

native leaders and other men of influence, but the authors work against this bias when they can. Karen B. Graubart's work explores how different social classes within Peruvian indigenous communities deployed various legal approaches to confront Spanish officials. Tamar Herzog's work digs into the fraught Portuguese records to recover how people in the Amazon basin envisioned trade and protection negotiations without extending that vision to political subjugation. The legal archive can also obscure individual indigenous actors, which is why Jenny Hale Pulsipher's work on John Wompas, a Nipmuc man who deployed the law to advance his financial future, is a necessary intervention.

Strikingly, the editors' expressed goal to explore legal (un)intelligibility comes under attack when both Lauren Benton and Daniel K. Richter question, even eschew, it in their dueling conclusions. Benton presses that there is a distinction between intelligibility and understanding, and she favors "studied ignorance" as an interpretive lens, by which she means the decision of people to ignore laws and authority figures as it suited them. Richter argues for yet another approach. Rather than negotiating legal intelligibility, he proposes reframing the discussion as one of "incommensurability," the problem being that these groups had "fundamentally incompatible aims" (p. 291). Though more focused on North America, Richter leverages his experience to highlight the sobering point that emphasizing "intelligibility only made incommensurability more plain" (p. 291). For scholars of the Americas, this collection is a welcome contribution that continues to shift the conversation about conflict in the Americas away from one of misunderstandings and poor communication to one of informed disagreements.

JULIE A. FISHER, American Philosophical Society

DOI 10.1215/00182168-8349939

The European Seaborne Empires: From the Thirty Years' War to the Age of Revolutions.

By GABRIEL PAQUETTE. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019. Maps.

Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 298 pp. Paper, \$35.00.

Covering the period between the sixteenth century and the Age of Revolutions, this book analyzes the trajectory of the five western European "seaborne" empires: the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the British, and the Dutch. While the undertaking is ambitious, Gabriel Paquette proves up to the task. Based on an in-depth command of the secondary literature, *The European Seaborne Empires* comprehensively compares these five imperial formations' repertoires of power, violence, and forms of exploitation. The analysis benefits significantly from the fact that Paquette is himself an accomplished expert in the history of western Europe. Evidence from each empire is intertwined throughout the book—an interpretive strategy that makes this work particularly rich in comparisons and pertinent insights.

Paquette's volume begins by stressing that "the European seaborne empires were dwarfed in scope and scale by the terrestrial empires of Eurasia until the dawn of the nineteenth century" (p. 30). The initial pages also include a pertinent discussion of the concept of empire, its many definitions and usage in recent scholarship. The book then

discusses the development of each individual empire. After tracing their main characteristics from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, Paquette underscores that the five imperial states were fundamentally “seaborne,” a modifier that alludes to their mobility, the transoceanic connections they established, and their relative insignificance territorially. This book demonstrates how immense profits could be reaped without large-scale territorial conquest.

In the core of the book, Paquette assesses the main features of the five empires via six factors: law, governance, and institutional frameworks; political economy; migrations (coerced, forced, and putatively free); labor regimes; creole societies and *mestizaje*; and collaboration and resistance. Paquette centers topics such as the overseas governments’ various forms, empire as a theater of legal pluralism and syncretism (since the Europeans left unmodified many existing native systems), and the economic benefits for the metropolitan economies. Mobility within and between empires is also closely scrutinized. The book demonstrates that slavery, indentured servitude, and the forcible removal of convicts to colonies were key for imperial formation. The enslavement of native populations was widespread in all the empires analyzed, and Amerindian slavery never disappeared across the Americas and the Caribbean. However, the use of enslaved sub-Saharan Africans was considerably more intense, particularly in extractive and export-oriented economies like mining and plantation-based agriculture. The book also considers manumission in various slave societies and stresses that the late eighteenth century witnessed certain challenges to slavery, although never strong enough to end this terrible practice.

Also significant is Paquette’s discussion of the mestizo societies generated by Europe’s seaborne empires. Colonial authorities regarded *mestizaje* an unwelcome though inevitable result of colonization. Paquette examines the equation by Europeans of *mestizaje* and cultural difference with inferiority, which often resulted in exclusion from active political participation and denial of basic civic rights. One of the most serious challenges to colonial order was the growing population of Afro-descendants, many of them freedmen. Paquette thoroughly analyzes resistance to colonial rule, highlighting that while large-scale slave rebellions were rare, *marronage* and everyday acts of resistance were far more common.

The final section traces the five empires’ main changes during the Age of Revolutions and beyond. Paquette underscores the ambiguous character of emancipatory movements and argues that independence was not inevitable, mostly because many slaveholding elites realized that greater security existed within, rather than outside, the framework of empire. Paquette also signals that independence did not necessarily enable new institutions or progressive forms of government. Most of the new constitutions barred people of indigenous and African descent from active political participation. In some countries (such as the United States or Brazil), slavery was only abolished several decades after colonial rule’s end.

In the last pages Paquette contrasts the “seaborne” character of the five imperial formations with the kind of rule that emerged subsequently. He stresses that nineteenth-

century European empires became fundamentally terrestrial. Most adopted the Napoleonic model of “proconsular despotism” and became therefore more autocratic (p. 209).

This excellent book effectively combines analysis of traditional matters—institutional history, high politics, geopolitical rivalry, and military history—with the examination of more innovative topics, including the agency of individuals from lower groups, European rule’s environmental impact, and the interplay between state and private initiatives. As Paquette frequently reminds us, throughout the early modern period Europeans were far from omnipotent. They were repulsed from extra-European territories as often as they established a stable presence. Political life in Europe’s seaborne empires was characterized by negotiation and compromise. This, however, did not prevent European colonists from exerting a high degree of violence, destruction, and exploitation. Moreover, Paquette makes clear that these empires were marked not just by competition but also by interpenetration and convergence.

Although at times incorporating too many quotations from other scholars, Paquette conveys current developments in the field and an in-depth knowledge of the European politics and the interplay between metropolitan and colonial societies. Paquette’s remarkable synthesis fully demonstrates the advantages of a global outlook when compared to nation-focused studies of empire.

PEDRO CARDIM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

DOI 10.1215/00182168-8349950

História da saúde no Brasil.

Edited by LUIZ ANTONIO TEIXEIRA, TÂNIA SALGADO PIMENTA, and

GILBERTO HOCHMAN. Saúde em Debate. São Paulo: Hucitec Editora, 2018.

Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. 485 pp. Paper.

Brazil has one of the largest groups of scholars dedicated to the history of medicine and health. They have also organized, thanks to the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz), a massive institution of social medicine and biology in Rio de Janeiro. In 1986, Fiocruz added a center for the history and memory of science and health, and over the last 30 years, it has grown an impressive graduate program and edited one of Brazil’s best journals. Since 2013, more than 250 books have been published in its Health in Debate series. The three editors of *História da saúde no Brasil* are busy publishing research and leading scholarly activities in Brazil. Their new book demonstrates a wide range and depth of scholarship. We may accept their claim, put forth in the introduction, that this book offers “authors, references, and themes that display the current state of the history of health in Brazil” (p. 12). Let us add that it deserves attention well beyond Brazil.

The book is organized into an introduction and 11 chapters written by 24 historians, 17 who affiliate with Fiocruz. Of the rest, nearly all teach at one of Brazil’s federal universities, among them the most research-oriented and prestigious in the country. Most chapters are coauthored, again representing a remarkable degree of coordination uncommon among historians. The book moves from the colonial period to our twenty-