into the hearts of lecherous men.

Caulfield's study provides a rich and fascinating portrait of changes in urban life in Rio de Janeiro while making contributions to debates about gender, biology, virginity, the body, race, class and culture. She demonstrates how conflicts over these issues ultimately resulted in the decriminalisation of deflowering and even allowed 'honest concubines' (previously an oxymoron) to sue for support from former lovers. However, she rightly cautions that while reform brought greater autonomy and rights from women in some areas, Vargas' Estado Novo policies also worked to increase the dependence of working class women on men. I have used *Defending Honor* to good effect in both undergraduate and graduate seminars on gender and state building, and I am confident that many other instructors and scholars will profit from reading and assigning this book.

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PETER M. BEATTIE

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02366549

Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 248, \$49.50, \$16.95 pb; £30.00, £10.95 pb.

Censuses have been an underused resource in the study of Latin America. Melissa Nobles's fine monograph reminds us of what we have been missing. She has focused on the Brazil decennial censuses, compiled, with some exceptions, since the first national census in 1872. She has also focused on the USA, which has been the target for the frequent comparative analysis with Brazil in race relations. In order to set the scene, the author has reviewed the history of census making in the USA, showing that the design and application of censuses were inevitably political acts. She has gone on to examine how race has been officially defined over time in Brazil and how the interpretation of the resulting data has affected social policy and conceptions of national identity.

This book originated as a study of census making in Brazil but the author wisely decided to expand it into a comparative study of Brazil and the USA. As she argues, there were many parallels between the countries, but also a number of vital differences. Most prominent among the latter was the handling of persons of mixed racial origins. In the cases of both societies, we can see how racial

categories have always been social constructs, despite the popular illusion that such data reflect 'reality'. If that were true, then why did the category of 'mulatto' get added to the US census in 1850 and dropped in 1930? And why did the number of 'pretos' (negro) fall so sharply (from 11 per cent to 6 per cent) and the increase on mulattos was so great (from 26 per cent to 39 per cent) in the Brazilian censuses of 1950 and 1980? The variations in the two categories was too great to be accounted for by natural increase and since the census responses by colour category were self described, the only explanation for the variation had to be in the way the respondents described themselves. Was that matched by changes in the way their fellow Brazilians perceived them? Alas, by their nature the census data cannot tell us. But that kind of variation in the perception of census data has not stopped Brazilian politicians and intellectuals since the late nineteenth century from drawing far-reaching (and often farfetched) conclusions about Brazil's racial future and thus Brazil's national identity.

Given the highly political implications of census taking, it was inevitable that social groups would seek to influence how the census is designed and carried out. The most famous example in Brazil was the Afro-Brazilian community's effort (aided by the Ford Foundation) to influence the response to the census of 1991. The goal was to get Brazilians of colour to avoid describing themselves as 'lighter' than they were – mulattos claiming to be white and blacks claiming to be mulattos. The campaign largely failed, as Brazilians continued to 'whiten' themselves in their own perception.

The recent popular mobilisation around the US census was the lobbying over which racial categories would be listed and what choice the respondents would be given. Although multiple responses as to color category were allowed (for the first time) no new 'mixed' racial category was added to the official list.

Nobles's carefully crafted monograph leaves us into little doubt that 'political imperatives, and, in certain cases, racial ideas infuse the census-taking process'. (p. 183) Historians and political scientists have just as much reason as demographers to keep that injunction in mind.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02376545

Arnd Schneider, *Futures Lost: Nostalgia and Identity among Italian Immigrants in Argentina* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 343, £33.00 pb.

Schneider's book is a contribution both to a growing literature on post-migration ethnicity and to a better understanding of the fate of Italian immigrants in Argentina, a country that during the last two centuries received more immigrants relative to the native population than the USA or Australia. The study is based on anthropological fieldwork and interviews of 106 well-off individuals in Buenos Aires in 1988 and 1989. During this period Schneider also attended numerous meetings, assemblies and social activities of several Italian institutions. In 1993 he carried out archival work. The first two chapters give an important summary of history, politics and ideological models for understanding immigration and national identity. Schneider's main assumption is that ethnic solidarities are neither natural nor historically stable. Let me explore this with reference to the most important findings of the book.

In chapter three the life histories of three Italian men who came to Buenos

Aires in 1906, 1912 and 1927 are presented. The men's narratives are very rich and show the ups and downs of their lives and of Argentina. The urban cosmopolitan Buenos Aires opened up for 'options' or 'strategies' in relation to ethnicity and ethnic relations. The boundaries for identity were permeable. In some cases identity was shaped by activity and practice related to the Italian associations than exclusively by descent or even language. Schneider shows that Italian associations allowed their active members to be Argentine in outside contexts. Thus, being part of an ethnic association during long periods in the twentieth century was compatible with being Argentine. However, failure to participate in ethnic associations did not cause a person to be perceived as non-Italian or even 'less' Italian. Schneider shows that for this generation of immigrants the social, economic and cultural life in a modern three million metropolis shaped their identities as *porteños* (inhabitants of Buenos Aires).

In chapter four we move from individual experience into the life of well-off or elite families that did not share the difficulties of hundreds of thousands of poor Italian immigrants. They arrived with important financial and educational assets. The oldest families founded important economic enterprises and became successful landowners. The youngest immigrants were highly qualified technicians recruited by Italian companies after World War II. Schneider compares different generations and, of course, finds out divergences in terms of identity construction. As expected, he demonstrates that in the second and third generation political and national allegiances become more fluid. Even for the recent first generation immigrants the volatility was high and they were dependent on close relationships with powerful families of older immigrations, including the native elite. Their children were marked by the hardship that accompanied the military dictatorship of 1976–83. They kept their Italian passports and they did not believe in the existence of an Argentine national identity. They made references to different traditions in their life histories and did not wish to be confined to a single 'national identity'.

Chapter five is a very interesting one. Here Schneider presents at length a discussion between a first-generation immigrant, Giovanni Petrarca, who arrived in the 1940s, and Juan Asti, a descendant of immigrants, concerning changing gender roles and European influences in Argentina. Petrarca defined strict borderlines between what he defined as 'European' (or modern) and 'Argentine' (or traditional). Argentine problems were defined in relation to the role played by caudillos and machos in politics and family life. Juana Asti did not accept this stereotypical presentation of gender roles in public and private arenas. She emphasised, on the contrary, the importance of her family and other immigrants in bringing progress and modernisation to Argentina, even in relation to gender roles. For Petrarca the modern Italy, his country of today, represented modernity and progress, while Asti made reference to her upper-class European origin only as a past tradition of progress.

In the following chapter Schneider shows that among young Italo-Argentines, between twenty and forty years old, the discourse about the modern and economically successful Italy strongly presented by Petrarca is only partially relevant. In Buenos Aires, being of Italian descent has no special significance on its own. Being Italian appears in combinations with other markers of distinction in which the display of style, decorum and taste is very important. In many of the cases presented Italianness is largely confined to the private sphere of the home.

I began by stating that Schneider's book is an example of post-migration ethnic studies in the sense that with the help of very selective empirical findings he is able to demonstrate that to be Italian or Argentine is extremely complex and plural. It is in this context that it is not easy fully to accept his idea of nostalgia, of an essential home or country or a longing for something far way and idealised as a general emotional state among his informants.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02386541

Loris Zanatta, *Perón y el mito de la nación católica: Iglesia y Ejército en los orígenes del peronismo 1943–1946* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999), pp. 452, \$30.25 pb.

Argentine historiographical studies on the history of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century have seen a significant shift in the last decade. Epitomised by the different and complexly argued works of such scholars as Luis Alberto Romero, Loris Zanatta, Susana Bianchi, Lila Caimari and María E. Rapalo, among others, this new historical trend significantly differentiates itself from the previous and naively presented testimonial approaches of Nestor T. Auza and, more subtly, Fortunato Mallimaci.

This book written by the Italian scholar Loris Zanatta, author of the seminal work *Del Estado Liberal a la nación católica* published in 1996, could be seen as a telling example of this new way of reading the past of the Church in Argentina. That is the historical approach that denies the possibility of thinking this past solely from the rather narrow perspective of the Church self-understanding. Moreover, by focusing on the important and often problematic role played by the Church on the country's society and its politics, Zanatta shows its inner tensions and ambivalences. The Church adopted different reactions towards the existing political options at the time. Certainly, this was a critical context many times perceived in apocalyptic terms. The author explains that from the political point of view this context was characterised first by an almost complete ideological control over the state by the Church in 1943 and secondly by the appearance of a seemingly unwanted but created candidate for the aftermath of military government.

This book could be presented as an outstanding historiographical case of analytical narrative. Its five chapters follow the chronology without losing the strength of the author's conceptual framework. Studying the decisive period between the years 1943 and 1946 – from the almost clerico-fascist military revolution of 4 June 1943, that expelled president Castillo, to the rise of its most intelligent representative: the populist Colonel Juan D. Perón – Zanatta cogently analyses the history of the politically and ideologically anti-liberal regime formed by the military and the men of the Church. In this regard, he chronologically completes the arguments developed in his previous work regarding the manifold forms that Argentine Catholic Church adopted in the 1930s in order to increase its institutional base and its participation in the internal structures of the state. According to Zanatta, this process was a continuous, problematic and finally successful ideological conflation between the army and the Church. In this sense, the author analytically overcomes previous historical visions that significantly occluded this relationship when analysing the dramatic

fall of liberalism and the rise of *peronismo* in wartime Argentina. Conversely, posing the centrality of an ideological and mythical framework: 'el mito de la nación católica', he stresses the almost organic link between Catholicism and the military conception of the nation. This myth, compounded by different doses of anti-Communism, anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism, contributed to create an anxious fear of civil war. This fear was behind different kinds of negative reactions against those Argentines identified with democracy and the side of the Allies in World War II. In practical terms this myth opened the way to the implementation of previously unheard authoritarian measures that have been a longstanding claim by the Church and the extreme right nationalists linked to it in almost 'organic terms'. The suppression of basic civic rights by the way of repression and ideological persecution found its climax in the compulsive 'confesionalización' of national education. That is the establishment by decree of obligatory religious lessons within the school system which were only given by catholic priests. The book shows that this was a turning point in the attempt to expurgate the remnants of Argentine liberalism. In addition, it also epitomised the practical limitations of the binary alliance constituted by the Catholic church and the military. Both institutions shared a mythical reading of Argentina as a laboratory for the implementation of an ideal Catholic state. As noted by the author, the continuous search for this ideal led these institutions to evade a problematic context in which these ideological premises were opposed by the reactions of a wide range of citizens opposing them in the public sphere. The difficulties found in the exercise of turning myth into reality determined an increasing opposition to the military government. In 1944 the Church was consciously trying to separate itself from the military regime adopting a 'tactical retreat'. In the same year the power and popularity of Perón was beginning its long and twisted historical pathway. As Zanatta shows, Perón firmly believed in the legitimacy of the myth. Furthermore he demonstrates how the charismatic colonel developed some populist ideas evidently related to the framework of social Catholicism for his recently born political movement. He also put forward new questions related to Perón's specific articulation of the authoritarian national model proposed by the Church during the thirties. The book presents Perón's accession to power as an unpredicted, and often undesired, creation of the clerical-military alliance of 1943. While searching for an elegant form of downplaying the impact of the imminent fall of the military government, the Church initially saw the rising of *peronismo* with notable anxiety and a sense of bewilderment. The inner discussions of this process are acutely analysed and placed by the author in a broader context. In the end, in comparison to the Unión Democrática, a sort of Argentine case of the popular front, Perón seemed to be the lesser evil. In this view, Perón was standing with the Church against the threat of a secular Argentina putatively defeated in the previous years. Thus, political polarisation favoured Perón and led to what the author defines as the peronisation of the national Catholic myth. This secular transfiguration of the myth partially explains the desired 'conquest' of the working class. However, the 'miraculous' inclusion of the workers within Catholic 'argentinidad' proposed by peronismo, established the limits of the conjunction between Perón and the Church and announced the emergence of potential conflicts for the future to come.

In short, *Perón y el mito de la nación católica* stands as a major contribution to Argentine historical studies. The volume is an immensely stimulating piece of

scholarship. Combining an impressive archival research and representing it through a critical and conceptually argued historical narrative the book deeply enhances our understanding of the origins of *peronismo* in particular and of Argentina's history in general.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02396548

Gonzalo Sánchez and Donny Meertens, *Bandits, Peasants and Politics: The Case of 'La Violencia in Colombia'* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), pp. xviii + 229, £28.50, £14.50 pb.

Banditry has proved to be a fruitful secondary theme in the historiography of Latin America, southern Europe and beyond. Launched by Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz and Eric Hobsbawm, the debate about 'social banditry' has raised a wide range of pertinent issues about socio-economic and political structures, which have not always been explored as thoroughly as they merit by specialists in related areas like peasant studies. How far did bandits conform to 'Robin Hood' stereotypes as benefactors of the poor and champions of popular justice? To what extent were they 'common' criminals, and how far did they constitute evidence of protest against the spread of capitalism? In what circumstances did they enjoy a sustained impact? Bandits seemed, at least in one stage of the debate, to be especially visible on the fringes of capitalist agriculture, where the state was too poor and disorganised to finance effective policing. Did *cuadrillas* flourish in locations where a combination of natural disaster and volatile farm prices could force farmers in a weak market economy into subsistence and hunger? Or were bandits no more than agents of informal landlord power – more the oppressors of the peasantry than its champions? What, if any, was the relationship between bandits and incipient 'modern' guerrillas, and how far were they superseded by them?

A series of monographs and scholarly collections and articles has broached these, and related questions, for Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil and Peru, as well as Andalusia and Sicily. Colombia is a particularly apposite country for the study of these topics. A more continuous liberal tradition than in any other Latin American republic made for weak, underfunded policing that gave opportunities for bandit groups to form; and the Andean terrain facilitated their survival and realignment. Tenacious distrust and defiance of the central state by peasants, along with various of the local and regional authorities – political, ecclesiastical and, at times, military – eased the movement of bandits between villages and cities, and made possible their partial integration into local power structures. Some bandit leaders enjoyed so warm a relationship with departmental governors that they helped them bring in votes; a respected leader like Marulanda was treated as an equal by the local military commander.

The book under review, first published in Bogotá in 1983, lays a particular emphasis upon the second phase (1958–65) of the *Violencia*, whose dominant expression was political banditry. This updated edition with a new epilogue receives a highly effective translation. The authors bring together expertise in history, anthropology, politics and gender studies to sharp effect. They have explored a wide range of source materials, from court documents and the records

of local judicial archives to those of national Congress. The authors make an effective analysis of the social origins of young bandits, and examine the formation and structure of their groups, stressing the ways in which they inserted themselves into mainstream society by consolidating the logistical support of sharecroppers and administrators. They investigate shifting patterns of patronage, and make an especially convincing analysis of oscillations between reality, myth and counter-myth of the bandit leader. Sánchez and Meertens explore regional variations sensitively, illustrating contrasts between the Valle del Cauca where bandit groups evolved as paramilitary criminal associations with institutional support and Tolima where they enjoyed an authentic peasant base.

Sánchez and Meertens stress that Colombian banditry had no romantic features. It was unremittingly cruel; and the battles for local control between bandits and the 'regular' forces were settled not in direct confrontations, but in brutal punishment of defenceless peasants, with rape being used as an instrument of humiliation, terror and silence. Bandit leaders flourished on images of ubiquity and invulnerability; and schoolchildren saw them as figures of wonder and curiosity. Bandit leaders benefited from amnesties and the bitterness caused by broken promises, especially the failure of the state to act on pardons, rewards, and offers of loans for land and livestock. Most *cuadrillas* imposed a local 'taxation' to cover operational costs, one elaborating even a crude system of progressive taxation. Attempts by the military to intimidate the peasantry into submission at times backfired. When the army paraded the dead bodies of three bandits in three large towns of Tolima (and schoolchildren were given the day off to see them), many onlookers, far from being impressed by the overwhelming force of the army, attended the spectacle as a last tribute of admiration.

The survival of bandit groups was in large part a consequence of the rigidity of national authorities that expected a compliant passivity from the peasantry, and were blind to the frailty of the existing order and the destabilising consequences of changes in agriculture. Successive governments misinterpreted weak expression of opposition and feelings of powerlessness among peasants as acquiescence in policies that peasants rejected. Some rightists viewed even mild reformism as evidence of compromise with insecurity and defiance, and stood in the way of any non-violent solution to problems of rural instability, while being reluctant to finance the military and police at levels adequate to the task that they demanded of upon them. The Cuban revolution of 1959 provided a pretext for further rigidification on the right: many conservatives and liberals opted to avoid examining the local circumstances that gave rise to violence, and held outside agitators responsible for all protest. New patterns of terror, propaganda and psychological warfare, together with civic programmes that complemented counter-insurgency activity, followed. A nucleus of articulate and sensitive military officers, notably General Alberto Ruiz Novoa, saw how banditry thrived upon the failure of the state to supply essential services, and gained popular credibility when the law-enforcement agencies committed crimes. Reformist soldiers noted that the informal practice of the death penalty was deeply unpopular in a country where it was legally proscribed. Ruiz Novoa was especially alert to the significance of banditry as an employment option and survival strategy for poor adolescents.

The book makes a substantial contribution to the history of a specific period of contemporary Colombian history. But it has a broader significance for modern

Colombian history, and for the comparative history of the state, violence, peasantry and women in Latin America, which should assure it the wide readership it deserves.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02406542

Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 346, £44.95, £14.95 pb.

The Popular Front government that came to power after the closely fought Chilean presidential election of 1938 gained the epithet ‘compromise state’ for policies that were considered weak and ineffectual – a product of the ‘class compromise’ necessitated by coalition politics. Pedro Aguirre Cerda’s administration made some attempts to improve health, welfare and social security, but the socialist and communists in the coalition curtailed their more radical aims in the political bargaining process or had them derailed by centrist parties. The result was a disappointing record of achievement: the distribution of national wealth became more regressive and little progress was made on political rights: electoral restrictions continued to limit male suffrage while women were enfranchised only in 1949, two years after Peronist Argentina.

Roseblatt’s carefully argued study acknowledges these limits but sees the record of the Popular Front as more ambivalent. By broadening the analysis from a focus on class to encompass other forms of social activism, specifically that of women, she shows the period to have been more dynamic than more negative accounts generally allow. At the same time, however, she brings to light the conservative character of the Front’s gender policy, which amounted to little short of a patriarchal bargain struck between left and right.

The central questions which frame this book are two: how did gender shape the substantial reforms enacted by the Fronts? And how did gender condition the personal and political agency of popular classes and professional and political elites? The answers are suggested in the richly documented chapters which examine, among other issues, the family wage system, competing political moralities and the tensions between feminists and socialists over policy, the growth and influence of the professions and women’s role within them, and the complex negotiations of the women’s movement and its factions with party and state power.

If, as Roseblatt argues, the social project of the coalition was a gendered project as well as a class project, this is most clearly evident in the area of social policy. Seen here as one of several strategies to ‘discipline the poor’ it sought to create responsible family men while maintaining women in dependency upon a family wage and subject to patriarchal tutelage. Government propaganda promoted the idea of working class respectability, instilling values of cleanliness, temperance and family values. In short, the aim was to ‘... make men into reliable breadwinners who produced wealth and supported their families, and women into diligent housewives and mothers who bore and raised the nation’s “human capital”’ (p. 4).

Such patriarchal visions of social harmony did not, however, go unchallenged. Women had begun to assert their right to individual rights and recognition and



had become active participants in the public realm. In the period of Popular Front rule they also entered the political and policy process as members of parties, neighbourhood and feminist movements, and professionals working in the service of the state. Through the Movimiento pro-Emancipación de la Mujer Chilena, a cross-class feminist organisation, equality claims were advanced and patriarchal manoeuvres resisted. If the Front's policies were driven primarily by a concern to secure social order, contain popular unrest and impose new forms of regulation on a rapidly changing society, they were not simply imposed on a passive population. Social movements and interest groups actively engaged in the political and policy debates, and through their association with socialist and Popular Front leaders entered decision-making arenas and made their mark on policies.

The analytic approach of this book draws inspiration both from subaltern and postcolonial studies. Roseblatt locates her analysis of Chile in a critique of elite modernisation projects as grounded in racialised and gendered notions of progress. However, she is critical of a tendency to see these projects merely as elite constructions. Instead she develops a view of the period as a political process involving alliance and antagonism between elites and subalterns: hegemony is not only elite domination, but a process involving the construction and negotiation of consent. Discourses that were generated within the sphere of government were contested, destabilised and modified by social movements who sought to deploy them in pursuit of their own interests and in the process exerted some leverage. The very weakness of the left made such alliances and accommodations crucial.

By making gender central to her analysis, Roseblatt not only adds to our knowledge of the period but in reading it through a gender lens, she unsettles some simple judgements of its significance. The Popular Front marked a moment of albeit partial, and as it turned out, transitory rupture with an authoritarian political culture. This book suggests that it was within the ranks of the Chilean women's movement, marked as it was by authoritarian habits, that a theory of democracy and democratic practices nonetheless developed most fully. If so, it underlines the strategic as much as the analytic significance of the argument advanced in this important and welcome book.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02416549

Florence E. Babb, *After Revolution: Mapping, Gender and Cultural Politics in Neoliberal Nicaragua* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), pp. viii + 304, \$50.00, \$24.95 pb; £37.95, £18.95 pb.

Katherine Isbester, *Still Fighting: The Nicaraguan Women's Movement, 1977–2000* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), pp. xiv + 256, \$45.00, \$19.95 pb.

During the 1980s dozens, if not hundreds, of academics throughout the world published books and articles on the Nicaraguan revolution. After the Sandinista National Liberation Front's defeat at the polls in 1990 many of these academics

sought to make sense of the dramatic changes taking place in Nicaragua, but the world's attention had turned to other parts of the globe. Inevitably, there was a reduction in the number of articles and books written on this small country during the 1990s. It now appears however, that the turn of the century has coincided with a renewed academic interest in Nicaragua.

Women in particular have received a great deal of attention in the most recent works. In one year alone US presses published four books dealing extensively with women in Nicaragua. Florence Babb's *After Revolution, Mapping Gender and Cultural Politics in Neoliberal Nicaragua*, Katherine Isbester's *Still Fighting. The Nicaraguan Women's Movement, 1977–2000*, Lorraine Bayard de Volo's *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs. Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua, 1979–1999* and Ilja Luciak's *After the Revolution. Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala*, all published in 2001, address different aspects of Nicaraguan women's participation in politics. An earlier book, Cynthia Chavez Metoyer's *Women and the State in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua* (published in 2000) also deals with the subject as does Karen Kampwirth's forthcoming book *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*.

While only the first two books cited above are under review, I find it important to mention the others because together they form part of what I call a 'second wave' of academic writings on Nicaragua. As the titles suggest, second wave scholarly interest is centred on very specific topics. These works focus primarily on the effects of neoliberalism, the emergence of contemporary social movements, the development of democratic institutions, and the way in which these processes are gendered. These four themes are not only of interest to academics or to those outside Nicaragua. They are ones that are addressed extensively by politicians and activists in today's Nicaragua. Not surprisingly, these themes are relevant to all of Latin America although Nicaragua is the only post-revolutionary nation in the region undergoing neoliberal economic changes.

The literature's emphasis on rather recent developments reflects in part the urgent need to document the drastic and often-tragic political and economic transformations brought about by neoliberalism. Additionally, it might reflect the fact that some second wave scholars did not begin research on Nicaragua until the 1990s (Florence Babb for instance describes herself as a 'latecomer to revolution' since her first trip to Nicaragua was in 1989). The emphasis on contemporary politics might also reflect the academic training of these scholars. Of the six authors cited, five are political scientists and one (Babb) is an anthropologist.

The emphasis on women's lives, like the emphasis on recent political developments, is not arbitrary. In my opinion, Nicaraguan women's experiences are of special concern to so many because the trajectory of the contemporary women's movement has captured the attention of those who study the country. Moreover, the Nicaraguan women's movement gained strength at a time when gender became an increasingly accepted academic 'category of analysis' in different parts of the world. Most importantly perhaps, as Florence Babb notes, the Sandinista revolution took place after feminism re-emerged on a global level in the second half of the twentieth century. These parallel developments led scholars, particularly female scholars, to express interest in Nicaraguan women's experiences. Simultaneously, these same scholars have started to address the ways in which women's and men's experiences differ due to their gender.

As a historian who studies women (and gender) in Nicaragua, I am delighted to be part of a growing – and increasingly sophisticated – community of scholars interested in the subject. However, I find the lack of historical studies on Nicaraguan women appalling. It is my contention that we cannot truly understand women's participation in the revolution and the subsequent development of the contemporary women's movement unless we understand the political mobilisation of right-wing women under the Somoza dictatorship and the decline of first wave feminism in the mid-twentieth century.

Unfortunately, since we know relatively little about women before 1979, many studies rely on stereotypes and generalisations. As a result, entire works are often based on erroneous premises. This is the case of Katherine Isbester's otherwise insightful study of the women's movement.

*Still Fighting* tells the story of the women's movement from 1977 to 2000 through the lens of social movement theory. Isbester argues that in order to be successful a social movement must have an autonomous identity, focused goals and a strategic mobilisation of resources. These three components determine the way in which a movement – in this case the women's movement in Nicaragua – develops and its ultimate success or failure.

Because the book's objective is to present a broad overview of the Nicaraguan women's movement, *Still Fighting* lacks the complexity and nuance a narrow study can provide. Ironically, the attempt to address the dynamics of the contemporary women's movement in 250 pages, one of the book's greatest strengths, is also its greatest weakness. In dealing with almost twenty-five years of history, Isbester glosses over and simplifies Nicaraguan women's rather complicated realities. The book, in fact, is premised on the assumption that 'for most of the [twentieth] century, the stereotype of Latina women ... seemed to be true in Nicaragua ... Women's economic and social contributions went unrecognized, regardless of their class. This situation changed when women joined the FSLN as guerrilla fighters and organized their first women's movement' (p. 23). Inevitably, the belief that 'women in pre-Revolutionary times were little seen and less heard' (p. 213) leads to a romanticised view of women's participation in *Sandinismo*, particularly women's participation in AMPRONAC, the Association of Nicaraguan Women Confronting the National Problem formed in 1977. To understand the development of the Sandinista women's movement during the late 1970s we need more than social movement theory. We need to take a closer look at women's experiences and disregard the stereotypes that turn third world women into passive victims.

The second work under review, Florence Babb's *After Revolution*, differs in significant ways from *Still Fighting*. The book deals with a shorter period of time and a broader range of topics. In Babb's own words, it consists of 'several focused conversations on subjects of current relevance not only to Nicaraguans but to all of us' (p. 17). *After Revolution* is a thoughtful account of what has happened to low-income urban women and men in the aftermath of the FSLN's electoral loss. Babb's ethnographic study focuses on the residents of Monsenor Lezcano, a working- to lower middle-class neighbourhood of Managua. Babb also interviewed members of four urban cooperatives involved in welding, artisanry, sewing and baking, documenting the changes brought about in their lives by the neoliberal policies instituted by the Chamorro and Aleman administrations.

Babb spends a great deal of time describing the dire living conditions of her informants. Although the poverty most of them live in is very familiar to those of us who have travelled to Nicaragua or other Latin American countries in the past few years, it might not be to the many undergraduates I assume will be reading this book. Babb's objective, however, goes beyond providing an informative narrative for US college students. Her stress on Nicaraguans' economic difficulties (particularly women's economic woes) is a call for 'increased attention to the body ... as a site ... where broad processes unfold'. This call is one of *After Revolution's* greatest strengths, as is Babb's stress on 'space and place' in order to understand 'how social and political resources and meaning are negotiated in various settings' (p. 26).

*After Revolution* promises to elicit questions instead of providing answers. Hopefully, some of those questions will lead us to learn more about women and men in Nicaragua not only after the revolution, but also before.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0226545

Peter M. Siavelis, *The President and Congress in Postauthoritarian Chile: Institutional Constraints to Democratic Consolidation* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), pp. xxv + 245, \$55.00, \$18.95 pb.

It has become customary to argue that institutions matter in the process of democratic consolidation in Latin America. However, there are relatively few studies of specific cases, or of specific institutions, which provide empirical evidence for the claim, and which demonstrate precisely the way in which institutions matter. Peter Siavelis provides a detailed and intelligent account of the way in which the structure of executive-legislative relations impedes the consolidation of democracy in Chile, and the book is doubly valuable because the author is constantly aware of the historical and socio-economic contexts in which those institutions operate.

Broadly the argument is that in spite of an unfavourable structure, democracy has worked relatively well in Chile so far because the exceptional circumstances of the transition, and the presence of Pinochet as a political actor, created powerful incentives for cooperative behaviour and for building consensus. Once these temporary constraints have been removed, and the country enters an economic or political crisis, then the danger is that the unfavourable institutional structure will create perverse incentives and encourage undemocratic and uncooperative behaviour and, as a result, deepen rather than resolve the crisis. The multiparty system in Chile has, so far, worked in reasonable harmony with the presidency, but the danger is that once restraints are removed then the typical problem of presidential-congressional hostility in multiparty systems will arise. The author argues that reform of the political system to implement a parliamentary regime is highly unlikely. So in the last chapter he proposes a set of reforms to create a better and more democratic institutional structure – by strengthening the involvement of congress in the policy-making and policy-scrutinising function, reducing presidential prerogatives to declare extraordinary legislative sessions controlled by the executive, reforming the electoral system to have simultaneous elections and shorter presidencies, and eliminating the famous

(or infamous) authoritarian enclaves of the 1980 Constitution. All these suggestions are sensible and desirable.

However, it is not so clear that the existing and reasonably well-functioning system depends so much on a context of post-transition consensus. The author worries about the consequences of economic and political crisis. Well, there was an economic crisis – admittedly of short duration – in 1999, and the system survived. There was, if not a political crisis, certainly political turmoil surrounding the choice of a socialist candidate to contest the 1999 presidential election, and indeed in the hotly contested election itself, and the system survived. Moreover there have been numerous episodes of tension with the armed forces, which proved to be less damaging to political stability than was feared. The pattern of post-transition consensus has now lasted over ten years and that seems a long time to be regarded, as the author does, as a temporary one. What in some ways has been remarkable about the Chilean political system has been not just its durability but also its flexibility – an example of which has been the dramatic shift of the right from a *Pinochetista* position to the centrist, reforming message of their candidate in the 1999 election. Institutions are modes of behaviour and conventions as well as formal structures, and the conventions strengthening cooperative relations seem firmly rooted – though this is not to deny the importance of the recommendations that the author makes for improving the institutional structure.

The author would have been on surer ground had he fixed his criticisms on the quality of Chilean democracy and the way that the present institutional arrangements limit the deepening of democratic practices, such as accountability, participation and representation. And in this context the author should have discussed the pernicious effects of the uncontrolled system of party financing in Chile. Certainly the author provides ample evidence for worrying about the quality of Chilean democracy.

This book is firmly rooted in the institutional school of analysis and is a model of its kind. This sort of approach is long overdue in the study of Latin American political systems. It is well-written and well-researched, and makes a strong and convincing case for criticising the structure of executive-congressional relations in Chile. Though the author's emphasis on the future destabilising effects of crisis is not so convincing, nevertheless this is one of the best analytical accounts of Chilean politics to have appeared in recent years.

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ALAN ANGELL

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02436541

Renato Cristi, *El pensamiento político de Jaime Guzmán: autoridad y libertad* (Santiago, LOM Ediciones, 2000), pp. 223, pb.

To the astonishment of most political commentators the right in Chile came within a whisker of winning the 1999 presidential election, by far its best electoral result since the centre-left *Concertación* first came to power in 1990. The fact that the right's presidential candidate, now the mayor of Santiago Joaquín Lavín, was the leading light of one of Chile's most ultra-conservative and pro-Pinochet political parties, the Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI), makes the right's electoral performance all the more surprising. UDI, a socially conservative,

politically authoritarian and economically neoliberal party was created in 1983 as the political, and subsequently the electoral, expression of the *gremialista* movement. The ideological origins of the *gremialistas*, which first emerged in the 1960s as an obscure movement based at the law faculty of the prestigious Catholic University, lie within the most integrationist versions of Catholic social thought, in particular the French and Spanish traditionalists of the nineteenth century, whose main exponents were Juan Vázquez de Mella and Juan Donoso Cortés in Spain and Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald in France. The movement promoted a corporatist political schema similar to the fascist regimes of Salazar in Portugal and Franco in Spain.

Jaime Guzmán, a law lecturer at the Catholic University in the mid-1960s, was the *gremialista* movement's spiritual, ideological and political leader. In the early 1970s, he catapulted the *gremialista* student movement to the forefront of the right-wing opposition to the Popular Unity government of President Salvador Allende by organising support for striking miners, providing them with safe houses within the university campus and by mobilising the first national demonstration against the Allende government. Guzmán's influence over the military regime following the 1973 coup was paramount, and he is largely credited with not merely single-handedly writing the authoritarian 1980 Constitution, which remains in force today, but of being the brain behind almost all of the military's political and social policies. Under Guzmán's tutelage UDI, the party he founded, had by the late 1980s abandoned most of its corporatist roots and succeeded in transforming itself from an obscure, ideologically archaic movement into one of the country's leading and most influential neo-liberal parties with significant representation in both houses of congress. Guzmán himself was elected to the senate where he became the right's most effective opposition legislator. His pivotal political role during the military regime, including his philosophical defence of human rights violations, was neither forgotten nor forgiven by more extreme elements on the left and he was subsequently assassinated outside the Catholic University in 1991.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Guzmán's philosophy lies in his attempts to reconcile Hayekian neoliberalism with Catholic social doctrine, on which the *gremialista* movement was originally based, and to justify his conversion from one to the other, principally through his reinterpretation of traditional Catholic thought. This endeavour proved to be particularly difficult, and often highly contradictory, not least because neoliberalism is based on rampant individualism while Catholic social doctrine is rooted in communitarian principles. Renato Cristi's book, a collection of previously published essays, is particularly interesting since it seeks precisely to evaluate, albeit critically, how Guzmán sought to overcome these ideological contradictions. Cristi correctly argues that despite Guzmán's often convoluted and erroneous reinterpretation of Catholic social doctrine in order to justify his espousal of free market capitalism, the simple truth remained that the military regime's leading ideologue was little concerned with economics. He simply used the Hayekian free market model as an ideological lifeline to compensate for serious deficiencies in his own archaic philosophy, particularly on economic matters. Guzmán seemed ready and willing to embrace the notions of neo liberalism since it promised to deliver authoritarian forms of control, anti-statism and anti-Marxism, all prerequisites for his *gremialista* movement.

Cristi's study is not a biological account of Guzmán's life. Rather, the book focuses exclusively on Guzmán's philosophical development as a right-wing ideologue and constitutional thinker. The reader should also note that a significant part of this book is given over to a number of critical essays on the neoliberal philosopher Friedrich Hayek and the German conservative jurist and Nazi apologist Carl Schmitt, both of whom greatly influenced much of Guzmán's work. Disappointingly, however, Cristi ignores Guzmán's many *criollo* influences, mostly nationalist and conservative thinkers such as Alberto Edwards, Mario Góngora, Francisco Antonio Encina, Osvaldo Lira and Jaime Eyzaguirre. This omission becomes all the more glaring given that the author devotes such considerable space to a cogent yet, given the supposed subject matter of this book, arguably superfluous critique of John Rawls' egalitarian liberalism (itself a critique of Hayek's and Guzmán's conservative liberalism) and to a highly sympathetic assessment of Michael Sandel's theories on republican democracy, which the author views as representing the most convincing alternative to Guzmán's authoritarian ideology.

Cristi's book does, however, include a fascinating selection of previously secret minutes from meetings held by the junta in the early days of the military regime, as well as a number of extracts from sessions held by the Constituent Commission. Because of Chile's long and particularly strong tradition of constitutionalism, the commission, in which Guzmán played a key role, was created by the junta to examine ways to justify and secure the military's grip on power through constitutional means. The documents thus reveal many of the philosophical gymnastics that Guzmán employed to argue that the military's control of political power was indeed legal. In an exceptionally revealing document, for example, Guzmán responds to claims that the military had no right to assume constituent power by proposing a rather academic distinction between its original and derivative forms and arguing that only the former was unconstitutional. These documents, some of which were not made public until the mid-1990s, provide a fascinating insight into the legal discussions taking place among the regime's supporters.

Overall, Cristi's study is a valuable contribution providing as it does a highly lucid and comprehensive examination of the leading and, arguably, most controversial conservative thinker of late-twentieth century Chile.

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MARCELO POLLACK

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02446548

Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. xvii + 288, \$49.95, \$19.95 pb.

So far the scholarly literature, Patrick Barr-Melej forcefully argues in the introduction to his book, has put the Chilean urban middle class (or 'mesocracy', a term underscoring its social relevance by 'suggesting authority, legitimacy, and posture', p. 2) in second place. The Chilean and non-Chilean historiography has either ignored this important social constituency altogether, focusing instead on the upper class and the popular classes, or merely treated it as an appendage of the traditional elite that simply copied its cultural inclinations and shared its disdain for the lower classes. Barr-Melej sets out to revise this, as he sees it,

unbalanced view of a political actor that had ‘a decisive social, political, economic, cultural presence in national affairs since the Parliamentary Republic’ (p. 14), arguing that middle-class reformers, while acting within the confines of liberal democracy, assumed distinctively anti-oligarchic positions between the 1890s and the early 1940s. They, moreover, successfully challenged the predominant aristocratic cultural concepts, characterised by its admiration of European achievements, on the one hand, and its contempt for Chilean popular culture, on the other, forging ‘a nationalist discourse that celebrated the lower class, and at least symbolically, included Chileans of lesser status in an imagined community’ (p. 13). Politically mainly, albeit not exclusively, organised in the Radical Party, these reformers fostered and embraced, Barr-Melej consequently claims, a nationalism that ‘stood firmly between revolution and reaction’ (p. 4), between the suppressed working class and the still dominating traditional oligarchy.

Following a summary discussion of the political, socio-economic, and cultural developments that the country experienced between the end of the Portalian regime in 1891 and Arturo Alessandri’s victory in the presidential election of 1920, i.e., during the Parliamentary Republic, and, as he concedes, ‘a schematic history of Chilean patriotism and nationalism’ (p. 16), Barr-Melej focuses on the two areas that from his point of view were central to the middle-class reformers’ nationalist, yet anti-oligarchic and anti-revolutionary, endeavours: literature, namely the genre of *criollismo*, and education. The representatives of *criollismo*, who, influenced by European naturalism, emerged since the turn of the last century, broke with ‘narratives that rarely ventured from the pursuits of the privileged few’ (p. 77) and identified the countryside as the place where true Chilean identity (*la chilenidad*) preserved cohesion; for the first time, authors like Baldomiro Lillo, Guillermo Labarca Hubertson and Rafael Maluenda Labarca ‘ascribed cultural worth and national significance’ (p. 78) to the rural lower classes, primarily embodied in the *huasos* (or campesino horsemen). Reformers in public education, on the other hand, ‘moved to democratize culture through the expansion of state-directed schooling and, at the same time, sought to sculpt the proper citizen by way of nationalist teaching in and outside the classroom’ (p. 142). They attempted to achieve the first objective with the introduction of compulsory primary education, a law finally approved in August 1920 amidst much political controversy and despite the fierce criticism and bitter resistance of conservative and Catholic opponents of the secular state, and the second one by means of nationalist curricula and the commemoration of state holidays.

By using extensive and illustrative quotes, not least in the chapter dealing with textbooks that since the mid-1920s various administrations had approved for use in state schools in order to foster the images of a national community and strengthen the sentiments of a shared destiny, Barr-Melej provides a vivid and lively account. The chapters on literature and education are, moreover, highly informative. At the same time, I am still not entirely convinced that this hegemonic project of middle class reformers, politically represented and executed by the Radicals, was really as ‘progressive’ and ‘democratic’ as he repeatedly claims. Although they might have contributed ‘to the withering of the elite’s political and cultural power’ (p. 236) during the period under study, one should also recognise that the Chilean political system remained patriarchal and very limited. Women, with the exception of the *criollista* Marta Brunet hardly present



in the book, continued to play a marginal role in Chilean society, even after the victory of Pedro Aguirre Cerdá in the presidential election of October 1938, the reformist camp's greatest political success. Nor did the situation of rural labourers change; as a matter of fact, with the complicity of the Popular Front government the traditional oligarchy kept them firmly under its control. Nor did the electorate increase during Aguirre Cerdá's administration. In the presidential election of February 1942 still only around ten per cent of the population were enfranchised. While the cultural and political discourse may have changed because of the middle class reformer's efforts, for the overwhelming majority of the Chilean people, including those *bucos criollista* authors and nationalist educators celebrated as the embodiment of *la chilenidad*, the reality of every day life certainly continued to be bleak. If Barr-Melej had paid more attention to the obvious limitations of the reform project, and not only mentioned them in passing, I feel he would have provided a more balanced account of the role the Chilean middle class played during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02456544

Jorgelina Corbatta, *Narrativas de la Guerra Sucia en Argentina: Piglia, Saer, Valenzuela, Puig* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1999), pp. 174, \$14.00 pb.

Jean Graham-Jones, *Exorcising History: Argentine Theater Under Dictatorship* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2000), pp. 259, £35.00 hb.

Both *Narrativas de la Guerra Sucia en Argentina* and *Exorcising History: Argentine Theater Under Dictatorship* consider the relationship between cultural production and the political context in Argentina during the years 1976–1983. Jorgelina Corbatta explores the ways in which the socio-cultural and political reality in Argentina becomes the source of narratives that scrutinise and seek to explain the root causes for the extremes of the period. While Jean Graham-Jones 'examine[s] how personal and collective history enters into the dramatic theatrical process' (p. 9). Both projects are ambitious, providing diverse means of access to the subtexts of the historical period and to the meta-narratives of the military.

Writing about books such as these forces entry into an area where language is openly manipulated to convey and reveal the realities of the political process. The most salient example is the naming of the period – is it the *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* or *la Guerra Sucia*? – which in itself is an inherently political. We enter a brutal linguistic world, made up of the vocabulary of illness, of the sick body, of the malignant growth that has to be eradicated, of the contaminated body that must be cleansed. These are metaphors that proclaim a clear and spine-chilling truthfulness about the 'Process'; and they are the metaphors that all the artists studied in both books exploit to a greater or lesser degree. According to Ana María Shua, whose *Soy paciente* (1980) uses a brutalised hospitalisation as a metaphor for the country, writers inside the country were 'the kings of euphemism', their language 'made out of allusions' (Corbatta, p. 38). Yet, what is striking about the narrative of *Soy paciente* is that it so entirely shares a lexicon with the military, and as such is far from metaphorical. It is almost entirely

transparent. What we are faced with in the works studied in both books is the shifting nature of the language, and the artistic endeavour to enter and reconfigure it.

Both Juan José Saer and Ricardo Piglia are central to an understanding of this process and are studied at length by Jorgelina Corbatta. Piglia interrogates the 'fictional forces' that shape the ways in which the narrative of power is constructed and understood. Burdened with the context of the repressive forces of the dictatorship, this narrative is read as a way of thinking and speaking of politics, of accounting for the 'dirty war'. When Corbatta turns her attention, for example, to the unopposed publication of Piglia's most famous novel, *Respiración artificial* (1980), she refers to the lack of an institutionalised censorship. Yet, the central question here is not censorship, and Piglia's writing takes us to the heart of the matter. This writing is not metaphorical, it does not set out to create a world of allusions, double meanings and suggestions. It is, rather, an intellectual and creative project in which the relationship between history and fiction is constantly interrogated. The allusive elements are present, yet they seem more like a decoy, the core being a narrative force that is capable of being political. In the work of Juan José Saer we enter a tightly constructed linguistic and literary world, revealing the power of wider authoritarian practice. In its study he mobilises a series of devices and experiences – psycho-analysis, the crime novel, the exploration of the subconscious, exile – which, in turn, question experiences of linguistic displacement and an uneasy abandonment of geographic belonging. All of these are to be repeated in the narratives of the dirty war, but nowhere as devastatingly as in Piglia or Saer.

Luisa Valenzuela writes of identities lived and destroyed under dictatorship. In her exploration of the relationship between power and sexuality and in the situating of this exploration in the feminine there is a profound immersion in the discourses of the time. In this chapter I missed a greater insistence on textual analysis, which would allow for the investigation of how these processes take place. But what is strongly conveyed, through a series of interviews and essays by the author, is Valenzuela's awareness of the difficulties inherent in the attempt to write beyond the overt and the conscious; an endeavour which is better explored by Corbatta through the masterfully narrated stories of Manuel Puig. Throughout *Narrativas de la Guerra Sucia en Argentina* there is an emphasis on the meta-textual, perhaps at the expense of the understanding of the narrative processes at work. But what this approach does provide, effectively and at times movingly, is a real sense of the Piglia's 'narrative forces' at work. Through the contextualised study of the novels, and the cinema of such as María Luisa Bemberg and Eliseo Subiela, Corbatta draws out many of the nuances of the languages that emerged to name and combat state violence.

In *Exorcising History: Argentine Theater Under Dictatorship*, Jean Graham-Jones explores the ever-problematic world of the relationship between theatre and society. The book is very well researched and documented: the bibliography is full and helpful, and the appendices give a useful and informative overview of theatre production in the historical and political context. It is an excellent introduction to the independent theatre of the time. Again, in a period such as this, the context is overwhelming: it shapes entirely the production of independent theatre whose key impulse, as stated here, is to fight disappearance. Graham-Jones covers a broad range of dramatists and productions as a means of

recognising the real strength of the theatre tradition in Argentina and documenting the reality of theatre production during the dictatorship. Writing with the sensibility of a theatre practitioner to the reality of theatrical production, Jean Graham-Jones alerts the reader to the processes of the creation of a 'tradition' (a constant in Latin American theatre), and to the ways in which aesthetics are developed. She does this with consistent reference to the context, and builds in a real sense of the ways in which such aesthetic and dramatic forms such as the grotesque have provided languages of resistance, centred as they are in violence, disintegration, longing, loss and hopeless hope.

Of particular interest is the section of 'Teatro Abierto' (1981–1985), regarded by most critics as 'the most important Argentine Theater movement of all time' (p. 89). Teatro Abierto used the context to define a set of clear politico-artistic goals, and in July–September 1981 'brought together twenty-one playwrights, twenty-one directors, more than one hundred fifty actors, technicians and designers, and some twenty-five thousand spectators' (p. 93). The scope and impact of the experience was unprecedented, and the analysis here establishes its aesthetic and political principles – art as vigilant (alert to realities around it) and as vigilante (responding to and challenging events) – and the response to the *Proceso* and the transition to democracy. This, in essence, is a case study of the theatrical consciousness: the ultimate disappearance of Teatro Abierto in 1985, during the transition to democracy, has been repeated all too often in similar circumstances. Here is the difficult relationship between art and politics that theatre will always negotiate, and that will allow dazzling moments of success that hold in them the sources of their future demise. Graham-Jones deals with this well, documenting discussions and productions. She ends with an insightful overview of the new practitioners, leaving the reader on the threshold of a series of new questions, which have as much to do with generational shift as with the transition to democracy.

These are two books that conscientiously chart the cultural history of these artistic forms, with a clear sense of the context and real sensitivity to the languages at play. As such, both serve as reliable and interesting introductions to the key themes and preoccupations of the period, as well as to the wider theoretical frameworks that have been used for its study.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02466540

Patricia Verdugo, *Chile, Pinochet, and the Caravan of Death* (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2001), pp. vii + 230, pb.

First published in Chile in 1989 under the title 'Los Zarpazos del Puma' Patricia Verdugo's book is one of the most important pieces of investigative journalism into the crimes of the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. It pieces together the events which took place in October 1973 when a helicopter under the command of General Sergio Arellano Stark whirled from Cauquenes in the south to Calama in the north, engaging in the arbitrary murder of detainees held in a number of cities. When it was over, 75 people were dead.

Pablo Neruda once wrote of the *conquistador* Pedro de Valdivia that he covered the country in death, solitude and scars. The 'caravan of death' which was headed by General Arellano but which derived its special authority from Pinochet had

similar consequences. The relatives of the victims have carried with them the appalling knowledge of the horror of the last hours of their loved ones, but even the son of General Arellano is offered to us as an object of pity as he flails around in an attempt to deny the incontrovertible evidence of the sins of his father.

One of the great strengths of this book is that it shows us the degree to which the campaign was planned for internal military reasons, as much as to terrorise an already traumatised civilian population. There were military men who were deeply troubled by what was unfolding, especially those from provincial garrisons who had good relationships with the local and regional officials from Popular Unity parties. The 'caravan of death' was intended to demonstrate to these officers what was expected of them and to root out those who were felt to be too lenient. Some of those whose participation was not sufficiently enthusiastic also became victims of the process. At the same time, even among these men there is an alarming tendency to view the 'caravan of death' as exceptional or illegitimate given that 'order' had already been restored in their areas. The seizure and execution of men who had already been sentenced or who were awaiting trial was particularly barbaric but there was no legitimacy in their detention in the first place, nor in any of the 'official' sentences handed down by the courts martial prior to the arrival of General Arellano.

On his arrival in the northern cities, General Arellano's pen would hover over a list of names, selecting those who would be executed. Verdugo's book reveals this process in what – at the time at least – must have appeared both bewildering and illogical. Those who had only recently been mayors or public officials or labour activists were of course included. Surnames were no protection – Eugenio Ruiz Tagle in Antofagasta was a young relative of ex-President Frei. He had voluntarily surrendered to the new authorities and was killed with a barbarism that almost defies the imagination. Nor was an utter lack of any real political significance an obstacle to selection – Jorge Peña was Director of the School of Music in La Serena and also fell victim to the terror. Now of course, the brutal logic of this kind of process is more obvious but its impact on the citizens weeping in the streets is impossible to overstate. Among the protagonists of this drama are some of the most despicable of the military regime – Armando Fernández Larrios, Pedro Espinoza, Marcelo Morén Brito. These grotesque figures would resurface later in the constellation of torture centres which the DINA established across the country and in the assassination of Orlando Letelier in Washington.

There is a great deal in this book which throws fascinating light on military rule in Chile: the involvement of the civilian right in selecting victims for repression; the degree to which it was necessary to 'harden' the military in the early days; the use of arbitrary terror as a precursor to the more selective brutality of the later years. There are also a few minor quibbles, which probably arise from translation problems – such as the description of the Popular Unity coalition as a party, and a falling off in the narrative drive towards the end of the book. Nevertheless, this is a fine and important piece of journalism which was considered significant enough to be included as evidence by Judge Guzmán when he indicted Pinochet for the crimes of the caravan of death in 2001.

Ultimately, and in spite of the title, the book throws little light on Pinochet himself. While his moral and intellectual responsibility for the actions of the 'Officer Delegate' and his team of assassins is beyond question, we still have little evidence as to the exact nature of Pinochet's relationship with the men who

carried out his orders. Nevertheless, the contents of this book will go some way to correcting the recent transformation of Pinochet into some kind of cartoon despot, standing apart from those sectors of society which supported him and stripped of his real, complex, malice. Every page of this book bears eloquent testimony to the solitude and scars which remained after his caravan of death had swept through Chile's northern cities.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02476547

Leigh A. Payne, *Uncivil Movements: The Armed Right Wing and Democracy in Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. xxx + 297, £33.00 hb.

The literature on Latin American social movements tends to focus on the 'new' social actors and their contribution to deepening democracy, challenging neoliberal economic policies, and articulating new identities forged from different social antagonisms than the more traditional cleavages. In contrast, *Uncivil Movements* examines the mobilisation, political action and symbolic challenges made by right-wing groups in the region to demonstrate that certain pathologies of democracy and civil society make mobilisation from such groups possible. Rather than identifying a new actor in the region, the book examines one that has been long-neglected by social scientists. Concentrating on the activities of the *Carapintadas* in Argentina, the *União Democrática Rural* (UDR) in Brazil and the *Contras* in Nicaragua, the book offers an account of how the right wing has been able to construct a strong symbolic and violent challenge to the nascent democratic institutions in the region.

The book defines uncivil movements as 'political groups within democracies that employ civil and uncivil political action to promote exclusionary policies' (p. 1). The theoretical framework developed to explain these movements draws heavily on symbolic interactionism and social constructivism to demonstrate that the mobilisation tactics of these movements include the use of legitimating myths, political framing and cultural cues. This framework favours these cultural theories over rationalist and structural ones, which focus on resource mobilisation, political processes and political opportunity structures. While the privileging of cultural explanation over these other explanations could be better defended, the fascinating account that emerges shows how these movements employ their strategies to turn their particular set of grievances into political action. The empirical section of the book relies on a wealth of evidence from a series of prolonged field missions that the author made to each country, during which she gained unprecedented access to the key leaders, their families and activists within the movements.

The *Carapintadas* emerged from a set of disaffected military officers in Argentina during the Alfonsín administration, and reacted against its efforts to prosecute individuals within the military for gross human rights abuses committed during the 'Dirty War' between 1976 and 1983. The violent challenge offered by this group was only stopped by President Menem granting pardons and amnesties for the affected officers, after which the movement became institutionalised as a political party. The UDR in Brazil emerged as a reaction against the increase in land invasions carried out by landless rural workers, who were supported in some areas by the Comissão Pastoral de Terra (CPT) and

actively mobilised in other areas by the Movimento Sem Terra (MST). The pattern of rural violence in Brazil peaked in the mid-1980s, while the UDR benefited from a conservative legal system that tends to favour the landholders. The agrarian reforms instituted by the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution were arguably less radical than those overseen by the military regime precisely because of the violent threats made by the UDR. The failure to prosecute landholders responsible for the violence 'may have heightened political polarization, armed conflict, and disenchantment with the government' (p. 161). Finally, the *Contras* have been a persistent political force in Nicaragua since they emerged out of Somoza's National Guard in 1979. Over the years, they have been heavily supported by the CIA during the Sandinista period, formed a political party (Partido de Resistencia Nicaragüense, or PRN) toward the end of the period, and continued a violent campaign as the *Recontras* during the Chamorro government. In contrast to the other cases, the withdrawal of US support for the *Contras* illustrates an important international dimension to curbing the power of uncivil movements, while the continued weakness of institutions has left Nicaraguan democracy vulnerable.

Overall, this book is a welcome addition to the literature on social movements and democracy. On the one hand, it shows the inherent fragility of democracies that emerged from transitional agreements and weak institutional arrangements, where a certain permeability of the new democratic system leaves open the possibility of action from the armed right wing. On the other hand, it illustrates how civil society is both the target and terrain of uncivil movements, and is not the exclusive domain of progressive political action. The set of comparative inferences offered in the conclusion, however, show that beyond consideration of uncivil movements in other cases in Latin America, transitional democracies in other parts of the world, the book's framework and analysis can be used to examine uncivil movements in consolidated democracies. The book is thus a careful and important reminder of the persistent threats to democracy, while it offers important strategies for how democratic governments can exploit tensions within such movements to reduce their overall power.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02486543

Wayne A. Cornelius and David Myhre (eds.), *The Transformation of Rural Mexico: Reforming the Ejido Sector* (La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD, 1998), pp. x + 437, \$21.95 pb.

Richard Snyder and Gabriel Torres (eds.), *The Future Role of the Ejido* (La Jolla: Centre for U.S. Mexico Studies, UCSD, 1998), pp. viii + 118, \$12.00 pb.

In the early 1990s the Salinas administration carried out a radical package of neoliberal reforms designed to restructure the Mexican countryside in the run-up to NAFTA and GATT. The explicit rationale underlying these reforms was to reorder legal frameworks and institutional structures to ensure compatibility with free markets and in particular establish well-defined property rights enforceable through the legal system (the lack of which, it was held, had hindered agricultural investment). One institution considered incompatible was the *ejido* – the agrarian community with inalienable use rights and collective control over land,

established after the Revolution as the principle vehicle for land redistribution, channelling state supports, and ensuring political control. Wide-reaching amendments to Constitutional Article 27 and associated regulatory laws closed the possibility of further redistribution, promulgating a series of measures to foster the privatisation of existing *ejidos*, the creation of joint ventures, or the absorption of *ejido* land into medium and large-scale commercial enterprises. Additionally, state-owned enterprises were privatised, state-marketing boards disbanded, state subsidies removed and rural finance was restructured.

These two books examine the impact of these reforms on the *ejido* (or ‘social’) sector, an important topic given that this sector comprises over three million households occupying more than half of Mexico’s arable land. They are the product of a larger interdisciplinary *Ejido Reform Research Project* and form part of a more extensive series of publications. *The Transformation of Rural Mexico* comprises 15 locally and historically grounded case studies, carried out between 1992–6 documenting and analysing how diverse *ejido* peasants and communities responded to and negotiated these reforms and wider macro-economic changes in the short term – including the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. These are framed by the editors’ introduction, as well as chapters by Appendini and Myhre, which reveal how *ejido* sector needs and interests were subordinated to those of the commercial sector in the reform package and the reorganisation of rural finance, respectively. *The Future of the Ejido* presents five further complementary case studies from a slightly later phase of research (1996–7), succinctly introduced by Snyder’s excellent policy-oriented discussion.

As the co-ordinators propose, these collections will undoubtedly provide a valuable baseline of comparison for future medium and long-term research on rural Mexico. But in any study of transformation it is important to set out a baseline from the past. A rather surprising omission, therefore, is that neither set of editors provides a systematic characterisation of the *ejido* itself and or the sector as a whole, nor a historical overview of its multi-faceted ‘traditional’ role within the post-revolutionary regime throughout most of the twentieth century. How was the *ejido* organised internally, and in relation to the state; what was the ideology and rationale for redistributing land in collective form and how did this fit into the ever-changing corporate system and economic nationalism, in theory and in practice? These questions are largely assumed rather than explained. As a result, the significance of what the *ejido* is/has been may be rather opaque to non-Mexicanists and younger generations of students, and has to be gleaned across the cases.

Nonetheless, such readers should not be deterred. The twenty case-studies contained in the two volumes are of a consistently high standard and constitute an impressive, diverse qualitative survey. One of the strengths is the wide range of regions, productive sectors and ecological context covered, including the very particular case of urban peripheries examined by Jones and Ward. This range and the multi-dimensional approach adopted by most authors reveals the complex cultural, economic, political and social heterogeneity subsumed by the label ‘*ejido* sector’ itself. Such complexity and heterogeneity is not incidental to policy outcomes, as the a-historical, homo oeconomicus premise of neoliberal policies suggests. Rather it is key to understanding the gap between the technocrat’s stated aims and the highly differentiated and often contradictory consequences of the reforms on the ground, as Otero’s chapter illustrates well in relation to the sugar sector.

One point commonly emphasised and demonstrated is that variations in local histories, identities, collective memories and concrete social formations shaped the varied ways *ejidatarios* responded to the land-titling programme, had a major impact on its effectiveness, and often modified its meaning. Many of those who participated in this programme seem to have done so as a means of regularising existing informal rental practices and increasing security of holdings, without proceeding to the second stage of full privatisation and disbandment of *ejido* associations and control. Indeed, in some cases, such as those documented by Stephen, Othón Baños, and Sierra and Moguel, the titling process may have strengthened short-term associational incentives by creating opportunities to establish new institutional linkages and access to state resources. Far from inculcating the spirit of the independent peasant entrepreneur oriented towards the market, in such cases agrarian bureaucrats seem to have reinforced beliefs about the state as primary patron.

The significance of such active micro-strategies is thrown into perspective by the bleak picture that emerges regarding the consequences of other parts of the reform package, the lack of a coherent agricultural policy, strategic technical and sectoral investment, and appropriate institutional support, to facilitate transition to the post-NAFTA regime. Recurring themes across chapters that audit the prospects for more prosperous and resource rich *ejidos* with the potential to pursue sustainable commercial livelihoods and consolidate niche positions in the international market are: the lack of credit, technical expertise and the difficulties of creating new forms of marketing and credit associations, as well as a re-regulated environment largely hostile to their needs and interests. Diversification in such contexts, as Goldring footnotes in relation to the devastated regional economy of Tierra Caliente, may be occurring on the ground in the domain of illegal crops such as marijuana.

The richness of this qualitative survey means it does not solely illuminate changes occurring in the Mexican countryside. It will also constitute a useful point of reference for broader comparison and for understanding emerging trends and rural problematics in the context of globalisation. After all, since the late 1980s, the neoliberal programme has been rapidly implemented by authoritarian regimes in many other countries, where peasants and small-scale producer associations face similar challenges and issues in relation to negotiating new forms of domination, legal-institutional configurations, international food markets and trans-national forces. In this regard, many of the studies provide important analytical, methodological and theoretical insights relevant to researchers working on rural development issues elsewhere, as well as wider lessons to policy-makers – for whom they should be compulsory reading.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0249654X

William C. Prillaman, *The Judiciary and Democratic Decay in Latin America: Declining Confidence in the Rule of Law* (Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 2000), pp. viii + 198, £44.95, £17.50 pb.

William Prillaman has written a long overdue and highly welcome volume on the topical issue of judicial reform in Latin America. The book engages head-on with a subject that, until recently, has been noticeably missing from the political and



institutional analysis of the region, despite the critical position of the judiciary in the workings of democracy. Prillaman presents an insightful analysis of the issues and concepts that need to be more clearly defined if we are to reach a better understanding of judiciaries and their place in democratic rule. This is particularly important with a view to improving the prospects for effective judicial reform, which, to date, has been characterised by failure and disappointment in Latin America. The inadequacies, of judicial reform efforts are contributing, Prillaman argues, to the dramatic process of democratic decay present in much of the region.

*The Judiciary and Democratic Decay* identifies three variables which are key concerns in judicial reform programs: independence, efficiency and access. All three aspects in the administration of justice have historically been problematic in much of the region, and, to varying degrees, they have been the object of many of the judicial reform programs. Through the discussion of four case studies, Prillaman develops a comparative framework of analysis which aims to evaluate the successes and failures of specific reform strategies. The case studies, El Salvador, Brazil, Argentina and Chile, represent different approaches to judicial reform, which are assessed in terms of the three variables identified.

In El Salvador, the reform process initially only tinkered at the margins of major structural flaws in the justice system. In a context of civil war and major political resistance, what in effect was little more than a narrowly focused and overly technocratic reform strategy failed to make any major inroads into the problems of justice administration in the 1980s. Throughout the 1990s the approach to reform changed somewhat. Judicial reform became much more of a nationally rooted political project, and its scope was broadened. Nonetheless, access related issues continued to be neglected. In Brazil a much more ambitious judicial reform programme took off with the 1988 Constitution, and all three variables were the subject of much debate and a considerable degree of reform. Despite the broader scope of judicial reform, failure, here, is explained in terms of the political environment which impeded the development of a comprehensive and cohesive reform strategy. Instead what prevailed was a populist approach to judicial reform leading to misguided institutional changes that resulted in structural distortions, greater corruption, and overwhelming problems of court inefficiency. In Argentina judicial reform was undertaken under both the Alfonsín and the Menem administrations. Changes in the justice system were addressed sequentially, responding to the specific political agenda of the different presidential periods. Alfonsín advanced judicial independence, but neglected to address access and efficiency. Menem, by contrast, implemented important advances in terms of access and efficiency, but deliberately undermined the political independence of the courts. Over time, as in El Salvador and Brazil, the public perception of the judiciary has dramatically deteriorated, contributing to the process of democratic decay. Only Chile represents a happier picture of judicial reform. Prillaman attributes this to a much more comprehensive approach, where all three variables – independence, efficiency and access to justice – were addressed simultaneously. A political climate of caution and moderation led to more modest claims with regard to the desired outcomes. On the whole public opinion of the justice system has not deteriorated in Chile in contrast to the other three cases.

From the case studies, Prillaman draws certain conclusions regarding the performance of the reform strategies in question. Firstly, experience seems to

suggest that isolating any one single variable of the judicial system for reform, or implementing reforms in a sequential and unrelated fashion will tend to produce further distortions and bottlenecks within the system. Secondly, it is impossible to isolate the design and implement any reform process from the broader political and economic context as this will inevitably affect the outcome. And finally, judicial reform is in itself an inherently political process, and will certainly have an impact on specific political interests and involve political confrontation. Judicial reform is thus a complex process which requires a strong awareness of the political milieu in which it is implemented, as well as a comprehensive approach that addresses different areas of the justice system simultaneously.

Prillaman has written a highly informative and well documented volume which represents an invaluable addition to the literature on judicial politics in Latin America. The book is undoubtedly an important contribution to our understanding of the complex process of judicial reform.

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*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02506544

William M. Denevan, *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. xxx + 396, £70.00 hb.

In the early 1960s scholars of pre-European peoples in Latin America began to show the agricultural basis for the upward revision in estimates of circa 1492 indigenous populations – but not by studying lands where soils were most fertile and agricultural conditions most appropriate. Rather, researchers looked to environments that modern agronomists considered too dry, too steep or too wet. They began to report spectacular landscapes of abandoned terraces carved into steep and dry Andean mountain slopes that were once fed by irrigation canals; they also described amazing regularly shaped ditches and platforms in the middle of wetlands, in Venezuela and Bolivia, and, somewhat later, they began to report sprawling sites of black, fertile soils in the Amazon that were clearly anthropogenic.

*Cultivated Landscapes* synthesises nearly 40 years of multi-disciplinary field and archival research on South American indigenous agriculture, covering visible features such as agricultural terraces and raised fields, and also intensive swidden-fallow agroforestry. The author, William M. Denevan, professor emeritus of geography at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, published articles in the early 1960s that stimulated a generation of scholars who would later explain the landscape features that had been created long before 1500. Flying above the Llanos de Mojos of lowland Bolivia in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Denevan observed linear patterns that turned out to be relics of pre-Hispanic intensive agriculture in a region today devoted to extensive cattle ranching. He has since dedicated most of his academic life to the study of indigenous agriculture.

Denevan draws from his own field work and that of colleagues from various disciplines to present the state-of-the-art knowledge on several regions and themes, creating a significant and valuable synthesis for South America. Key among these are discussions of agricultural terraces in the Colca Valley of southern Peru, raised agricultural fields in the Lake Titicaca Basin and *terra preta*

(black earth) sites in Amazonian uplands. Agricultural terraces, which cover approximately 600,000 hectares in Peru, help control irrigation water and reduce soil erosion on steep slopes, increase solar insolation and lower the risk of frost. In the Colca, for example, terraces dating to 2400 BC contain soils that have considerably higher phosphorus, nitrogen, organic carbon and water capacity than non-terraced soils. Analysis of aerial photographs and field observation revealed that over half of terraces have been abandoned; the highest rates of abandonment are in unirrigated areas and on slopes most distant from present village locations.

Raised fields, reported in several South American wetlands, improve soil drainage and appear as ridges, platforms and mounds. The Titicaca raised fields, first reported in the scientific literature by Denevan and his colleagues in 1968, cover approximately 120,000 hectares in Peru and Bolivia. Near Lake Titicaca (3,800 to 3,900 metres above sea level), raised fields, which were constructed around 1000 BC, remove excessive soil moisture, reduce frost risk and lower soil pH. Restored raised fields have produced two or three times the potato yields of conventional fields.

In Amazonia, the continuing discovery of *terra preta* (dark earth soils) supports Denevan's bluff model of settlement, initially elaborated in 1996 but refined in *Cultivated Landscapes* as a 'patch pattern model'. Denevan maintains that pre-1500 Amazonian peoples relied on patches of intensive farming of uplands or bluffs, using both *terra preta* sites, which were 'separated by large, sparsely occupied sectors', and floodplain (*várzea*) resources (p. 127). Key to this settlement model are *terra preta* sites, which were created by indigenous Amazonians and display higher fertility, phosphorus, organic matter and pH than most upland soils, permitting continuous cultivation.

Forty years ago scholars were interested in raised fields, agricultural terraces and other intensive farming schemes as manifestations of the way past societies interacted with environmental resources. In the past fifteen years, researchers have sought to apply knowledge of abandoned terraces and raised fields to contemporary agricultural dilemmas, especially how to avoid dependence on fossil fuel- and chemical-intensive agriculture. For Denevan, 'South American Indian farmers were and continue to be technologically sophisticated, diverse in field systems, ecologically knowledgeable, and substantially productive, although also capable of major environmental change' (p. xv). In fact, he argues that the 'general sustainability' of indigenous intensive agriculture could be integrated with the 'high productivity objective' of modern agriculture (p. 306) to address problems faced by small-scale farmers. Certainly, *Cultivated Landscapes* provides an excellent synthesis of indigenous South American agriculture; it will remain for present and future generations, however, to negotiate the difficult political-economic and socio-cultural challenges of integrating such different agricultural strategies.

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