

A similar problem surfaces in the final chapter on slave blasphemers in which we learn very little about the kind of Catholicism that took shape among groups of enslaved individuals from different backgrounds and experiences. Irrespective of their gender, class or race, the majority of the blasphemers that populate the pages of *Dangerous Speech* look remarkably alike in their religious make-up. Because of a somewhat programmatic approach to the sources, religion stands as a rigid set of precepts seemingly unaltered through time against the ever-changing world of the social. This becomes apparent in Villa-Flores' treatment of church teachings on blasphemy through history. Yet, as O. Christin pointed out sometime ago, the conceptualisation of the so-called sins of the tongue that emerged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries differed in significant ways from sixteenth-century discussions on blasphemy.

Because of the fascinating archival material that the author has gathered, *Dangerous Speech* has much to offer to those interested in the study of colonial social history. Yet it also raises a question about whether it is possible to write a social history of a religious notion without engaging into a serious inquiry about Catholicism as lived and practiced in Mexican colonial society.

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Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. xi + 244, £50.00, hb.

This intricate monograph aims to analyse 'the political ideas animating the government reformers of Spain and its Atlantic empire in the second half of the eighteenth century' (p. 1). In this period, it has been argued conventionally by generations of scholars, the ministers of Charles III (1759–1788) and, to a lesser extent Charles IV, his successor until his abdication in 1808 in favour of Ferdinand VII, sought to implement a multi-faceted programme of modernisation of imperial structures – inspired by 'regalist governance' rather than mere 'enlightened absolutism' (p. 6) – designed to restore Spain to the rank of a first-rate power. Evidently in the long run the quest was in vain, as would be demonstrated by the gradual loss of momentum in the application of the reform programme even prior to 1796, when Spain's entry as an ally of revolutionary France against Britain in what turned out to be a long cycle of international conflicts led inexorably to, first, the collapse of the theoretical peninsular monopoly of trade between Europe and Spanish America, and in due course to the collapse of the Bourbon monarchy itself in 1808, with the installation of a brother of Napoleon Bonaparte as king Joseph I of Spain.

Recent contributions to the historiography of the Bourbon reforms in the Hispanic world have concentrated upon a series of loosely connected themes. These include, first, discussion of the extent to which their inspiration derived from not only the monarchy's reaction to the humiliation suffered at the hands of Britain during the Seven Years War but also an imperial programme devised during the reign of Philip V by José de Patiño, his Secretary of State for the Indies, Navy and Treasury in the period 1726–1736. This sought to strengthen trade between Spain and America through the creation of a strong navy, and fiscal incentives for peninsular exporters. Secondly, why and when did they lose momentum: with the demise of Charles III's Minister of the Indies, José de Gálvez, in 1787 and that of the king

himself in the following year, or several years later, as a reaction in Madrid to both continued resistance to their implementation by conservative viceroys and other senior officials in America and fears of the transmission of radical ideas from revolutionary France? Finally, to what extent did the impact of the Bourbon reforms in America pave the way for the Revolutions for Independence of the second decade of the nineteenth century? The overriding issue has been intense debate about the extent to which the programme as a whole should be seen as cautious, incomplete and tardy rather than well-planned and comprehensive. The author reverts to an interpretation in vogue until the late-1970s, but increasingly challenged since then by both European and American scholars, by reviving the earlier consensus which stressed the programme's cohesion and coherence and overlooked procrastination in its application.

The volume has four main chapters, each tightly written and supported by extensive notes. The first underscores the importance of geopolitical rivalries, especially between Spain and Britain, in shaping Bourbon imperial policies. It also explains the ambivalent nature of Spanish modernisers towards this imperial rival, admired for its example of how to grow rich from colonial trade, a strong navy and agricultural development, but disliked for its deep-rooted disdain towards backward, Catholic Spain and its erosion of the latter's monopoly of trade with America through both contraband and the legal supply of manufactures to Cádiz merchant houses for re-export. Chapter two grapples with the inherent contradictions embraced in the quest of Spain's imperial policy-makers to promote public happiness by strengthening state power at the expense of not only the Church but also other privileged groups and corporations perceived to be hampering commercial expansion and agricultural modernisation. Chapter three focuses more explicitly upon attitudes and reactions to the reform programme in Spanish America, with particular reference to Cuba, Florida and Louisiana, defined as representatives of the 'imperial periphery' (p. 94). The deliberate exclusion from this analysis of the mainland viceroyalties, notably New Spain and Peru, has some justification, but it involves overlooking armed resistance to the intensification of absolutism – particularly as manifested in tighter fiscal impositions – in the Andean region during the period studied. Chapter four recapitulates the conclusions of the author's 2007 article in this *Journal* (vol. 39, pp. 263–298) by analysing the extent to which the colonial elites represented in the new *consulados* established in the 1790s sought, with considerable success, in collaboration with sympathetic local administrators to influence crown policies in the commercial and economic spheres. It emphasises their role in securing the introduction of neutral trade in 1797, but, as a consequence of the concentration upon the periphery, does not explore the profound divisions within the older merchants guilds of Lima and Mexico about the desirability or otherwise of the clamour for genuine free trade. A very brief Conclusion restates the argument that the Bourbon reform programme for Spanish America had a logical, coherent foundation, despite the fact that it was applied with flexibility because of the crown's desire to preserve 'relatively harmonious relations with local elites' (p. 153).

The abundant archival sources employed for this study are primarily in Spanish repositories, but valuable material from Buenos Aires, Havana and Santiago de Chile has also been exploited, particularly for chapter three. The extensive bibliography of printed sources, although concerned primarily with Spain and Spanish America, has useful subsections on art history, enlightened absolutism, regalism, British imperial history, the Enlightenment and Naples (where, of course, Charles III reigned from

1724 until inheriting the Spanish crown in 1759). Overall this is a work of remarkable erudition, which is recommended to all students of the Bourbon reforms in Spain and Spanish America, even though some of them, like this reviewer, might not be inclined to fully accept its central thesis that the programme's positive features outweighed its flaws.

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David T. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750–1825* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. xviii + 300, £45.00; \$75.00, hb.

The central focus of this valuable book is the analysis of the social, economic and, to a lesser degree, political roles in late-colonial Peru of the Indian elite of the bishopric of Cusco (from 1784 the intendancies of Cusco and Puno) in the period from the mid-eighteenth century until the foundation in 1824–1825 of the independent republic of Peru. Arguing persuasively that the structures in place at the beginning of this period were essentially those established by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s, Professor Garrett devotes the first two of the volume's seven chapters to an examination of the reasons for and the *nature of the Spanish crown's* need to incorporate the indigenous nobility – a term that embraces both the descendants of the Inca nobility of Cusco itself and the powerful hereditary caciques of the Lake Titicaca basin – into the administrative structures of the viceroyalty as intermediaries between the relatively small population of Spanish settlers and the tens of thousands of Indians who survived the demographic collapse of the first century of colonialism.

By the late-eighteenth century the non-Spanish population, overwhelmingly 'Indian', of the diocese of Cusco, which had numbered an estimated one million prior to the Conquest, stood at about 250,000, a figure almost double the size of that of the late-seventeenth century. The city of Cusco, which had a 'Spanish' population of some 17,000 according to the 1795 census, stood as a symbol of white authority and power in the region, as to a much lesser extent did that of Puno. However, the descendants of the Inca nobility, and to a lesser extent the hereditary *caciques* of the territories beyond the *partidos* of Cusco and Puno themselves, capable of speaking and writing in Spanish when necessary, were adept at operating as powerful actors within this power structure. This they achieved by using the courts to defend their privileges or, at a different level, by collaborating in the functioning of an increasingly exploitative fiscal regime. Inevitably, their incorporation undermined and contradicted the Hapsburg aim of establishing separate republics of Spaniards and Indians, which in any case was largely theoretical because of the parallel policy of granting the former access to the labour and other services of Peru's indigenous population. Within this context there was ample scope for the indigenous elite, headed symbolically by the 24 noble electors of Cusco (who annually selected the *alferez real* who carried the banner of Santiago in the Corpus Christi procession) to insist upon their indigenous legitimacy whilst also pursuing social and political strategies (for example, entry of their sons into the priesthood and marriages with Spaniards) that made conventional ethnic categories increasingly fuzzy round the edges.

The Rebellion of Túpac Amaru that broke out in 1780, almost at the same time as parallel movements of protest in Upper Peru, represented a serious challenge to not