

What does the thirty-five-year U.S. relationship with the *stronato* tell us according to the author? Principally, that anti-Communism and stability trumped the uncertainty of democratic reform for most U.S. policymakers during the Cold War. Few alternatives to the dictator appeared in a nation that lacked any strong democratic traditions and had a history of political instability. Tyvela's analysis also explores the common conflict between ambassadorial authorities often enamored of the local autocrat and Washington officials who took longer-term, more critical views. Paraguay was never really that important a country to U.S. policymakers compared to the regional powers of Brazil, Argentina, and even Chile. Stroessner lacked the geostrategic paramountcy of a Shah of Iran, the Saudi monarchy, or even General Torrijos in Panama. Indeed, one of the reasons he probably survived so long was that he operated beneath the radar of these more strategic and challenged allies. The lone shortcoming of Tyvela's outstanding work is its lack of more Paraguayan documents and voices. But this is understandable and explained in the introduction as many records in Paraguay's archives remain closed or missing and Stroessner effectively shut down all opposition press, terrifying opponents into silence. Despite this omission, Tyvela's work provides a finely contextualized analysis of an often overlooked but important figure in Latin America's Cold War. Students of history, political science, and U.S. foreign relations would do well to add this volume to their libraries.

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EDWARD BLUMENTHAL, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile, 1810-1862*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Exile in Latin American history is most often associated with the military dictatorships of the twentieth century. In this welcome new book, Edward Blumenthal sets out to show how central this experience was in the formation of two nations, Chile and Argentina, in the nineteenth century. The figure of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and his classic *Facundo* (1845) come immediately to mind, but the author goes far beyond this iconic *letrado* to cover a wide social and political spectrum of exiles circulating among the modern nations of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. His aim is to show how exile, in fact, helped define the current borders. Exiles also used their time to establish the institutional foundations and the cultural identities of the modern South American republics upon returning to their home countries.

The book consists of eight chapters that analyze in depth the routes, networks, political practices, and narratives of exile. Using an impressive number of archival and printed primary sources, Blumenthal documents the dynamic relationship between colonial and nation-state boundaries; how exiles used commercial and family networks to move from one region to another despite the ruptures of independence; how they contributed to the professionalization of journalism, education, and the legal field; how they found commonalities with their hosts, but also some important differences, by residing abroad for prolonged periods of time. Exiles used different venues to engage in political practice and express their views, including participation in different types of associations, writing for the periodical press, or describing the political and personal dimensions of their experience through letters to family and friends.

The Chilean and Argentine experiences of exile are placed in a larger international, mostly European, political and intellectual context. This is the time of the emergence of Romantic nationalism, as well as utopian socialism, which had a direct impact on Latin American approaches to nation-building and political participation. The shared experience of exile promoted transnational solidarity and collaboration. As the author states, “[The] common language of exile, loss and return was important and shared in Romantic sensibility in Chile and the Río de la Plata, and across South America” (p. 189). However, the common fate did not exclude profound disagreements among them, as Blumenthal shows in the case of Sarmiento and the brothers Francisco and Manuel Bilbao. Nor did the flourishing Romantic nationalism of the period prevent the acrid dispute that went on for decades between Sarmiento and Juan Bautista Alberdi on political and constitutional issues.

Blumenthal is inspired by, and creatively uses, Albert O. Hirschman’s trilogy of “exit,” “voice,” and “loyalty.” “Exit” in the nineteenth century meant banishment, but during the dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829-1852) in the Argentine Confederation, and the presidency of Manuel Montt between 1851 and 1861 in Chile, it was often enough voluntary. Neither banishment nor voluntary exile meant that opponents to their respective regimes ceased to exercise “voice.” In fact, many used the experience precisely to analyze and promote alternative conceptions of government, thus contributing to state- and nation-formation during and upon return from exile. Exit in order to exercise voice became an expression of “loyalty,” meaning a desire to return to one’s place of origin with a commitment to transform it. Alberdi, who was exiled in Uruguay and Chile, provides a prime example of how influential exiles could be. Although he would see “exit” twice more, his *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina* (1852) became the foundation of the long-lasting Argentine Constitution of 1853.

*Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile* is a successful book, but this reviewer sees a few gaps in coverage and some issues regarding periodization. The title indicates that the book covers the period 1810-1862, but the introduction states that it concentrates on the period 1829-1862. In fact, the book is mostly about the 1840s in the case of the Río de la Plata exile, and the 1850s in the Chilean case. The ending date of 1862 may work well for Argentina, in the sense that the victory of Buenos Aires at Pavón in 1861, and the election of Bartolomé Mitre in 1862, clearly represent a watershed in the country's political history. It does not work so well in the case of Chile, where the transition from the presidency of Manuel Montt to that of José Joaquín Pérez in 1861 involved a welcome change for many, but not a major shift in either institutions or political practice. Chile would see a more dramatic change in 1891, when the high concentration of executive power yielded to a quasi "parliamentary" political system.

The one glaring gap in the book (if it indeed means to cover the period beginning in 1810) is the exile of Spanish Americans, including many Chileans and *rioplatenses*, in London in the 1820s. Blumenthal refers briefly (pp. 57-58) to a few Spanish Americans in the United States, but there is no mention of the substantive presence of Spanish and Spanish Americans in London, memorably described in Thomas Carlyle's *The Life of John Sterling*. The author could have found an important precedent to illustrate Hirschman's trilogy, particularly on the issue of "voice." In London, Spanish Americans became conscious of their commonalities and differences and contributed to the articulation of visions and programs for the future of the region. They published extensively, and most returned to their places of origin with the intent to change them. Whether successful or not, they could have been included in the much-needed discussion about a longer tradition of political practices in exile after independence from Imperial Spain.

Scholars of exile and nineteenth-century Latin American history are indebted to Blumenthal for his thoughtful contribution but should consider that state- and nation-formation involved a number of other transformations in political thought and practice. The transition from monarchy to republic, for example, brought about important changes in the conception of the role of the state, in the definition of nationhood, in the emergence of "public opinion," and in the design of representative political systems, to mention just a few of the challenges posed by independence. Exile may have had a significant impact on the understanding and shaping of these new issues, but it was not the determining factor. Relevant in this respect, but missing in the discussion, are the important works of Miguel Angel Centeno (*State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible* [2013]—with Agustín E. Ferraro) and Hilda

Sabato (*Republics of the New World: The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* [2018]). Tulio Halperín-Donghi's work occupies pride of place in the bibliography, but his relevant book, *Letrados y Pensadores* (2013), does not. Perhaps a dialogue with these sources could have made Blumenthal's contribution even stronger.

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GREGORY T. CUSHMAN, *Los señores del guano. Una historia ecológica global del Pacífico*. Trad. Juan Rodríguez Piñero. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2018.

Durante los últimos dos siglos, el conjunto de islas del litoral peruano ha sido uno de los laboratorios más importantes –y menos conocidos– en torno a procesos que van desde la Revolución Industrial y la alimentación hasta el futuro de la especie humana. Esta zona, que incluye no solo el territorio físico (continental e islas) sino también los organismos marinos y las aves, fue parte de intensos debates en torno al amplio rango de interacción humana con dicho espacio marítimo y biológico que iba desde la explotación despiadada hasta la preservación de la misma. El profesor de la Universidad de Kansas, Gregory Cushman, reconstruye esta compleja historia en su libro basado en la tesis doctoral que presentó en 2003 en la Universidad de Texas, Austin.

*Los señores del guano* es una versión revisada y ampliada de la edición original en inglés. Esta, que apareció como *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World* (2013), recibió numerosos reconocimientos, entre ellos uno del Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. En la nueva versión, el autor ha expandido sus conclusiones con información actualizada y organizado la lista de materiales empleados, lo cual será de mucha utilidad para los investigadores. El libro en sí estudia el recorrido del guano excretado por las aves y su conversión en fertilizante, en momentos en que el desarrollo mundial exigía un producto que permitiese incrementar notablemente la producción agrícola y con ello asegurar alimento para determinados grupos de habitantes. Arrinconados entre el fantasma de Malthus y las promesas de desarrollo capitalista, las aves guaneras brindaron una salida a este entrampamiento. Conocemos bien la parábola del país rico que termina sumido en la crisis y la guerra, pero Cushman ha optado por expandir el lente y situar este episodio como el inicio de un proceso mucho más complejo. Para ello ha recurrido a documentos y testimonios poco conocidos provenientes de archivos personales y locales, además de entrevistas.