

those specializing in the contribution of broader social groupings to democratic and republican politics, will value the book. Newcomers to the region will have their preconceptions challenged and be inspired to read further. Students will find valuable bibliographical clues for challenging existing orthodoxy and negative stereotypes about Spanish America's nineteenth-century history of "misrule," "caudillismo," "patrimonialism," and "fictitious democracy."

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RICARDO D. SALVATORE, *La Confederación Argentina y sus subalternos. Integración estatal, política y derechos en el Buenos Aires posindependiente (1820-1860)*. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2020.

Ricardo Salvatore's new book appears seventeen years after his *Wandering Paysanos: State Order and Subaltern Experiences in Buenos Aires during the Rosas Era*. The two books correlate closely in subject, focus, and historical period. The regime led by Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829-1852) in the province of Buenos Aires once more marks out the main framework of the analysis; again, the author writes about subordinate groups or "fragments" under Rosas, this time focusing on Blacks, Native Americans, and women by contrast with his previous concern with rural dwellers and military recruits. Salvatore continues to refer to his subjects as "subalterns," a now familiar term originating with Antonio Gramsci and co-opted by Indian postcolonial theorists led by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi Bhabha. Steering well away from these heady realms, Salvatore writes as a standard historical empiricist of progressive bent. He follows the tradition of "history from below" epitomised by E.P. Thompson, whose *The Making of the English Working Class* was published in 1963. He uses the term "subaltern" conventionally for the most part to denote social and political inferiority, whether self-perceived or imposed. The term is given another meaning when used to refer to groups subject to extraneous, authoritarian "silencing," as in "the silencing of black voices" for example.

Salvatore questions the extent to which the "silencing" of the "subalterns" occurred, as he explores hundreds of cases where it failed. As he demonstrates, the subjects or "fragments" of his book had access to channels enabling interlocations with agents of government. He describes how the Rosas government itself established and maintained the channels of communication; attracting, eliciting, or instilling the support of subalterns became one of the major features of the regime. Its chief objective lay in heading off dissent while helping to ensure

a flow of military recruits for Rosas's perpetual war against the proto-liberal Unitarios. Under Salvatore's microscope, the Rosas regime transitions from its usual guise as a tyranny into a more transactional, flexible system geared to demands from its base. Rosas did not lead a form of representative government typical of the nineteenth century; the kind of representation he offered contained closer affinities with eighteenth-century forms of corporate representation under the *anciens régimes*. Salvatore thus refers to Rosas as having achieved an "incomplete, fragmentary integration."

The study is built on massive archival research. Salvatore has spent around thirty years in the austere confines of the Archivo General de la Nación assembling data; his work stands out as testimony to the archive's enormous wealth, range, and quality as well as to Salvatore's professional dedication. Smaller quantities of his data derive from the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires and from the press of the Rosas era. He has identified hundreds of specialised articles and monographs, a trove of secondary sources attesting to the quality and quantity of historical studies conducted in the Argentine universities. The book is published in Chile, no doubt with fraternal sympathy and affection towards its author, although it seems a pity that current economic conditions in Argentina do not permit publication there.

Salvatore admits that his sources are uneven and incomplete. His book is strongest on the Black population of Buenos Aires. In this area his findings take place against a backdrop of ethnic decline and the slow demise of slavery. The story is least compelling on women, a group less easily extracted from its "silent" status. Women did little more than what one would expect: they demanded the release of male kin or husbands from imprisonment; they cheered the Rosas regime as bystanders; under an obligation to steward family land, a few petitioned the government on land questions. Specialists on Native American societies in Argentina will encounter a mass of novel material and numerous previously unknown figures in this book, but no compelling reinterpretations of what is already known.

Salvatore has wide intellectual connections beyond the Americas but his subjects—blacks, women, and Native Americans—are categories that evoke the American Civil Rights movement. The study contains some material on rank-and-file Unitarios. This group remains largely inarticulate, leaving the impression that they were either mercenaries or forced recruits (a situation certainly true of the post-Rosas era). Lastly, Salvatore devotes part of his study to the rural rebellion in Buenos Aires of 1852-1853 under Hilario Lagos. He adduces

evidence of sophisticated constitutional ideas in an unexpected quarter, though the extent to which the Lagos rebels were genuine subalterns remains unclear.

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JESSE HOFFNUNG-GARSKOF, *Racial Migrations: New York City and the Revolutionary Politics of the Spanish Caribbean, 1850-1902*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

With an historian's incisive analytical eye and the sensibilities of a novelist, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof invites us, in his book *Racial Migrations*, into the bustling interconnected city that was New York in the mid-nineteenth century. Following the "radial lines" that converged in the city, bringing Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and African Americans together in bonds of association, marriage, education, and work, back to their points of origin, Hoffnung-Garskof delicately and deftly first disentangles and then re-entangles the webs of transnational collaboration that made New York a nineteenth-century global city. But *Racial Migrations* is much more than a new history of New York City. It also offers a new vantage point on the Cuban independence movement and makes a substantial contribution to diasporic black intellectual history. While the author states quite clearly that he writes for a non-academic audience, I think academics will be happy beneficiaries of this multilayered work.

Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof's commitment to centering the intellectual contributions of people of color in this book and to revealing in rich detail and thoroughly researched speculation the lives of understudied figures in Cuban and Puerto Rican history, such as Sotero Figueroa, Rafael Serra, Juan and Gerónimo Bonilla, and Gertrudis Heredia de Serra, is commendable. These figures are well known in Cuba and Puerto Rico and to some Caribbeanist intellectual and political historians and literary scholars, but not to many others. The single greatest contribution of *Racial Migrations* is the author's rigorous and thoughtful excavation of the lives of these men and women who helped make José Martí into the most celebrated Cuban independence hero and were subsequently overshadowed by his legacy. *Racial Migrations* resolutely dispels this shadow by ensuring that we understand just how central the work and contributions of Afro-Puerto Rican and Afro-Cuban men and women were to the Cuban revolutionary movement of the nineteenth century, especially its anti-racist foundations. This correcting of the historical record through the centering of black intellectuals, activists, and revolutionaries is not only important to reframing our understanding of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and New York City history, but also to the broader project

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