

took in implementing (or not) Bourbon reforms, an argument that adds an important dimension to the literature on creole patriotism.

The book is organized into a series of vignettes, written in an engaging style, that highlight the debates engendered by particular medical reforms. Warren does not present these reforms as *faits accomplis*, but rather explores in depth the local conditions and power struggles that complicated their implementation. These include struggles between colonial government officials and local medical practitioners, both secular and religious, over the control and regulation of medical knowledge and practice, the administration of smallpox vaccine, the operations of Lima's leper hospital and a proposed cure for leprosy, reform of funerary and burial practices, and the proposed curriculum for the newly established School of Medicine and Surgery of San Fernando in Lima. The reforms demonstrate, on the one hand, Bourbon efforts to invoke the modernizing, secularizing discourse of science coming out of the Enlightenment. Although these efforts did have some significant effects, the reforms also engendered significant discord that would ultimately serve to solidify the basis of creole identity and resistance to imperial authority. The many conflicts of interest between religious and lay medical practitioners also show the high degree of integration of religious and secular authorities in the medical establishment that was typical of early modern Catholic societies, but whose importance is often underestimated in a largely Protestant historiographic tradition.

Warren's work thus adds important new dimensions to our knowledge of medical practice in the late colony. What is left to do now is to build a larger narrative of medicine and science in colonial Latin America and the Spanish Atlantic that synthesizes the findings of the new literature in the field. Along similar lines, Warren himself advises that "historians would do well to adopt . . . comparative approaches that look beyond a single regional case of social reforms within a trans-Atlantic framework" (p. 226). The trick is, however, to do so without sacrificing the exploration of the richness and variety of local contexts, something that Warren does so well in this book.

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## RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

*Like Leaven in the Dough: Protestant Social Thought in Latin America, 1920–1950.* By Carlos Mondragón. Translated by Daniel Miller and Ben Post. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011. Pp. 186. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00 hardcover.

This concise work by Carlos Mondragón, a psychologist and historian who is professor of Latin American Studies in the Itzcala Faculty of Advanced Studies of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), locates the development of Protestant social thought within the history of ideas in Latin America. Through their books and

articles, the intellectual leadership of Protestantism influenced public debate far beyond the membership of their churches. Daniel Miller and Ben Post, through their highly readable translation, have given English readers access to this piece of Latin American and political history.

Mondragón demonstrates clearly how the social positions taken by the authors he studied flowed directly from the foundational theological positions shared by Protestants. For example, the promotion of religious freedom was not simply a pragmatic defense of their own religious movement. Protestants believe that individuals are responsible before God for their actions and beliefs, and thus that the freedom of conscience inherent in human beings created in the image of God cannot be controlled by any state or ecclesiastical institution. From this basic right flows the freedom of worship, the right to practice one's religion without interference. These Protestants went further and demanded religious liberty—the free exchange of religious ideas in the public sphere.

As Mondragón shows in the brief historical chapter, Protestant ideas had circulated in Latin America, despite prohibitions, since colonial times. By the decades under study, Protestant churches had existed for at least half a century in most Latin American countries. Against those who identified Latin American culture with Catholicism, Protestant authors constructed an alternative identity that was both Latin American and Protestant. On one hand, they argued that Protestantism had historical roots in Latin nations such as France and Spain. On the other hand, they asserted their right to adapt ideas coming from outside the region to local conditions while rejecting interference by foreign governments and economic interests.

Mondragón characterizes the Protestantism of the writers he surveys as “a religion of individual and social regeneration” (p. 61). Given the supreme value of human persons in their anthropological vision, these writers rejected Soviet collectivism and took a critical stance toward capitalism. As Mondragón points out, these authors expounded on many themes that would be taken up in Latin American liberation theology, such as the Kingdom of God and Jesus's identification with the poor as well as his working-class origins.

Given that Mondragón emphasizes the contributions of Protestant writers in this period to the debates over the shape of Latin American societies, two gaps in this work are particularly striking. Of the 114 individuals included in the useful annotated list of people mentioned in the text, only four are women. Like many venues of the time, Protestant publications did not give much space to women writers. Yet during precisely these decades, women in several Latin American countries were organizing to gain the right to vote. In their proposals for society, the writers Mondragón cites did have ideas about the roles of women. Did the belief in the priesthood of all believers translate into a vision of the rights of women in society? Despite the multiethnic composition of Latin American societies and the presence of Protestant churches in those countries, Mondragón makes no reference to the indigenous populations or the debates of the period around *indigenismo*. What did Protestant leaders think the role of indigenous

minorities, and in some countries indigenous majorities, should be in the construction of Latin American nations?

Though the Protestant churches represented by the intellectual leadership whose thought Mondragón surveys are a minority today among Latin American Protestants, the political positions these writers advocated remain relevant. Protestant communities in the southern part of Mondragón's own Mexico continue to suffer violent attacks motivated by religious intolerance. A proposal currently before the Costa Rican legislature would finally establish a secular state by removing Roman Catholicism as the official state religion. Throughout the continent, evangelicals have organized political parties that are vying for a share of power. The debate over the role of religion in politics in Latin America continues.

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