

*Alliance* is an extremely impressive scholarly achievement. It is provocative, lively, and highly intelligent.

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## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JULIA J. S. SARREAL. *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2014. Pp. xiii, 335. \$65.00.

*The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History* brings together two subfields that rarely converse with one another: ethnohistory and economic history. Although the balance of sources falls more heavily toward the economic part of this story—as does the content of the book—Julia J. S. Sarreal makes a strong case for the agency of the Guaraní in the construction, maintenance, and decline of their missions in the borderlands of what is today Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. At the same time, Sarreal provides new insight into Guaraní social structure, especially its elite ranks.

Missions played a crucial role in the Spanish Empire. They were multi-faceted institutions, whose purpose was to convert, “civilize,” and control native populations on imperial frontiers. In addition to their expressly religious and cultural purposes, missions served as nodes of production and trade. The 30 Jesuit missions that figure in Sarreal’s history were some of the largest and most productive of any in Spanish America.

Although the Jesuits established their first mission in the Río de la Plata region in 1609, the book’s narrative focuses primarily on the eighteenth century, tracing an arc from the peak years of the mission enterprise to the three decades of decline that followed the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Spain’s American colonies in 1767. The book is organized both chronologically and thematically. The first four chapters set the stage by introducing the actors who propelled the “life cycle of the missions” (p. 14), including the Guaraní before and after missionization, the Jesuits, the colonists and *bandeirantes* who conducted slave raids among the Guaraní, and other European actors whose predations, combined with the devastating effects of disease, encouraged the Guaraní to enter the missions for protection and survival. The book’s first four chapters also lay out the missions’ institutional structure and the rhythms of daily life, which included nuclear family households, agricultural labor, and artisanal production, and the demands of Catholic ritual. Sarreal paints a picture of mission life at its height, when they were “economic powerhouse[s]” that accounted for a significant percentage of the region’s production and trade.

The book’s major historiographical contribution is to be found in chapters 5 through 9, which, taken together, explain the missions’ decline. Here, Sarreal organizes and interprets an impressive amount of economic data taken from mission receipts, account books, summary reports, and audits. She argues that contrary to earlier

interpretations that point to corruption as a major factor in the missions’ demise, the missions declined for a multitude of reasons, including disinvestment, free-market competition, a drop in demand for yerba maté (a major product of the missions), regional economic growth, and political restructuring that accompanied the Bourbon Reforms. Sarreal points to the economically devastating effects of the introduction of an administration divided between church and crown, which resulted in the missions having to pay salaried imperial bureaucrats. For example, one mission had to sustain 31 new state officials, an expense that proved to be unviable over the long run. The missions’ changing fortunes expanded social inequality during their 30 years of decline; the reforms benefited *cabildo* (town council) members, whereas the standard of living among the majority of the mission population declined.

Sarreal highlights Guaraní agency in the history of the missions. She provides important insight into the role of Guaraní leaders, who the Jesuits called “*caciques*,” the term that Spanish officials used for indigenous lords in other regions of Spanish America. *Caciques* and other Guaraní leaders exercised their power through the institution of the *cabildo*, a structure of local governance that existed throughout the Iberian world. The Jesuits relied on Guaraní *caciques* and *cabildo* officers to administer and oversee all elements of the mission enterprise. Without them, the missions could not have functioned. Sarreal endeavors to understand the multidimensional authority of these figures, characterizing their forms of leadership according to a three-way typology: coercive and organizational (based on the institutional structures of the mission), and charismatic (based on Guaraní concepts of leadership). Many Guaraní leaders drew upon and exhibited the characteristics of more than one of these forms of leadership at a time. Sarreal’s analysis of authority and hierarchy among the mission Guaraní provides a valuable comparative case study to a thick historiography on colonial native leadership and social structure in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.

*The Guaraní and Their Missions* contributes significantly to ethnohistory, mission history, borderlands history, and the socioeconomic history of eighteenth-century Río de la Plata. The major tension in the book—how to balance an emphasis on structural forces, especially when the sources privilege these, with an emphasis on indigenous agency—reflects broader tensions in the historiography of Spanish America. That Sarreal goes a long way toward reconciling this tension makes her book a unique contribution to the field, and one whose impact will be felt for a long time.

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VIRGINIA GARRARD-BURNETT, MARK ATWOOD LAWRENCE, and JULIO E. MORENO, editors. *Beyond the Eagle’s Shadow: New Histories of Latin America’s Cold War*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. Pp. viii, 341. \$55.00.

This is an important book that questions stereotypical approaches to both the Cold War and modern Latin American history. Outside of Latin America there is a tradition to write the history of the region as if it was decided in the United States. According to this view, outside agency is more relevant than local actors and national histories. In this context, Latin America is read as a passive reservoir of American foreign policy decisions and the agency of its national and transnational sources is given a secondary role. To be sure, the policies and histories of the United States are of key importance but first and foremost Latin American developments are of more relevance to Latin American history. This is the view of the authors of this collection, appropriately titled *Beyond the Eagle's Shadow: New Histories of Latin America's Cold War*. More specifically, the contributors stress how the Cold War should be read in the Latin American context and, to a large extent, explained through it. They want to displace the U.S.-Latin America binary but also to explain key distinctions in the history of the region and especially in terms of zones of contact and connected histories of the Cold War in both geopolitical areas. The authors are critical of the view of Latin American history as a mere recipient of American foreign policy decisions. They show how the situation was clearly more complex on the ground and how it involved the dynamic interaction between national and transnational actors, politics, and narratives. In short, this new volume edited by historians Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Mark Atwood Lawrence, and Julio E. Moreno, powerfully questions the North American emphasis on Latin American history.

As the editors stress in their subtle introduction: "Our goal is, in part, to question the totality of U.S. domination by exploring ways in which Latin Americans determined their own history by resisting U.S. influence or, more often, bending the Cold War to local purposes. Yet we have no intention to write Washington (or Moscow) out of the picture. In examining Latin American agency, one must be careful not to overstate the case" (p. 4). And yet, the opposite case has been long overstated and this book helps to correct that picture. It does so not by stressing the dialectical "other" of that argument but rather by integrating the local with the global.

The different essays illuminate the complex interactions of local links and Cold War transnational realities from acts of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary political violence to more structural instances of everyday violence. For example, Jonathan C. Brown's deep analysis of CIA-trained and/or more broadly American-supported men with guns shows how the ideological impetus and the practices of these Cuban commandos cannot be understood without their relative autonomy and the larger context of the Cuban exporting of revolution and counterrevolution. Many of these men were former revolutionaries and associates of Fidel Castro who turned counterrevolutionary after Castro came to power. Transnational revolutions and counterrevolutions

worked in tandem with local histories, as Seth Garfield suggests in his chapter on agrarian policies and the politics of national security in Brazil.

Global Cold War "mantras" were tailored to suit local needs. These receptions of the Cold War were not restricted to political repression and killings. In her study of "the other Dirty War" in Argentina, Jennifer T. Hoyt calls our attention to local urban policies and experiences in Buenos Aires during the last military dictatorship (1976–1983). She stresses the need to study the dictatorship's attempt to build consensus and how these attempts were resisted by local actors. Like the book as a whole, Hoyt demonstrates the historiographical need to move beyond a top-down, East-West approach to Cold War political realities on the ground.

All in all, the essays emphasize the experiential dimensions of Latin American actors. While some of these experiences were directly connected to global Cold War entities and actors, other experiences were less connected to state actors. If global trends led to national reformulations, local actors also experienced the Cold War in their everyday lives. When researched by historians these local responses complicate the global tropes and present a more complex view of the Cold War in Latin America and beyond.

The authors critically engage the ideological binaries established between Left-Right configurations which, if certainly important, did not work as neatly on the ground. As a whole, the book approaches Cold War ideologies through the history of practice. The result of this combination is seldom seen in Cold War studies, where these two dimensions are often approached separately. The book shows how a south-south emphasis also reframes our understanding of a north-north bipolar world. In this regard, the book joins, and also powerfully represents, previous pathbreaking books by Tanya Harmer, Virginia Garrard-Burnett, and others that emphasize the need to approach Cold War realities in Latin America as a dynamic result of national and transnational trends in and out of the Cold War context. The essays in this collection present a refreshing view on the global Cold War as experienced and often reformulated in its Latin American margins. This book will become an obligatory reference for scholars of the Cold War in Latin America and beyond.

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DANNA A. LEVIN ROJO. *Return to Aztlán: Indians, Spaniards, and the Invention of Nuevo México*. (Latin American and Caribbean Arts and Culture.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 307. \$34.95.

The idea of "Nuevo México" came from the mythology of the Mexica Tenochca (Aztecs). Danna A. Levin Rojo argues that this seemingly simple toponymic construct provides persuasive evidence to demonstrate that the colonial encounters of the sixteenth century represented a collaboration between discrete groups of conquerors, both native and European, to accomplish an indigenous