of signs and discourse to examine not only narratives of race and nation, but also of ethnographic method.

This is a very rich ethnography filled with a large cast of characters who bring to life the national struggles over race, history, and citizenship in Brazil. It is, in the author’s own words, “an intentionally bewildering and oftentimes frustrating and painful story of social action and historical engagement” (p. 6).

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*Families in War and Peace* provides an intriguing, exhaustive, and analytically rigorous account of the tumult of independence and the early republican era. The author dissects correspondence, court cases, and congressional debates to show how ties of kinship shaped Chilean political networks and how state paternalism and legal control over family life cemented state power. Deftly weaving together stories of families with a political narrative, Chambers sets an ambitious agenda for a gendered social history of early republican rule in Latin America, one that expands on prior studies of honor and the law that had focused more narrowly on questions of illegitimacy and status.

The book functions on three levels. First, it maps the family networks of Chile’s early republican political class. Second, it examines how state paternalism, along with the reconstitution of families and their patrimony, undergirded a politics of reconciliation that helped generate political stability. Third, it argues that after approximately the 1850s the state increasingly confirmed its own authority by validating individual patriarchs’ control over subordinate family members. Chambers expertly navigates this complex set of concerns, and the often confusing intricacies of the independence era and early republic, through a cogent, well-structured narrative and unambiguous prose.

A first section of the book establishes the links between families and political allegiances during the early independence struggles. In the first chapter, Chambers introduces us to the prominent patriot Carrera family, and their story opens each of the subsequent chapters. The Carreras exemplify an under-remarked aspect of late colonial and early republican Chile: the degree to which Spanish men married creole Chilean women, thereby acquiring property in Chile and, with it, lasting ties to the country. Because these families harbored divided political loyalties and allegiances to kin, they provide a fascinating window into a period in which patriots battled Spain and each other but constituted a tightly knit
political elite. For instance, Javiera Carrera married a Spaniard, but abandoned husband and children in Chile to seek refuge in Argentina. Javiera’s political allegiance to her patriot brothers, Chambers explains, violated gendered norms that required wives to share the political proclivities of husbands and husbands to remain loyal to blood kin. Assumed loyalties to kin would become central to debates over who deserved punishment, and especially after Spain was defeated in 1826, who should be forgiven and incorporated into “the greater Chilean family.”

During Chile’s initial declaration of independence in 1810, Spain’s reconquest in 1814, and renewed republican control after 1817-1818, families who were torn apart by war sent letters and provisions in a desperate attempt to maintain ties. Their opponents, whether Spanish or patriot, took these ties as evidence of perfidy, imprisoning the family members as sworn enemies and sequestering their property. The pleas of family members for clemency proved ineffective.

However, republican leaders took a softer approach once they had gained the upper hand, acceding to the demand of wives (often Chilean-born and with family in the patriot camp) who claimed that they should not suffer for the missteps of their husbands. The wives of Spanish émigrés whose property had been sequestered gained pensions that allowed them to support themselves and their families. The Creoles further demonstrated paternal benevolence by returning property to loyalist émigrés who repented and pledged allegiance to the new Chilean government. Loyalists born in Chile or married to Chileans were also granted amnesty. All these measures were aimed at achieving family and national reconciliation and uniting a greater “Chilean family” that included former royalists. Economic considerations motivated Creole leaders who saw the benefit of making whole the patrimony of wealthy loyalists who might re-animate a war-torn economy.

Because sequestered property had often been allocated to republican war heroes, orders to return property to loyalists and their families created ongoing conflicts, explored in the book’s second section. As Congress delayed the passage of legislation regarding sequestered property, disputes over property were settled in court where (alleged) former royalists and their families often deployed arguments regarding family. Family heads, for instance, insisted that they should not be denied the means of supporting family members. Dependents of royalists portrayed themselves as innocents who had rightful claim to their inheritances. The issue was not resolved until 1853 when the government’s need to regularize its debt and Spanish diplomatic pressure led Congress to recognize the right to restitution of all former loyalists. The legislation was buoyed by the need for clearer property titles at a time of capitalist expansion.

Republican governments also sought to buttress family ties and further national reconciliation by awarding military pensions to veterans and their
families. Creole governments signaled their paternal responsibility by giving generous pensions to widows, and they extended pensions to broader categories of soldiers, eventually granting benefits even to families of Spanish soldiers who died before independence. The use of pensions to stimulate reconciliation later proved useful in the aftermath of the 1829 civil war, when the triumphant Conservative government bestowed pensions on the family members of certain soldiers from the opposing camp.

In a final chapter that dialogs with the scholarship on inheritance and legitimacy, Chambers argues that, by upholding familial obligations, the state sought “to build national unity on a foundation of domestic order” (p. 185)—the same domestic order the state itself instantiated in apportioning sequestered property and pensions. Like other countries in Latin America, Chile was governed until 1857 by the *Siete Partidas*, a legal code in which proof of paternity was not essential and in which courts frequently required fathers to support natural and illegitimate children. Because fathers did not have *patria potestad* over natural children, mothers frequently won custody battles. The state nonetheless reaffirmed patriarchal control within families, solidifying it by passing a new Civil Code.

Overall, Chambers’s book broadens our understanding of how states addressed family by looking at law suits regarding military pensions and sequestration as well as support of kin. The state regulated family relations, Chambers argues, so as to further specific political aims. Reconciliation functioned to cement familial ties and buttress familial fortunes. At the same time, opposing factions of the ruling class were often linked through ties of kinship that facilitated unity. The professed desire of patriarchs and a paternal state to provide for women and children was an opening wedge into broader forms of forgiveness and social harmony that also cemented the authority of individual patriarchs and a paternal state.

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**ALEX BORUCKI:** *From Shipmates to Soldiers: Emerging Black Identities in the Río de la Plata.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015.

This is a gem of a book. *From Shipmates to Soldiers* is a wide-ranging exploration of Africans and their descendants in the Río de la Plata from the late colonial through the early national periods. It incorporates the important role of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador as the Brazilian Atlantic ports that supplied the bulk of slaves to the La Plata region, and also explores the significant but smaller flow of slaves who arrived directly from East, West, and Central Africa. As Borucki