

costas en el Mar del Sur y en el Mar del Norte, y finalmente erosionaron todo el sistema de monopolio y flotas y galeones. El estudio se concentra en la segunda mitad del XVII. Uno de los modos de abolir los galeones fue no enviar la plata a Panamá, lo cual obligaba a los galeones a invernar en Tierra Firme. De hecho, desde la última década del siglo XVII ya predominaron naves de registro y naves extranjeras, entre ellas las de las compañías con las que los mercaderes limeños comerciaban en Europa.

Fueron los mercaderes limeños quienes destruyeron el sistema comercial diseñado por los Austrias y consiguieron defender, como siempre, un comercio libre con Europa. Sin embargo, la destrucción de caminos oficiales de comercio introdujo en los territorios antes monopolizados a nuevos comerciantes peninsulares, quienes compitieron con los limeños.

El estudio del Consulado no sería posible sin el de los bancos limeños. El lector, después de haber leído la maravillosa reconstrucción del consorcio de Juan de la Cueva comparado con otros de su época, siente una falta de una reconstrucción comparable de las actividades de mercaderes limeños en el período desde 1635 a 1700. El estudio del Consulado no lo sustituye. Sin embargo, es pedir a la autora que escribiera otro libro. En fin, todo historiador interesado en entender el funcionamiento de la economía colonial peruana bajo los Austrias debe leer la obra obligatoriamente.

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IVÁN JAKSIĆ (ed.): *The Political Power of the Word: Press and Oratory in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. London: ILAS, University of London, 2002.

Iván Jaksić has made a name for himself by exploring the connections between scholarship and nation building in nineteenth-century Latin America. In his superb biography of Andrés Bello, Jaksić, for example, showed the importance that grammar and literary and legal studies held in Chile's path to nationhood. The collection under review edited by Jaksić seeks to explore further the relationship between the written word and the consolidation of the nation state: some essays study the fascinating yet little understood function of the liberal and conservative nineteenth-century press, whereas others investigate the role of sacred and liberal oratory.

Like any other edited volume, the collection is uneven. Two essays in

particular give the book the thematic structure and theoretical reach that otherwise it would be lacking. The chapter co-authored by Sol Serrano and Jaksić identifies the radically different sensibilities to the written word held by nineteenth-century liberals and conservatives in Chile. Liberals strove to create a nation of educated citizens sharing similar values. For these “liberals” (secular, neo-conservatives like Bello were actually at the forefront of this campaign), the written word held the key to the nation’s geographic, cultural and social unification. Although liberals considered the press and public schools strategic assets, they never entertained the illusion that newspapers and schools alone would homogenize populations, for left to its own devices literacy could just as easily breed centrifugal forces. Intellectuals like Bello, therefore, struggled mightily to codify and simplify the Castilian grammar and to introduce uniformity in the style and tone of public documents. Liberals also sought to tame and codify oral speech according to the rules of *written* rhetoric. If for liberals literacy trumped orality, for Chilean “conservatives” the opposite was the case. It took the Chilean Church almost a century to finally get around to creating its own newspapers and educational institutions to counter the liberal monopoly. The use of preachers and sermons held sway among the conservative masses.

The second vertebrating essay of this collection is by Rebecca Earle, who surveys the literature on the relationship between press and the wars of independence in the region. Earle convincingly demonstrates that, Benedict Anderson notwithstanding, print-capitalism was not a determining factor in rallying patriots to the wars of independence. It is true that a Habermasian “public sphere” of sorts did develop in the late eighteenth-century Viceroyalty of Mexico, an American “kingdom” with strikingly high rates of literacy and public schooling, but Mexico was the exception. Everywhere else, Earle maintains, the print-based culture of modernity (a public sphere) set roots only during and after the wars.

The rest of the essays in the collection complement Earle’s and Serrano and Jaksić’s insights. Carmen McEvoy shows that between 1791, when the first periodical in Peru, the *Mercurio Peruano*, was issued, and 1822, when Peru gained its independence, Lima witnessed the growth and consolidation of a “republican” public sphere. The republican values that the burgeoning public vociferously upheld, however, had to confront, soon after the war, the realities of an aristocratic society rent by ethnic, racial, and social divisions. In Guatemala, according to Douglass Sullivan-González, the liberal public sphere proved no match for the oral, religious culture spearheaded by the populist caudillo Rafael Carrera and the Catholic Church. In endless weekly sermons delivered according to the rules of traditional colonial rhetoric, nineteenth-century Catholic preachers

hammered out a distinct national vision of Guatemala as a politico-religious community of the elected. In this world of preachers and sermons, Guatemala was represented as the sole steadfast defender of values threatened by an aggressive external secular world.

For all their emphasis on the written word, nineteenth-century liberals also considered oratory useful. In separate chapters, Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Charles Hale study one of the great heroes of Latin American liberals, the Spanish republican intellectual Emilio Castelar. Castelar articulated a moderate view of liberalism appropriate to the ideological needs of the late nineteenth-century “scientific” liberals. But Castelar’s emphasis on holding order and the rule of law over and above the rights and freedoms of individuals only partially explains his tremendous appeal among fin-de-siècle Latin American positivists. He was also an extraordinarily gifted speaker who spellbound his audiences. Most Latin Americans, however, never heard Castelar utter a word, for as good liberals they got to enjoy Castelar’s oratorical prowess vicariously, through newspapers and the power of the printed word. The book ends with an essay by Carlos Malamud on another formidable liberal orator, the Argentinean Lisandro de la Torre.

The study of orality and literacy as deliberate cultural strategies pursued by nineteenth-century opposing political actors in Latin America is perhaps the most important contribution of this collection. How these strategies shaped the nature of both scholarship and the public sphere remains tantalizing and puzzling. These are fields of inquiry that historians now can no longer afford to overlook.

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ALICIA DEL ÁGUILA: *Los velos y las pieles: cuerpo, género y reordenamiento social en el Perú republicano - Lima, 1822-1872.* Lima: IEP, 2003.

El siglo XIX peruano, después de haber sido una suerte de ‘hoyo negro’ historiográfico, es ahora un período que está siendo examinado desde variadas perspectivas, algunas muy sugerentes. Este trabajo nos aproxima a la historia social de la república o bien, como dice su autora, se trata de un boceto que se concentra en la transición de la colonia a la república a través de los paseos, los salones, las alcobas y los baños, analizando lo que ella llama los “velos del cuerpo” (p. 18). Del Águila se interesa en reconstruir la historia social a través