

apertura paved the way for local dissident movements like those within the powerful SNTE (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación) and the national teachers' trade union. Dillingham's tracing of local politics and the discussion of how Mixtec speakers became teachers is fascinating, as are the encounters between urban leftists and indigenous councils, the former being taught a lesson between revolutionary theory and practice. Although the study could have included more of these accounts, the real issue is the tension between neoliberal multiculturalism and indigenous anticolonialist discourse that eventually led to the 2006 *movimiento*. With its roots in the 1970s Petrostate, the drive to commodify indigenous culture through celebrations such as the Guelaguetza, whose origins were rooted in a unifying folkloric festival in the 1930s, lies at the heart of the resistance.

Ultimately, as Dillingham points out, official multiculturalism did not exclude indigenous radical politics. Instead, activists operated within the environment the state facilitated. It was, in essence, the numerous programs, resurgences, and professionals from within and without that transformed Oaxaca's cultural and political landscape, making it one of the places where inequality continues to be challenged. The value this important study brings to the field is that it uncovers the long history of indigenous activism that survived and even thrived despite the oppressive nature of one of the longest-lived political regimes of the Western Hemisphere, a testament to the will of Oaxaca's communities.

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PAN AMERICAN ORGANIZING AND LATIN AMERICAN FEMINISTS

A Hemisphere of Women: The Founding and Development of the Inter-American Commission, 1915–1939. By E. Sue Wamsley. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2022. Pp. xiii, 203. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00 cloth; \$60.00 e-book. doi:10.1017/tam.2022.83

Historians of Latin America will not be surprised by E. Sue Wamsley's thesis: US feminists involved in the founding and early years of the Pan American Union's Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW) behaved imperialistically toward Latin American feminists, who brought their own experience and agency to Pan American organizing, thus limiting US domination. Wamsley is particularly critical of the US National Women's Party (NWP), equal-rights feminists who, she argues, sought to leverage control of the IACW to further their agenda in Euro-American feminist and League of Nations spheres of action.

Drawing on the papers of several leading US feminists and the archives of the IACW, NWP, and the US League of Women Voters, Wamsley has produced a richly documented organizational history of the struggle to create the IACW within the Pan American Union and then a history of the commission's first decade, with NWP leader Doris Stevens as its chair. She argues that the IACW is worthy of study as the first quasi-governmental international feminist organization, one that forced some progress toward women's international legal equality in the 1930s, and in which Latin American feminists exercised agency in relation to both powerful male officials and US feminists.

Focusing on elite, educated liberal feminists who were claiming some quasi-governmental authority, Wamsley frames her book within historiographies of women, diplomacy, and foreign relations, rather than those of gender and social movements, political parties, or labor and unions. Thus, her focus is on power struggles within the IACW among nationally defined groups of women. The resulting narrative features a gallery of Latin American feminists who engaged in diverse negotiations with each other and with US feminists over the leadership and agenda of the IACW, but who are not deeply anchored by Wamsley in their shifting national and inter-Latin American contexts. For example, how did the collapse of oligarchic Liberal governments affect the experience and agendas that Latin American feminists were bringing to the IACW?

Nonetheless, Wamsley shows the considerable number of Latin American women—and some male allies in government—who engaged with the IACW. Historians of Latin American elite feminists in the 1910s through the 1930s will find new details about their protagonists in this book. The downfall of Doris Stevens and her replacement by Ana Rosa de Martínez Guerrero of Argentina in 1939 was in large part due to US party and labor politics, not least the attitude of New Dealers to protective women's labor legislation. Placing the IACW in broader political, social, and historiographical contexts would have made this more than an organizational history.

The classism and racism of elite liberal feminists are well documented, as are their roles in reproducing systems of capitalist, racist, and imperialist oppression domestically and internationally. Wamsley acknowledges this, but for the most part she characterizes US IACW leaders' behavior as aggressive, arrogant, and bullying, rather than asking how they likely perceived even their white Latin American counterparts as racially inferior, or how Latin American IACW activists may have asserted the racial fitness of their own organization and that of their governments and nations, either overtly or by refusing to allow Stevens to treat the IACW as her fiefdom.

Wamsley mentions NWP assistance to Puerto Rican suffragists in the late 1920s and Muna Lee's simultaneous volunteer service as the IACW's first director of information and publicity. Married to Luis Muñoz Marín, bilingual, and resident in Puerto Rico for a decade, Lee perceptively argued that women, "like Puerto Rico, are dependents. We are anomalies before the law" (85). The impossibility of a Puerto Rican delegation to the IACW underscores that Latin American IACW activists were engaging not simply

arrogant US feminists, but also a hemispheric imperialist hegemon that could withhold the Nineteenth Amendment from its own colonial citizens.

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EUGENIC THOUGHT IN CHILE

The Religion of Life: Eugenics, Race, and Catholicism in Chile. By Sara Walsh. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. Pp. 223. \$50.00 cloth.
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This book seeks to contribute to a growing literature on the history of eugenics in Latin America by describing eugenic thought in Chile in the first half of the twentieth century. On one axis, it seeks to describe the relationship between two strands of eugenic thought in Chile, one overtly Catholic and the other “secular.” On another axis, it highlights the role of gender in eugenic thought. In addition, the book argues that Chilean eugenics was built around an idea of mestizo national identity while still embracing a commitment to white supremacy. Walsh argues, “Chilean eugenic scientists combined elements from European, North American, and Latin American racial theory and refashioned them to create a particular blend of tolerance for racial mixture in the abstract and preference for European heritage in reality.” (15)

The book is thematically organized into six chapters. The first chapter begins by discussing how Catholic and secular eugenicists agreed in the 1920s and 1930s on the existence of a marriage crisis that threatened the nation’s racial health—those who were “fit” seemed not to reproduce. The last third of the chapter, however, is more focused on how secular eugenicists were critical of the role of religion and how Catholic writers responded to such criticism. Chapter 2 describes how Catholic intellectuals—both scientists and non-scientists—made the case that science and Catholicism could be harmonized. Chapter 3 describes differences between Chilean and mainstream North Atlantic eugenics and tries to make the case that Catholic eugenicists contributed to that distinctive character.

Chapter 4 moves back to the early twentieth century to analyze the book *Raza chilena* by Nicolás Palacios and its peculiar but influential theory that the admixture of Araucanian and Visigothic blood and patriarchal culture had produced a superior “race” in Chile. Chapter 5 returns to the comparison of later Catholic and secular eugenicists to describe how both groups wrote about the need to control sexuality (especially female sexuality) in order to “prevent racial degeneration.” Chapter 6 describes the use of images in eugenicist publications. Walsh argues that these images sought to establish whiteness as normative and associate non-whiteness with abnormality and degeneracy.